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THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

THE DESCRIPTION OF GERMANIE.

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THE

ANNALES OF

CORNELIVS

TACITVS

THE DESCRIPTION

OF GERMANIE

TO THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE, ROBERT EARLE OF ESSEX AND EWE,

Earle Marshall of England, Viscount Hereford *and Bourchier, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Bourchier* and Louaine, Knight of the most noble Order of the *Garter, Master of the Queenes Maiesties horse, and one of her Maiesties most honorable Priuie Counsell.*

THE worthinesse of this Authour well knowen vnto your Honour, putteth mee in some hope of pardon for my presumption; in presenting vnto your Honors view, and craving a fauourable acceptance of my bold vnskilfulnesse. For if Hiſtory be the treasure of times past, and as well a guide, as image of mans present estate, a true and liuely patterne of things to come, and as some terme it, the work-mistresse of experience, which is the mother of prudence; *Tacitus* may by good right chalenge the first place among the best. In iudgement there is none founder, for instruction of life, for all times, to those which oft read him iudiciously, nothing yeelding to the best Philosophers: no word not loaden with matter, and as himselfe speaketh of *Galba*, he vseth *Imperatoria breuitate*: which although it breed difficultie, yet carrieth great grauitie. I present him therefore to your Honours fauourable protection in regard of himselfe; but yet no otherwise then as a glasse, representing in liuely colours of prowesse, magnanimitie and counsell; not only worthy personages of ages past and gone, but also your L. owne honourable vertues, whereof

whereof the world is both witneſſe and iudge. If your L. vouchſafe to receiue him (though greatly darkened of that he firſt was, and very much dimmed in reſpect of the Hiſtorie alreadie in our tongue) into any degree of fauour, I little doubt but others will both looke on him, and the better like and allow him: for heere below wee receiue either light or darkneſſe from aboue. *Veſpaſians* example wrought more than a law: for *obſequium in Principes*, and *æmulandi amor*, to ſpeake with *Tacitus*, maketh that to be in greateſt requeſt, which perhaps in it ſelfe deſerueth leaſt. Whatſoeuer my vnskilfull paines hath beene, my zeale and deuotion to your Honour I preſent with it; vnto whom I wiſh all good hap and felicitie, with the accompliſhment of vertues and honourable deſires.

Your Honors moſt humbly deuoted,

RICHARD GRENEVVEY.

TO THE READER.

That which moſt men alleage (courteous Reader) as a cauſe of publiſhing vnto the world their commendable endeuours; as commandement of ſuperiours, intreatie of friends, or ſuch like: cauſes yeelding ſome excuſe, if things well done by them needed any; that can I no way pretend: though no man hath iuſter cauſe to inuent ſomewhat to excuſe that, which (well knowing and confeſſing my owne inſufficiencie) I ſhould by no inducements haue beene drawen vnto. For I wanted not iudgement to know, that to performe this I vndertooke as I ought, was a matter beyond the compaſſe of my skill: yet neuertheleſſe my will ouercomming my owne iudgement and reaſon in vndertaking, I haue ventured my credit to the wide ſea of common opinion, and dangerous cenſure; and knowing the beſt, haue followed the woorſt. A fault perhaps pardonleſſe, in the rigoroust cenſure, and which bred in my ſelfe a long time diſtruſt and feare: yet at laſt, incouraged by hope to finde ſome milder Iudges for my boldneſſe, I ventured this labor, and performed it thus meanly as thou ſeeſt: truſting the courteous Reader, if in ought I haue pleaſured him, will affoord mee his good word for my good will, and in that I haue done amiſſe pardon, and a fauourable conſtruction for my paines. And although in reaſon it ſeemeth, I ſhould moſt of all feare the cenſure of the learned (if any ſuch vouchſafe to reade this tranſlation) in regard they beſt can, and with quickeſt inſight pierce into my want of skill, iudgement, and vnderſtanding; yet

yet in those is my greatest hope, because they be learned. Cause sufficient to feare no captious or carping constructions, as a propertie ill beseeming their good quality and education. I was well assured that hee who best might, would take no further paines in this kinde: nor hearing of any other which would, I thought some could be contented to haue it rather ill done, than not at all. Friendly Reader,

I crave pardon for my faults, and desire thou wouldest fauourablie beare with my ouersights.

Farewell.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

The Proeme of Tacitus, *containing the forme of gouernment vntill* Augustus *time: with the subiect of this worke.*

THE citie of Rome was in the beginning gouerned by Kings. Liberty and the Consulship *L. Brutus* brought in. The Dictators were chosen but for a time: the *Decemuiri* passed not two yeeres: neither had the Consularie authority of the Tribunes of the souldiers any long continuance: nor *Cinna*, nor *Sillaes* dominion: *Pompey* and *Crassus* quickly yeelded to *Cæsars* forces: *Lepidus* and *Antonie* to *Augustus*; who entitling himselfe by the name of Prince, brought vnder his obedience the whole Romane state, wearied and weakened with ciuill disorders. But as well the prosperous, as vnprosperous successes of the ancient Commonwealth, excellent writers haue recorded: neither wanted their worthie and singular wits, to deliuer *Augustus* exploits, vntill they were by the ouerswarming of flatterers vtterly discouraged. *Tiberius*, *Caius*, *Claudius* and *Neroes* actions, they yet liuing and flourishing, were falsly set downe, for feare; and after their death, through fresh hatred, as corruptly as before. Whereupon I intend to deliuer some few things done in *Augustus* later times: then *Neroes* raigne, and other occurrents as they fell out, without passion or partiality, as being free from motiues of both. cap. 1

I. *The meanes by which* Augustus *came to the empire: and whom he chose to succeed.*

AFter that *Brutus* and *Cassius* were slaine, and no armes now publikely borne; *Pompey* defeated in Sicile; *Lepidus* disarmed; *Antonie* killed; and no chiefe leader of *Iulius Cæsars* faction left, but onely *Augustus*: hee would no longer be called *Triumuir*, but in shew contented with the dignity of a Tribune to defend the people, bearing himselfe as Consull: after he had wound into the fauour of the souldier by gifts; of the people by prouision of sustenance; and of all in generall with the sweetnes of ease and repose; by little and little taking vpon him, hee drew to himselfe the affaires of Senate; the dutie of magistrates and lawes, without contradiction of any: the stowtest by war or proscriptions already spent, and the rest of the nobility, by how much the more seruiceable, by so much the more bettered in wealth, and aduanced in honors: seeing their preferment to grow by new gouernment, did rather choose the present estate with securitie, than striue to recouer their olde with danger. That forme of gouernment the prouinces disliked not, as mistrusting the Senates and peoples regiment by reason of noble mens factions; conetousnesse of magistrates: the lawes affoording no security, being swaied hither cap. 2

and

cap. 3 and thither by might, ambition, and corruption. Besides this, *Augustus* labouring by some stay, to settle the soueraignty, aduanced *Claudius Marcellus* his sisters sonne being very yong, to the pontificall dignity and Aedilship: and *M. Agrippa* meanly descended, but in martiall exploits warlike, and a companion in his victories, to bee twise Consul together; and after *Marcellus* death chose him to be his sonne in law. And his owne house not failing, hee bestowed the title of Emperour vpon *Tiberius Nero* and *Claudius Drusus* his wiues children; and adopted *Caius* and *Lucius Agrippaes* children: and making shew to the contrary; yet his earnest desire was, they should be called Princes of youth, and chosen Consuls elect, before they had cast of their prætext or infants garments. But when *Agrippa* was dead, and *Lucius* going into Spaine to take charge of the armie, and *Caius* returning wounded out of Armenia, by hastie fate or treachery of their stepmother *Liuia*: *Drusus* also dead long before, onely *Nero* was left of all *Augustus* sonnes in law. Vnto him all men now crowched and fawned; being receiued the adopted sonne of *Augustus*; copartner of the empire; associate of the Tribunitian dignity; shewen to the campe as successor; not as before by secret deuises and practises of his mother, but openly perswading the Emperor thereto. For shee had so enthralled the silly olde man, that *Agrippa Posthumus* his onely nephew, he had confined in the Iland Planasia: in deed, badly trained vp in liberall sciences, and sottishly bragging of his strength and actiuity of body; but yet neuer detected of any notorious vice. He gaue *Germanicus* sonne vnto *Drusus*, charge ouer eight legions, by the riuer of Rhene; and commanded *Tiberius* (albeit he had a sonne of his owne) to adopt him, the better to establish the succession with moe staies than one. Wars there were none at that time, but only against the Germans, not so much in regard of enlarging the Empire, hope of bootie or reward, as to blot out the dishonour receiued, when he lost his army with *Quinctilius Varre*. All was quiet in the citie, the old names of the magistrates vnchanged; the yong men borne after the victory of Actium, and the greatest part of the old, during the ciuill wars: how many were there which had seene the ancient forme of cap. 4 gouernment of the free Common-wealth? Thus then the state of the city turned vpside downe, there was no signe of the olde laudable customs to be seene: but contrary, equality taken away, euery man endeuoured to obey the prince; misdoubting nothing whilest *Augustus* yet strong in body, was able to defend himselfe, his house, and peace. But when he grew olde and feeble with sicknes, and that the end of his gouernment, and hope of a new was not far off: some few, but in vaine, discourst of the commodities of libertie; some feared war; some desired it: but the greatest part vsed lauish speeches, and spred rumors against the next coniectured successor. *Agrippa* they accounted by nature cruell, and through the indignitie of his late disgrace easily kindled; yoong, and raw in state matters; vnable for so great a charge. In deede, *Tiberius* was of conuenient and ripe yeeres, expert in feates of war; but possest with the hereditarie pride of the *Claudian* familie: yea many apparent sparkles of cruelty did burst out in him, howsoeuer he went about to suppresse them. Besides, he was brought vp in a house, which knew how to raigne: the Consulship was more then once cast vpon him with triumphes. During the time that he was at Rhodes (cloking his exile vnder colour of retiring himselfe) hee dreamt of nothing but reuenge, dissimulation, and secret meanes of licentious lusts: withall, he had his mother at hand; vntolerable in all imperfections incident to the sexe: and thereby they were to obey a woman, and two yong men, which would in the mean space oppresse, and in time rent in peeces the Common-wealth.

II. *The death of* Augustus : *and* Tiberius Nero *made Emperour.*

WHileſt they thus debated the matter, *Auguſtus* maladie increaſed ; and as it was ſuſpected by ſome, through the lewd practiſe of his wife. For not many months before, a rumor was ſpread, that *Auguſtus* with the priuity of a few, accompanied only with *Fabius Maximus*, had conueyed himſelfe to the Iland *Planaſia*, to viſit his nephew *Agrippa*, both weeping tenderly at their meeting, with manifeſt tokens of loue, and a hope conceiued that the young man ſhould be recalled and reſtored to his Grandfathers houſe. *Fabius* diſcloſed this to *Martia* his wife, and ſhe to *Liuia*, and *C. Nauus* to *Cæſar* : for not long after *Fabius* (doubtfull whether by his owne procurement or not) being deceaſed, his wife *Martia* among other her lamentations at her husbands funerall, was ouer-heard to accuſe her ſelfe, as the cauſe of her husbands death. But howſoeuer the matter paſſed, *Tiberius* had ſcarſe put foote in Illyricum, when by letters from his mother hee was recalled in poſt haſte : not being well known, when he arriued at *Nola*, whether there were any breath yet left in *Auguſtus* or not. For *Liuia* had beſet the houſe with a watchfull and ſtraight gard, ſometimes giuing out that *Auguſtus* was on the mending hand; and ſo hauing made all ſure on all hand, as the time and occaſion required ; the ſame rumor which not long before gaue ioyfull newes of *Auguſtus* amendment, now publiſhed that he was dead, and *Nero* in poſſeſſion of the Empire. The firſt exploit this new Prince did, was the murdering of *Poſtumus Agrippa*; whom a Centurion reſolute and appointed for the purpoſe, and taking him vnarmed, and miſdoubting nothing, yet could hardly diſpatch. *Tiberius* made no words of this to the Senate, but pretended that it was done by his fathers appointment; who (as he ſaid) had giuen charge to the Centurion which had the garding of him, to make him away incontinently after he had intelligence of his death. Little doubt but *Auguſtus* complaining of the yong mans vntowardly behauiour, cauſed his exile to be confirmed by decree of the Senate: but yet he neuer perſiſted long in deſiring the death of any of his ; neither was it credible that to aſſure the eſtate to his wiues ſonne, he would ſeeke the bloud of his owne nephew. But very likely it is, that the yong mans death was haſtened by *Tiberius* feare and *Liuia's* hatred : the one as iealous, leaſt he ſhould bandie for the ſoueraigntie: the other through the naturall hatred incident to all ſtepmothers. When the Centurion brought him word (as the manner of ſeruice was) that he had fulfilled his commandement, he anſwered preſently, that he commanded him no ſuch matter, and that he ſhould anſwere it before the Senate. When this newes came to *Criſpus Saluſtius* eares (who being inward in greateſt ſecrets with *Tiberius*, had by letters giuen the Centurion order how to proceede) fearing leaſt his owne turne ſhould be next, dangerous to him alike: to confeſſe the truth, or to ſtand to a lye: aduiſed *Liuia* that ſhe ſhould not in any wiſe diuulgate the ſecrets of her houſe, the counſell of friends, and ſeruices of ſouldiers; and that *Tiberius* ſhould beware of weakening the power of ſoueraigntie, in referring all things to the Senate : the quality of abſolute rule beeing ſuch, that it could not ſtand but in one alone. Now at *Rome* the Conſuls, the Senators, and Gentlemen ranne headlong to ſeruitude; and the more noble the fairer ſhew, and the more haſty; but with a compoſed and ſetled countenance, leaſt they ſhould ſeeme ouerglad of the death of the laſt, or diſcontented with the new Prince; they tempered their griefe with ioy, and lamentation with flatterie. The two Conſuls

Sext. Pompeius, and *Sext. Apuleius* did first sweare allegeance to *Tiberius Cæsar*: and after into their hands, *Seius Strabo*, and *C. Turrianus*, the one Captaine of the Gard, the other chiefe officer for prouision of corne. After them the Lords of the Senate, the souldiers, and the people. For *Tiberius* would haue all things begun by the Consuls, as the maner was in the ancient free common wealth: as though he had not resolued with himselfe whether it were best for him to accept of the Empire or not. No not so much as the Edict to call the Lords to the Senate to counsell, but was proclaimed in vertue and authoritie of a Tribune; which dignitie he had receiued in *Augustus* time. The words of the Edict were not many, and deliuered in modest termes. That he would only consult what pompe and honour were fit to be done for his father: and that he would not depart from the bodie: which should be the onely publike charge he would vndertake. Neuertheless when *Augustus* was dead, he gaue the watch-word to the gard: placed the watch: disposed of the souldiers: managed all the affaires of Court, as if he had beene Emperour. The souldiers waited on him to the place of publike assemblies; to the Senate house; and dispatched letters to the Camp; as though he had bene in full possession of the state: irresolute in nothing, but whē he should speak in the Senate. The chiefest cause proceeded of feare; least *Germanicus*, who had so many legions at commaundement; such strong aides of confederates; and so exceedingly beloued of the people; should rather hold, then expect the possession of the Empire. He stoode on his reputation likewise, and seemed rather to be called and chosen by the Common-wealth, then creepe in by the canuasing of a woman, and adoption of an old man. It was afterward further knowne, that he vsed that lingering doubtfulnesse, the better to sound the affection of the Nobility; for obseruing their countenance, and wresting their words to the worst, hee bare them all in minde. In the first meeting of the Senate, he would haue nothing debated, but *Augustus* last will and testament; which being brought in by *Vestaes* Virgins, declared *Tiberius* and *Liuia* to be his heires: and that *Liuia* was adopted into the *Iulian* family, and intituled by the name of *Augusta*. After them he substituted his nephews, and nephews sonnes: and in the third place the Peeres of the citie, which in generall he hated: yet he did it to winne fame and glory with posterity. His legacies were moderate, like vnto other citizens, sauing that he gaue as well to the common sort, as the rest of the people, foure hundred and thirty fiue thousand nummos: * to euery souldier of the Pretorian band a thousand; *to euery one of the legionary cohorts which consisted of citizens of Rome, three huudred*.

* Three pound seuen shillings sterling of the money of this time.

III. *The solemnities of* Augustus *funerals, and the censure which men gaue of him.*

AFter that, consultation was had concerning the pompe and solemnities of the funerals; among which the most honourable and magnificent were iudged to be these. *Gallus Asinius* thought it meete that the dead corps should bee brought through the triumphall gate; and *L. Arruntius*, that the titles of the lawes by him ordained, and the names of the nations by him vanquished, should be caried before him. *Messalla Valerius* added, that it was conuenient the oath of allegeance should euery yere be renewed in *Tiberius* name. Who being demanded of *Tiberius* whether hee had commandement from him so to aduise? answered, that hee did propound it of his owne free motion: and that in matters concerning the common-wealth, he would vse no mans aduise but his own, although it should be with danger and

and offence: so farre had flattery spread it selfe, thus that onely kinde remained unpractised. The Lords of the Senate after that cryed with one voyce, that they themselues would carry the corps to the funerall fire on their shoulders: which *Cæsar* did yeeld vnto with a modesty, yet sauouring of arrogancy. And admonished the people by Proclamation, that they would not (as in times past they had disturbed the funerall of *Iulius Cæsar* of famous memory) carried away with ouergreat affection, so desire now that *Augustus* body should rather be burnt in the place of publike assemblies, then in Campus Martius, a place deputed to that vse. The day of the funerals being come, the souldiers were placed as it were a gard to the body, when as such as had either seene or heard their fathers report, of the fresh and late yoke of cruell seruitude vnluckely attempted to be shaken off, and recouer their ancient liberty: then I say when the murdering of *Iulius Cæsar* the Dictator, seemed vnto some a wicked, and vnto others a worthy deede; laughed to see that now an olde Prince which had raigned so many yeares, and prouided heires to succeede him in might and wealth, should neede a gard of souldiers quietly to celebrate his funerals. This breed sundry speeches of *Augustus*, many marueilling at vaine and friuolous things: as that his death fell on the same day he was made Emperour: that he died at *Nola* in the same house and chamber, that before him his father *Octauius* did: they made it a great matter that he alone had beene six times Consull, as *Valerius Corninus*, and *C. Marius* both together: that he had continued Tribune seuen and thirtie yeares; had beene honored with the name of Emperour one and twenty times; with many other olde and new dignities bestowed or inuented for him. But among the better sort his life was diuerslie commended or discommended: Some saide, that the loue of his father, and the care of the Common-wealth, at that time when all lawes were dasht, drowe him to ciuill warres, which can neuer bee begun or prosecuted by any good meanes: and that he had yeelded in many things to *Antony*, and to *Lepidus* in like manner, because he would reuenge his fathers death. For seeing the one grow carelesse with age, and the other wasted with luxurious sotsse, there was no other meanes left to redresse all discords in the common-wealth, then to bring her vnder the obedience of one alone, who should gouerne; neuertheless not as King or Dictator, but as Prince. The Empire he had bounded with the Ocean, and other Riuers farre off: the Legions, Prouinces and Nauie, were linked and knit in peace and vnity: iustice was maintained in the cities: the allies intreated with modestie: the citie beautified with sumptuous building: and if any rigorous dealing had been vsed against some few, it was for setling of quietnes in the whole. Contrarily some said, that the loue of his father, the corruption of times, serued him but for a cloake and colour: and that hee had stirred vp the olde souldiers by gifts and bribery, through ambition and desire of rule; that being yet but young and a priuate person, he had gathered a power; corrupted the legions of the Consuls; that he made a shew onely of fauouring *Pompeius* side: but had no sooner gotten by order of the Senators the *faises* or bunch of rods, and the Pretorship; after the death of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, (both) slaine by the enemy, or *Pansas* wound poisoned, & *Hirtius* murdered by the souldiers, or by *Cæsar* the contriuer of the feate) but he seased on both their forces, extorted the Consulship, maugre the Senators: and the power assigned him to subdue *Antony*, he conuerted against the Common-wealth. He banished the Citizens, deuided their lands, and gaue away their goods, which were things by the doers themselues discommended. Indeede the reuenge and pursuing his fathers death vpon *Cassius* and *Brutus* may be tolerated (albeit it had beene conuenient for a publicke benefit to haue laid aside priuate grudges) but he deceiued *Pompey* vnder colour

colour of peace, and *Lepidus* vnder a shadow of friendship. Afterward he tolled on *Antony* with the treatie of Tarentum and Brundusium, and marriage of his sister, which deceitfull alliance he payed with the losse of his life. Doubtlesse a peace ensued this, but a bloudie one, as may witnes the death of *Lollius* and *Varus*, and in *Rome* it selfe, of *Varro*, *Egnatius* and *Iulius*. Neither did they forbeare to discourse of his domesticall affaires: as that he tooke *Neroes* wife from him, & asked the opinion of the Pontife in a scosse, whether there might be a lawfull mariage betwixt them, she being with childe by her other husband, but not yet deliuered. They forgat not *L. Atedius*, and *Vedius Pollios* riot and lasciuiousnes. Finally, that *Liuia* was an intollerable and burdensome mother to the common-wealth, and to the house of the *Cæsars* a dangerous stepdame. There was no honour left for the gods, seeing hee would himselfe by the Priests and Flamines be worshipped in the temples, with all the ornaments belonging to the gods. Neither was *Tiberius* chosen successor to the State for loue of himselfe, or care of the Common-wealth, but deeply insseeing into his lofty and bloudy disposition, hee would by being so vnequally compared with so outragious a mate, win glory afterward to himselfe. And although *Augustus* had not many yeeres before vttered honorable speeches in *Tiberius* behalfe before the Lords of the Senate, when he sued to make him once againe Tribune: yet hee interlaced some things among, touching his attire and behauiour, which in the excusing of him, seemed to turne to his disgrace and reproch.

IIII. Tiberius *dissembling colour in refusing the Empire*; Augustus *iudgement of three which were desirous or woorthie of the Empire.*

Aug. 11.

Augustus funerals being ended according to the vsuall manner; a temple and religious ceremonies were instituted in honour of him: from that time forward all suites and requests were made to *Tiberius*, who discoursing diuersly of the greatnesse of the Empire, and in modest termes of his owne insufficiency, thought *Augustus* wisedome onely capable of so weighty a charge, that himselfe being assumed by *Augustus*, as an associate and partner in the state, had by good proofe learned, how hard a matter, and how subiect vnto fortunes change, rule and soueraignty was. And seeing the citie was replenished with so many famous and woorthy personages, better it were and more ease, that many, ioyning their studies and cares together, should vndertake the charge, then cast al vpon one mans shoulders. This speech carried greater maiesty than truth: for *Tiberius* either by nature, or by custom, yea euen in those things which he would haue knowen, spake alwaies darkly and doubtfully; but then of set purpose endeuouring to hide his drifts, wrapped himselfe more than euer, in a darke cloud of vncertaintie and ambiguity. But the Lords of the Senate fearing all one thing (which was least some perill might ensue, if he should doubt that they perceiued his dissimulation) began to lament; complaine; offer vp vowes; and lift vp their hands to the gods; to *Augustus* image, & to his owne knees; vntill he commanded the booke of remembrances to bee brought foorth and read. That booke contained the wealth of the publike treasure; how many citizens and allies were in armes; what strength there was by sea; how many kingdoms, prouinces, and countries yeelded obedience to the empire, what tribute was leuied; what customes; what necessary charges issued out; what gifts; and all written with *Augustus* owne hand. Withall he gaue a politike instruction (yet whether for feare or enuy vncertaine) how to restraine the empire within bounds and limits.

limits. Whileſt theſe things were a handeling, and the Senators in moſt low and humble maner intreating, that he would accept the charge: *Tiberius* letting ſlip a word by chaunce, that as he was vnable to take charge of the whole; ſo he would vndertake the protection of any one part they ſhould aſſigne him. *Aſinius Gallus* asked him, What part, *Cæſar*, wouldeſt thou haue committed to thy charge? Who being ſtroken into a maze with this vnlooked for demand, ſtood mute a while: then gathering his ſpirits to him, anſwered; That it ill beſitted his modeſty, to chooſe or refuſe any one part of that, from all which he deſired to be excuſed. *Gallus* replied (for by his countenance he coniectured he was offended) that he did not therefore demand that queſtion, as though he would ſeuer that, which was inſeparable; but by his owne confeſſion conuict him, that the Common-wealth was but one body, and therefore to be gouerned by ones onely wiſedome. And continuing his ſpeech added many things in commendation of *Auguſtus*: and called to remembrance *Tiberius* owne victories, and diuers notable things done for many yeeres in time of peace. But all this could not appeaſe the Princes inueterate hatred againſt him: as though by marrying *Vipſania* daughter to *M. Agrippa*, once wife to *Tiberius*, he had carried too loftie a courage, and higher aſpiring minde, than the priuate calling of a citizen; and fauouring of the heady and fierce humor of *Aſinius Pollio* his father. After that *L. Aruntius* vſing ſpeeches not vnlike vnto *Pollio*, offended alike. And although he bore *Aruntius* no old grudge, yet becauſe he was wealthy, bold, learned, and in reputation with all men, he had him in iealouſie. When *Auguſtus* drew towards his later end, diſcourſing who were likeſt to poſſeſſe the place after his death; who would refuſe it although they ſhould bee choſen as meet: who being vnmeet and vnable, yet would deſire it: who could diſcharge it, and would vndertake it: ſaid that *M. Lepidus* was for his ſufficiency able, but would refuſe; *Gallus Aſinius* greedy to lay holde on it, but was inſufficient: *L. Aruntius* was not vnworthy, and if occaſion were giuen would venture for it. All men agree that the two firſt were ſo named, but for *Aruntius* ſome put *Cn. Piſo*; & howſoeuer it was, all fauing *Lepidus*, through *Tiberius* practiſe, for ſundry pretended crimes were made away. *L. Haterius* likewiſe, and *Mam'rcius Scaurus* troubled his iealous head: the one by ſaying, How long *Cæſar* wilt thou ſuffer the commõ-wealth to want a head? The other becauſe he hoped that the petitions of the Senators ſhould take effect, ſeeing he did not as hee might, withſtand the relation of the Conſuls by being Tribune. He inueied ſharply, and that incontinently againſt *Haterius*, but let go *Scaurus* without any word: although he were more implacably offended with him then the other. And being wearied with the clamors of all in generall, and importunity of ſome in particular, by little and little yeelded vnto their requeſts: not ſo much becauſe he would confeſſe, he tooke the charge of the Empire on him; as to make an end of refuſing, or being any more entreated. Certaine it is, that as *Haterius* went to the palace tõ craue pardon of *Tiberius*; he narrowly eſcaped from being ſlaine of the ſouldiers: becauſe that caſting himſelfe at his knees as hee was walking; either by chance; or happily hindered by *Haterius*, the Emperor fell: yet that danger did nothing mittigate his wrath: vntill *Haterius* making entreatie to *Auguſta*, by her earneſt ſuite was protected. Exceeding great flatterie was vſed towards him by the Senators, ſome being of opinion that he ſhould bee called the foundres of the common-wealth, ſome the mother: and many that beſides the name of *Cæſar*, the ſonne of *Iulia* ſhould be added. But *Tiberius* anſwered, that titles of honor ought to be moderately giuen vnto women: and that he would vſe the ſame moderation in ſuch, as ſhould be beſtowed on himſelfe. This he did vpon enuy and

iealouſie:

iealousie: and therefore thinking hir greatnes to be his owne abasement, would not suffer hir to haue a sergeant before hir, or an altar to be dedicated in memory of hir adoption, nor any such like honour. He entreated neuertheless that proconsularie authority might be giuen *Germanicus Cæsar*, which was sent him by Ambassadors, with commandement to comfort him for the death of *Augustus*. The reason why the like was not demanded in fauour of *Drusus*, was because hee was there present and Consull elect. And as *Augustus* had ordained before, he did nominate twelue competitors, for the Pretorship, and bound it with an oath he would not passe that
cap. 15. number, although the Senators exhorted that they might be increased. That was the first time that the election of Magistrates was taken from the people, and transferred to the Lords of the Senate. For although vntill that day all matters were swaied as best liked the Prince: yet some things were left to the fauour and voices of the Tribes. Neither did the people but with a vaine rumour complaine, that their right was taken from them; and the Senators seeing themselues deliuered of many bribes and vnseemly suites, were well contented to accept the authoritie: *Tiberius* so moderating the matter, that he commended onely foure competitors, which should be elected without suit or feare of repulse. The Tribunes of the people made request that it might be lawfull for them to set foorth plaies at their owne costs, and record them in the Calendar of the Citie, and call them Augustales, by the name of *Augustus*. The playes were granted: but the costs and expenses were to rise out of the publicke Treasury: and that it should be lawfull for them to vse the triumphal robe in the race, but not be carried in a Chariot. Not long after, the annual cebration of these Playes, was cast vpon the Pretor, which was iudge between the citizen and the forrener.

V. *A rebellion in Pannony, stirred vp by* Percennius.

cap. 16 THis was the estate of the citie affaires, when the legions of Pannony mutined: for no new occasions, but only because the change of the Prince gaue licence of hurlyburly, and hope of gaine by ciuill warres. These were three legions of the sommer camps committed to *Iunius Blæsus* charge, who aduertised of the death of *Augustus*; and *Tiberius* entring to the gouernement (in regard of the vacation which then hapned, or ioy conceiued) neglected the accustomed care of his dutie. Hereupon the souldiers began to grow licentious and quarrelsome, and gaue eare to the most dissolute and disordered: and in fine hunted after riot and ease; set nought by all militarie discipline, and refused trauell and labour. There was one *Percennius* in the garrisons, who had been sometimes a ringleader of factious companions on Stages, and Theaters; afterward a common souldier; an impudent and saucy prater; well practised in disturbing assemblies: to shew fauour vnto such actors as he fauoured. This *Percennius* after the better sort were gone to their lodgings, by little and little in secret conuenticles in the night, or in the shutting of the euening, gathered together, and stirred vp the vnexpertest of the souldiers, and such as were most doubtfull what entertainment they should expect after the death of *Augustus*. And when he had gathered about him of the most licentious a sufficient rabble, and readiest instruments of sedition, in manner of an Oration he began to
cap. 17 « question with them thus. Why they would like bondslaues bee subiect to a small « number of Centurions, and a smaller of Tribunes? when durst they seeke a redresse, « if they would not now present themselues to the Prince with intreaty or the sword;

whilest

whileſt he is new, and not fully ſetled in the ſtate? they had through cowardlineſſe held their tongue many yeeres, ſome thirtie, ſome fortie in pay, ouergrowen with age, and many their limmes loſt in ſeruice. And after they were licenſed to depart, yet they were not at an end of ſeruice; but deteined vnder enſignes, indure as great toyle as before vnder a new name. And if any eſcaped ſo many hazards aliue, they were drawne into ſundry countries, where vnder a colour of ſome lands, either mooriſh bogs, or barren mountanous crags were alotted to their ſhare. Beſides, ſeruice was painefull in it ſelfe and vnprofitable; their liues and bodies valued but at ten aſſes * a day: hauing no better allowance to furniſh themſelues with weapons, apparell, and tents; and redeeme themſelues from the cruell vſage of the Centurions; pay fees of vacations from ſeruile miniſteries: yet their ſtripes, wounds, hard winters, ſcorching ſommers, bloudy battels, and fruitles peace had no end: and hope of redreſſe there was none, vnleſſe certaine lawes were ſet downe for ſuch as enter into ſeruice; as that euery ones pay ſhould bee bettered to a denier * a day; and none bound to ſerue aboue ſixteene yeeres; that from that time forward, they ſhould not be deteined vnder enſignes, but receiue in the ſame campe they ſerued, their recompence in readie coyne. What? did the Pretorian bands, which receiued two deniers * a day, and at the end of ſixteene yeeres were ſent to their houſes, oppoſe themſelues to greater dangers then they? yet he did not ſpeake this to depraue or diminiſh the credit of the citie-gard, but becauſe they ſhould conſider what a hard part they were offered; yet he for his owne part being lodged among ſauage and barbarous people, did from his cabine ſee the enemie euerie houre. The baſer ſort came murmuring about him, and ſtirred vp others with diuers encouragements: ſome reprochfully ſhewing the wales of their ſtripes; ſome their gray haires; ſome their ragged torne coates; ſome their naked bodies. At laſt they grew into ſuch a fury and rage, that they purpoſed of three legions ſhuffled together to make one: but they changed that deuiſe very quickly, euery one through emulation coueting that honour for his owne legion: and pitched the three ſtandarts and enſignes together: withall they threw vp mounds of turfes, and placed on it a Tribunall, to the end the ſeate might be more conſpicuous. As they haſtned to finiſh the worke, *Bleſus* came in among them, rebuking ſome, and hindering now one, now an other, and crying alowe, In my bloud rather imbrue your hands; for it is a leſſer offence to ſlay the Lieutenant, then fall from the obedience of the Emperour. I will either with my life keepe the legion in faithfull allegeance; or being ſlaine by you, haſten your repentance. Neuertheleſſe they held on their worke vntill they had brought it breaſt high; when at laſt being ouercome with his importunacie, they gaue ouer their enterpriſe: then *Bleſus* did in good and eloquent manner ſhew vnto them, that it was not conuenient that ſouldiers petitions ſhould be caried to the Emperour by mutinie and rebellion. Neither did the old ſouldiers vnder Emperours in times paſt, nor yet they themſelues demaund of *Auguſtus* ſuch vnlawfull and new requeſts; and that in an vnſeaſonable time: the new Prince was burdened with cares in the beginning of his Empire. Notwithſtanding, if their purpoſe was to obtaine that in a time of peace, which being conquerors in ciuill warres, they neuer attempted, yet why doe they contraine to the dutie of allegeance, and order of ſeruice, vſe force? they ſhould rather depute ſome Embaſſadour to *Cæſar*, with publike commiſſion, to declare their requeſts. They all cryed immediately, that *Bleſus* ſonne a Tribune might vndertake the Embaſſie, and intreate that all ſuch as had ſerued ſixteene yeeres, ſhould be diſmiſſed and ſent home: which being granted, then they would enioyne him the reſt of his charge. The yong man being departed with this meſſage,

* 7 pence ob.

* 2 pence, comming to denarius at 10. aſſes.

* 1 ob. 3 pence.

message, they surceased their rebellion. But the souldiers grew proud that the Lieutenants sonne vndertooke to plead the common cause; as being an euident token that they had wrung out that by force, which by modest demeanour they should neuer haue obtained.

VI. *The rebellion continueth: a practise of* Vibulenus *against* Blæsus.

cap. 20 IN the meane season, certaine bands of souldiers sent to Nauportum before the rebellion began, to see the waies cleere, the bridges safe, & other conueniences for the warre: vnderstanding of the mutinie growen in the campe, snatched vp their ensignes; & sacking villages adioining, & Nauport it selfe, which might haue passed for a reasonable free town; iniuried & reuiled the Centurions which went about to bridle them; first with scoffes & reprochfull termes; then with blowes & stripes. But they had an especiall hart-burning against *Ausidienus Rufus*, the campe-master; whom they pulled out of his chariot, and loaded with a fardle of stuffe, & made him march formost of all the company: now and then asking him in a mockery, whether he bare so great a burden willingly or not; or whether so long a iourney seemed not tedious vnto him? This *Rufus* had long beene a common souldier; then a Centurion; then the Camp-master: and sought to renew the ancient rigor of seruice: and being himselfe hardned to beare any labor & trauel, was so much the more cruell, because cap. 21 himselfe had endured the like. These companies ioyning with the other legions, began to rebell a fresh; and straggling some one way, some another; destroy and waste all about them. *Blæsus* to terrifie the rest, commanded some few, & especially such as had the greatest pillage, to be apprehended, whipt and cast into prison; for euen then the Centurions, and the better sort of the souldiers were obedient to the Lieutenant. But the prisoners drew backe, and resisted such as led them, catched holde and embraced the knees of the standers by; calling euery man by his name, or by the name of the band he serued vnder, or cohort, or legion; crying that they should drinke all of the same cup: withall, they heaped iniurie vpon iniurie against the Lieutenant: called to witnesse the heauens and the gods; and left nothing vndone or vnsaid, which might serue to stirre hatred, mooue compassion, breed feare, or prouoke anger. The souldiers clustered all together, brake open the prisons, set at libertie the prisoners, and shuffled in among themselues, the fugitiues and condem-cap. 22 ned of capitall crimes. This kindled the rage of the souldier: and more ringleaders ioyned with them. Among whom one *Vibulenus* a common souldier, lifted on the shoulders of the standers by, before *Blæsus* Tribunall, began to speake vnto the dis-
"ordered and attentiue souldiers in this maner. You haue giuen light and life to these
"innocent and miserable wretches; but when will you restore life to my brother;
"and my brother to mee? who being sent vnto you from the Germane campe, to
"entreat of the common profit and good, was this last night murdered by his
"Fencers, which he hath alwaies readie armed to cut the souldiers throates: answer
"*Blæsus*, where hast thou throwne his bodie? for the enemies themselues enuie not
"that I should burie him? And when I shall haue filled my griefe with kissing, and
"weeping ouer him, commaund me to be murdered also: so as these our companions
"bury him & me; slaine for no other offence, but because he furthered the common
cap. 23 "good and profit of the Legions. He inflamed his words with teares, beating himselfe on the face & brest: then thrusting them from him on whose shoulders he was caried, and throwing himselfe at euery mans feete, droue them all into such amaze,

and

and stirred such hatred, that part of the souldiers laid hands on *Blesus* Fencers, and bound them; part on the residue of his familie; and part ran hither and thither, to seeke for *Vibulenus* brothers body. And if it had not appeared incontinently, that there was no such body found; if his slaues by torture had not denied any such pretended murder to haue been committed; and further, that *Vibulenus* neuer had any such brother: the souldiers would hardly haue spared the Lieutenants life. Neuertheless, they thrust out the Tribune and Camp-master, spoiled & robbed such as fled, slew *Lucilius* a Centurion, whom the souldiers by a nickname called *Cedo alterum*, giue me another, because that when he had broken vpon a souldiers shoulders his vine wand, his manner was to call alowde, giue mee another; and when that was broken, another. The rest were saued by hiding themselues; only *Iulius Clemens* they kept aliue, because that hauing a ready and quicke wit, they thought him a meete man to be employed as an Embassador in the souldiers behalfe. Besides this, the eight and the fifteenth legions, were now ready to go together by the eares, because the eight legion demanded *Serpicus* a Centurion to death, whom the fifteenth defended: the ninth legion had not interposed her selfe, first by way of intreaty: then menacing such as made light of them.

VII Drusus *is sent to appease the rebellion in Pannony: and the ringleaders punished.*

WHen *Tiberius* had intelligence of these mutinies although he were close, and a great dissembler of bad tidings; resolued to send his sonne *Drusus* vnto these legions, with certaine of the Principallest Gentlemen of the citie, and two Pretorian bands without any limited commission, but to determine there, as occasion best required. The bands were of extraordinarie choise men, and stronger then any other were vsed to be, and a great part of his gard of horsemen, and the ablest Germans of his owne gard. *Aelius Seianus* also Captaine of the gard, was sent with him, once an associate and companion to *Strabo* his father, and a man highly in credit with *Tiberius*; as well to be a guide to the yong Prince, as to shew vnto others the danger or reward of ill or well doing. When *Drusus* was come neere vnto them, the legions met him as it were to doe their dutie; but not as the manner was, cheerefully with glittering ensignes, but in base and abiect habit; and in countenance although pretending sadnesse, yet indeed were neuer wilfull obstinacie. After hee was entred the trench of the camp, they set a strong gard at the gates, commanded some troupes to attend at certaine places of the camp, and the rest came, and enuironed the Tribunall in huge multitudes. *Drusus* stood vp, and with his hand commanded silence to bee made. When the souldiers beheld what a multitude they were, they made a dreadfull noise with hideous tunes; then anon turning their eies towards *Cæsar* they quaked for feare: after that, they made a confused murmuring and buzzing; then a cruell outcry; and on a suddaine all was hushe againe; which bred, as men were diuerslie affected, either a feare in themselues, or in others. At last the tumult ceasing, he read his fathers letters, which contained what a speciall care he had euer those most valarous legions, with whome he had sustained many battels; and that as soone as his mind could be at rest, and the mourning for his father past, he would deale with the Lords of the Senate concerning their demands: that in the meane space hee had sent his sonne which should graunt without delay, as much as for the present could conueniently be yeelded: and that the rest should be referred to the consideration of the Senate, whom it was conuenient

cap. 24

cap. 25

cap. 26. nenient should iudge as well what deserued fauour, as rigor and seuerity. They answered all in generall, that *Clemens* the Centurion had charge to propound their demands: he began with licence to depart after sixteene yeeres, with recompence after the end of their seruice: and that their wages might be a denarius a day; that the old souldiers should not bee constrained to continue vnder ensignes. But when *Drusus* began to pretend, that these were fit matters to be referred to the Lords of the Senate, and his fathers consideration; they cut of his speech with clamors, expostulating: That seeing he had no authority to augment their pay; not ease them of their labor; nor benefit them any way; to what purpose was he come thither? But to beat and put them to death, euery man had authority. It was an old trick of *Tiberius* to frustrate the legions desires, with the name of *Augustus*: and *Drusus* doth now put the same in practise. Shall they neuer haue any sent them, but such as are vnder the power of another? It was strange, that the Emperour should referre only that to the knowledge of the Senate, which concerned the souldiers commoditie. It were as requisite the Senators aduise should be knowne, when a souldier should be punished, or brought to fight in battell. Did it stand with reason, there should be masters appointed, to dispose of their rewards and recompence; and that without any iudge their punishments should be arbitrary? At last they goe from the Tribunall, and threaten with their fists those they met, of the gard, or *Cæsars* friends and familiars, as desirous to picke quarrels, and raise sedition. But they bare a speciall grudge vnto *Cn. Lentulus*, because that he, for his yeares, and experience in martiall feates, in greater reputation then the rest, was thought to animate *Drusus* against the souldiers, and first of all reiect their licentious demaunds. Whom not long after (foreseing the danger he was in) going with *Cæsar* to the standing camp, they enuironed him, asking whether he went? towards the Emperour, or towards the Senate? whether there hee would be also against the legions profit? And withall comming fierely vpon him, and throwing stones at him, all embrued in bloud, and cap. 28. certaine of present death, yet was succoured by such as came with *Cæsar*. That night which menaced great disorder, and outragious behauiour, was quieted by a meere chance. For the Skie being cleere and bright, yet the Moone seemed to be eclipsed on a sudden; which the souldiers, being ignorant of the cause, construed as a presage of present ill lucke: and comparing their attempts, to the eclipse; were of opinion that their successe should be prosperous, if the goddesse should become cleere and bright againe. Wherepon they began with Trumpets, Cornets, and other brazen instruments, to make a lowd noise, now ioyfull, now sad, as the Moone appeared either cleere or darke. But when the blacke clowdes, rising, tooke from them the sight of the Moone, supposing she had been hidden in darknes, and vtterly lost her light: as troubled minds fall easily into superstition, they began to complaine and lament, that, that pretended, their labour should haue no end; and that the gods turned their faces from their wickednesse. *Cæsar* thinking it expedient to make his profit of their feare; and gouerne that by wisedome, which fortune had offered: commaunded the Pauillions to be viewed; *Clemens* the Centurion to bee called, and such others, as for their laudable vertues were best liked of the common sort: who thrusting themselues into the watch, the wards, and gate-keepers, increased sometimes their feare, and sometime promised hope, saying: How long shall "we besiege the Emperors sonne? what shall be the end of our reuolt? shall wee "sweare alleageance to *Percennius* and *Vibulenus*? shall we looke for our pay at their "hands? shall they reward the old souldiers with lands? to be briefe, shall they take "vpon them the gouernement of the Romane Empire, in *Neroes* and *Drusus* stead?

were

were it not better that as we were the laſt which offended; ſo we ſhould be the firſt to repent? Demaunds in common are ſlowly graunted: a priuat fauour is no ſooner deſerued, then obtained. Theſe ſpeeches troubled their mindes, and bred a miſtruſt among themſelues: the yoong ſouldiers forſooke the old: and one legion parted from another. By little and little they returned to their allegeance; went from the gates which before they poſſeſſed: carried to their vſuall places the enſignes, which in the beginning of their rebellion they had pitched together. *Druſus* the next morning calling an aſſemblie, although he were no great Orator; yet the worthineſſe of his birth ſupplying that want, he condemned their former, and commended their preſent behauior. Aſſured them that he was not to be ouercome with feare and threatning: but if he perceiued in them a modeſt cariage, intreatie of pardon with ſubmiſſion; he would write vnto his father, that forgetting that which was paſt, he would giue eare to the legions ſuites. At their intreaty *Blæſus*, and *L. Apronius*, a Gentleman of Rome, and one of *Druſus* company, and *Iuſtus Catenius* a chiefe Centurion, were ſent againe to *Tiberius*. This done, *Druſus* counſellers diſagreed in opinions: ſome holding it expedient, that expecting the Embaſſadors returne; the ſouldiers in the meane ſeaſon ſhould be gently intreated: ſome that ſharpe remedies ought to be vſed: affirming that there was no meane in the common people; and vnleſſe they were kept in awe, they would keepe others vnder. That they might eaſily be dealt withall whileſt they ſtood in feare; and therefore it was needfull that they ſhould be brideled by their Generalls authoritie: the ring-leaders of the reuolt executed, whileſt yet the ſuperſtition held them in aſtoniſhment. Hereupon *Druſus* being naturally of a rough diſpoſition, cauſed *Percennius* and *Vibulenus* to be put to death. Some ſay they were murdered in the Gouernors tent; others that their bodies were throwne out of the rampier to the terror of the reſt. After this, a ſearch was made for the principall Captaines of the conſpiracie: whereof ſome roming about the camp, were ſlaine by the gard: others the ſouldiers themſelues deliuered, as a teſtimonie of their allegeance, into *Druſus* hands. But there did nothing more augment the ſouldiers diſtreſſed caſe, then an vntimely winter, continuall and cruell raines; that they could neither put foote out of their tents; nor meete together: nor hardly keepe vp their ſtandarts, through boiſterous windes, and ſtormie ſhowers, toſſing them hither and thither. They were not yet rid of the feare, the heauens ire ſtroke them into; imagining that the ſtarres grew not darke in vaine againſt their wickedneſſe; and that the tempeſts fell vpon them for their lewde and villanous demeanor. There was no comfort left, but to abandon thoſe vnlucky, and diſloyall camps; and being purged of their offence by ſome propitiatorie ſacrifice, each legion to repaire to his ſtanding campe. The eight legion departed firſt, then the fifteenth. The ninth cried that they ought to tarrie for *Tiberius* anſwere: but being diſcomfited by the others departure, preuenting imminent neceſſitie, voluntarily went away. *Druſus* not expecting the Embaſſadors returne, ſeeing all quiet for the preſent, went backe to Rome.

cap. 29.

cap. 30

VIII. *A mutinie in Gallia, and many Centurions ſlaine:* Germanicus *loyaltie to Tiberius.*

ALmoſt at the ſame time, and for the ſame cauſes, the legions of Germanie rebelled: ſo much the more violently, by how much the more in number: with great hope that *Germanicus Cæſar* could neuer endure to be commaunded by another: & that by following the humor of the legions, he would by maine ſtrength

cap. 31

be master of all. There lay by the riuer of Rhene two armies: the one called the higher, vnder the Lieutenant *C. Silius*: the other the lower, vnder *A. Caecina*. But the Lord Generall ouer them all, was *Germanicus*, then greatly busied in leuying of subsidies and taxations in Gallia. Those which *Silius* commanded, wauering and irresolute, looked into the successe of others reuolt: but the lower armie grew into a rage and furie: the conspiracie beginning by the one and twentith and fift legions, which drew also to their side the first and the twelfth: all of them being in the same sommer campes, in the confines of Vbium, idle, or in very easie seruice. Aduertisements being come of *Augustus* death, a multitude of citie-borne bondmen, and after made free, newly mustered to be souldiers, giuen to licentiousnes, & impatient of labour: began to fill the mindes of the ruder sort, with these speeches. That the time was now come, that the old souldier might demand a shorter time of seruice; the new greater pay; and all in generall an end of their miseries: and opportunitie giuen to reuenge the crueltie of the Centurions. This was not spoken by one alone, as when *Percennius* incited the legions of Pannonie; nor vnto dastards looking that men of better courage than they should begin: but many seditious mouthes and voices, were at once heard to say; that the whole Romane state was in their hands; that by their victories it was growen great: and that of them the Emperors tooke their surname. The Lieutenant, the rage of the multitude hauing taken away his constancie, durst not resist them: when on the sudden like frantike men, with their swords drawen (a very old subiect of quarrell and hatred in souldiers, and a beginning of crueltie) they fell on the Centurions; threw them along; laide them on with stripes; threescore to one, to make euen number with the Centurions. And hauing thus mangled and torne them, and slaine some, they threw them out of the trench, or into the riuer of Rhene. Among others *Septimius* fled to the Tribunall, and cast himselfe at *Caecinaes* feete: but was with such importunacie demanded, that he could not but deliuer him to the butcherie. *Cassius Charea* (famous afterward to posteritie for murdering *C. Caesar*) then a yoong man, but of a stout and braue courage, made way with his sword, through such, as armed, went about to hinder his passage. After that neither Tribune, nor campe-maister was obeied; the watch and warde, and whatsoeuer the present time required, was ordered, and distributed among themselues. Those which deepely looked into the disposition of souldiers; iudged it a strong argument of a great and implacable reuolt, that they were not scattered and diuided; nor any attempt giuen by a few; but grew insolent altogether: were quiet at once: with such a moderation and constancie, that thou wouldest haue thought they had been gouerned by one head. In the meane season newes was brought to *Germanicus* (who as I haue said, was leuying of subsidies and tributes in Gallia) that *Augustus* was departed. *Germanicus* had married *Augustus* niece *Agrippina*, and had by hir many children, and was *Drusus*, *Tiberius* brothers sonne, & nephew to *Augusta*: but greatly perplexed, by reason of his vncles and grandmothers secret hatred towards him; so much the more deepe and deadly, because vniust. This proceeded of the good wil and remembrance which the people of Rome had of *Drusus*: all of them certainly beleeuing, that if he had gotten the soueraigntie, he would haue set libertie on foote againe: and hoping the like of *Germanicus*, bare him the like affection. This yoong Prince was of a milde disposition, very courteous, nothing at all resembling *Tiberius* in countenance, or couert and arrogant speech. Besides this, womens quarrels were mingled among: *Liuia* (as is the maner of all stepdames) exasperating *Tiberius* against *Agrippina*: a woman indeede easily mooued: but through her chastitie, and loue toward her husband, though otherwise

cap. 32.

cap. 33.

wiſe of an inuincible ſtomacke, yet turned all to the beſt. But the neerer *Germanicus* was to the higheſt hope, the more he labored to ſettle *Tiberius* in the ſtate: compelling the Sequans adioining, and the cities of Belgia to ſweare their allegeance vnto him. Then vnderſtanding of the hurly burly of the legions, departing in all ſpeede, met the ſouldiers out of their campe, hanging downe the head; repenting them of that they had done. He was no ſooner within the trench, but there was heard a confuſe lamentation and complaint among them: ſome taking him by the hand as it were to kiſſe it, thruſt his fingers into their mouthes; that he might feele they were toothleſſe: others ſhewed their crooked bodies with age: Who perceiuing them confuſely ſhuffled together, commanded to ſeparate themſelues into companies, the eaſier to heare his anſwere: and beare their enſignes before them; the better to diſcerne their bands: wherein they obeied ſlowly enough. *Germanicus* beginning with the reuerence of *Auguſtus*, fell by litle and litle into the praiſe of the victories and triumphes, and eſpecially the famous exploits *Tiberius* had done in Germany with thoſe legions. Then extolled the vnity of Italie; the loyalty of Gallia; and how all other parts of the empire were quiet. The ſouldiers gaue eare vnto all this with ſilence, or with a ſmall murmuring: but as ſoone as he began to touch their mutinies; expoſtulating; What was become of the modeſt behauiour of ſouldiers? where was the honor of ancient diſcipline? whither they had driuen their Tribunes and Centurions? they all vnclothed themſelues, ſhewed him their wounds, ſcars, and marks of their ſtripes: then with a confuſe note, how deerly they bought their eaſe and vacations; found fault with their ſmall pay; the intolerable paines they were put to in working: by name condemning the rampiers, trenches, ſeeking of ſtower, carrying of ſtones & timber, and all other prouiſions, either neceſſary in the campe; or to keepe the ſouldiers from idlenes. But the greateſt clamors were heard to proceed from the old ſouldiers; whereof ſome hauing ſpent thirty yeeres in ſeruice, ſome more; beſought him to prouide for ſuch ouer wearied poore ſoldiers, and not ſuffer them to end the reſt of their daies, in miſerie and paine: but deliuered of ſuch labor and toiles, that they might at length enioy repoſe without penurie. Some demanded the legacie bequeathed by *Auguſtus* will, & wiſhed *Germanicus* all good fortune; offering themſelues to his deuotion if he would take vpon him the empire: Whereat, as though he had beene diſtained with ſome villanie; hee leapt from the Tribunall: and as he wold haue departed: the ſouldiers turned their weapons towards him in menacing wiſe: vnleſſe he would go backe againe. But crying that he would rather die, than falſifie his faith: drew his ſword from his ſide; bent the point of it towards his breſt, readie to haue thruſt it in; if ſome which were neere him by catching hold of his hand, had not withheld him by maine ſtrength. That part of the throng which was fartheſt behinde, and which is ſcarſe credible, ſome other getting neerer & neerer, encouraged him to ſtrike boldly; and one called *Calusidius* offred him his naked ſword; ſaying that it was better pointed than his. But that euen to the moſt furious, was thought a barbarous and ſauage part, and an euil preſident. *Cæſars* friends had time to conduct him to his pauilion: there they conſulted what was beſt to be done; becauſe newes came, that the ſouldiers were in hand to diſpatch embaſſadours to the higher army, to draw them to the ſame attempt: and that they had determined to ſack Colen: and hauing imbrued their hands with that pray, run on to pill and waſte Gallia.

cap 34.

cap 35.

cap 36

IX. *Order is taken against the disorder, by yeelding to the souldiers requests: Germanicus sendeth away his wife and children.*

Germanicus feared so much the more, because hee knew the enemy would not faile to inuade, as soone as he vnderstood of the discord of the Romans, and that the riuers side was vndefended. On the other side, if the allies and confederates should arme themselues against the legions, it was to begin a new ciuill war. And that it was to the state dangerous alike; to vse either seuerity or liberalitie: and no lesse, to grant the souldier all thing or nothing. The matter being thus debated on both sides, it was thought good, that letters should be written in the princes name, containing; that such as had serued twenty yeeres should bee fully dismissed; and such as sixteene, discharged also; with condition onely to remaine vnder ensignes, and repulse the enemy. That their legacies left them by *Augustus*, should be
cap. 37. doubled and paied. The souldier perceiued that those were sleights to win time; and therefore vrged a present execution: licence of departure was presently yeelded by the Tribunes; but paiment deferred. The fift, and one and twentieth legion, refused to go to any standing campe; vntill they had their pay in the same camps they serued in. Which they receiued of such prouision, as *Cæsar* could either make by his friends, or had to serue his owne turne. *Cæcina* the Lieutenant brought backe to Vbium, the first, & the twentieth legion, in base & disorderly aray: carying betweene the ensignes and standarts, masses of money, extorted from the Emperors treasure. *Germanicus* went to the vpper armie, and there with out delay, tooke the oath of allegeance, of the second, thirteen, and sixteenth legion; the fourteenth yet resting
cap. 38. doubtfull what were best. But they had all their discharge and money offered them vnasked. At the same time, certaine vexiliarie souldiers which continued vnder ensignes, and were placed for a guard to the countrey, of two legions which before were at iarre began a tumult in the country of the Chauceans: which was quickly suppressed by putting to death two of his souldiers. Which *Mennius* the Campmaster commanded rather for example, then right of his office. But the tumult growing hot, *Mennius* fled; and being found out, perceiuing that there was no safetie in lurking, tried what boldnes could auaile: saying; That they bent not their forces against the Camp-master; but against *Germanicus* their Generall, and *Tiberius* the Emperor: perceiuing that those words daunted such as would haue hindered him, snatching vp an ensigne, went to the riuer side; and denouncing him a
cap. 39. fugitiue and traitor which refused to follow; brought them to the winter standing campe, astonied, and not daring to attempt any thing. In the meane season the embassadors sent from the Senate to *Germanicus*, found him at Vbium, at the place called the Altar. Where two legions, the first and the twentieth wintered, with the old souldiers lately dismissed and kept vnder ensignes. The timorous and troubled in conscience, were surprised with a sudden feare, least some were come by commandement of the Senate, to make frustrate all they had wrung out by rebellion. And as the manner of the people is, alwaies falsly to accuse some one or other whom they suspect: so now they laid all the blame, on *Munatius Planeus*; who had beene Consull and chiefe in the Embasie: affirming him to bee the author of that decree. And in the dead of the night, went to *Germanicus*, importunately demanding an ensigne which was in his house: & flocking together brake downe the gates: entered his house; drew *Germanicus* out of his bed; and threatning to kill him, forced him

to

to deliuer the enſigne. Then running vp and down, they met with the embaſſadors, hearing of the deſperate tumult, going to *Germanicus*: the ſouldiers iniuring them, and readie to kill them: and aboue others *Plancus*, who in regard of his dignitie could not flee: hauing no other refuge left in diſtreſſe and danger, then to flie to the campe of the firſt legion: where imbracing the ſtandard and enſignes, found ſafety as in a religious place. And had not *Calpburnius*, the ſtandard bearer, garded him from the furie of the ſoldiers (a thing which ſeldome hapneth, euen among the enemies) an embaſſador of the people of Rome, in the Romans campe, had with his bloud polluted the altars of the gods. Aſſoone as it was day, that the L. Generall, the ſouldier, and the attempts might be knowen; *Germanicus* entered the campe: and cõmanding *Plancus* to be brought to him, placed him in the Tribunall by him. Then ſharpely rebuking their fatall rage, ſtirred vp by the wrath of the gods, and not the ſoldiers will: he openeth vnto them the cauſe of the embaſſadors comming: their priuiledges: bewailing with great eloquence *Plancus* vndeſerued hap; and the diſcredit of the legions. And hauing rather raniſhed then quieted the aſſemblie, ſent away the embaſſadors with a garde of auxiliarie horſemen. During this feare, euery man blamed *Germanicus*, that he went not to the vpper armie, where hee ſhould haue both obedience, and aide againſt the rebels: that his fault had beene great enough, in diſmiſſing the ſouldiers with money in their purſes, and vſing them ſo curteouſly. And if he made no greater reckoning of his owne perſon; yet he had no reaſon to leaue his yoong ſonne, and his wife great with child, as a pray to furious and mad men; breakers of all humane lawes. And that he ſhould preſerue them, at the leaſt wiſe, for their grandfather, and the common wealth. He then weighing long what he were beſt to reſolue: his wife refuſing to forſake him; alleaging, that ſhe was deſcended from *Auguſtus*, and proteſting that ſhe would neuer degenerate from her bloud, whatſoeuer danger might be preſented: at laſt embracing both her and the child, with many teares conſtrained her to depart. Away then paſt this lamentable companie of women; and the Generals wife: fleeing with his little ſonne in her lap, with a heauy troup of her friends wiues about her, lead away with her for company: thoſe which remained behinde, no leſſe ſorrowfull then they. This reſembled not a triumphing *Caſar*, marching out of his campe: but the bewailing and lamentation of a city, conquered and ſackt of the enemy. Which piercing the eares of the ſouldiers: they went out of their cabbines; enquiring what that dolorous tune was: and from whence proceeded that lamentable noiſe? And perceiuing thoſe noble dames to go without any Centurion or ſouldier, to gard them; and their Emperours wife deſtitute of her accuſtomed traine, going towards Treuers, to commit her ſelfe to the mercy of ſtrangers: were ſtroken into ſhame and compaſſion: when they called to minde *Agrippa* her father, *Auguſtus* her grandfather, and *Druſus* her father in lawe: and how thee her ſelfe was for her chaſtity and childe bearing, honored of all: and how ſhe had had a child borne and brought vp in their campe: whom by a militarie name they called *Caligula*: becauſe that to win the fauour of the common ſouldier, he wore the ſame kind of ſtocking or buskin as he did. But nothing did mooue them more, then the hatred of thoſe of Treuers: and therefore began to intreat, and hinder their going: praying her that ſhe would returne and remaine with them. Some ran before *Agrippina*; many turned backe to *Germanicus*: who through the late occaſions, yet full of griefe and anger; vttered to the multitudes about him, this ſpeech as followeth.

cap. 40

cap. 41

X. Germanicus *Oration to the souldiers: the feare the Citie was in.*

cap 42. "NOr my wife, or sonne, are deerer vnto me, then my father and the Common-
" wealth: but him, his owne Maiestie, the Empire, the other armies shall de-
" fend. I doe now remoue my wife and children (which neuertheles I would
" willingly offer vnto death, were it to your glory and honor) from the sight of raging
" mad men: that all your lewd actions be purged with my bloud only; least if you
" should murder *Augustus* nephewes sonne, and *Tiberius* daughter in law, you should
" become guilty of moe hainous crimes: for what haue you not dared to attempt
" these daies past? or what haue you left vnuiolated? By what name shall I call this
" assembly? Shall I call you souldiers, who haue besieged your Emperors sonne euen
" within the trench? or shall I call you citizens, by whom the authority of the Senate
" is so little regarded? You haue broken that law which one enemy obserueth to a-
ca " nother: violated the sacred freedome of Embassadors, and the lawe of Nations.
" *Iulius* of famous memory, represled a sedition in his army with one bare word: cal-
" ling such Quirites, which drew backe contrary to the oath of allegeance. *Augustus*
" of sacred memory, daunted the legions at Actium, with his looke. And as for vs, al-
" though wee be neither of them, yet being extract from them, we thinke it strange
" and vnmeet, that the Spanish or Syrian souldier should contemne vs. Thou the
" first legion, and thou the twentieth, the one hauing receiued ensignes of *Tibe-*
" *rius*, and the other a companion in so many battels, and enriched with so many re-
" compences, doe you thus guerdon your Generall? Is this the message I shall carry
" my father (who receiueth but good tidings from all other Prouinces) that neither
ca " the yong, nor olde souldier, can be satisfied with licence to depart, nor money in
" their purse? And that heere onely, the Centurions are murdered, the Tribunes
" driuen away, the Embassadors shut vp? that the tents and riuers are stained with
cap. 43. " bloud? and that I my selfe, hold my life but at the curtesie of such as hate me? Why
" did you snatch out of my hands, the sword which I meant to thrust through my
" breast, the first day of our meeting? O vnaduised friends: yet hee dealt better and
" more louingly with mee, which offered me his sword; for by that meanes I should
" haue ended my life, before I should haue seene so many outrages in my army. You
" should haue made choise of a Generall, which would haue left my death vnpuni-
" shed; yet haue reuenged the death of *Varo*, and of the three legions. The gods forbid
" that the Belgians, though offering themselues, should carry away the credit and the
" honor of succouring the Romanes, & brideling the Germans. Let thy soule, *Augu-*
cc " *stus* of sacred memory, receiued into heauen, thy image father *Drusus*, and the re-
" membrance of thee, together with these souldiers whom shame and glory do enter
" into, wipe away this blot, and conuert this priuate rancor, to the destruction of the
" enemy. And you in whom I perceiue another countenance and another will, if you
" purpose to restore the Embassadors to the Senate; yeeld dutifull obedience to the
" Emperour; and me, my wife and sonne: withdraw your selues from the contagion
" of the seditious, and go from them which haue beene the authors of this rebellion:
cap 44. " that shall be a sure token of your repentance, and a bond of fidelitie. With these
" speeches the souldiers humbling themselues, confessed all to bee true which was
" vpbraided them: and besought him that he would punish the faulty, and pardon
" those which were seduced, and bring them against the enemy: recall his wife and
" the legions child; and not deliuer him to the Gaules for an hostage. *Germanicus*

excused

excuſed the returne of his wife by the neerenes of her time, and winter; yet that his ſonne ſhould returne againe: and as for other things, that they themſelues ſhould ſee them performed. The ſouldiers then, being better perſwaded, ran from place to place, laid hands on the moſt diſordered perſons, and brought them bound before *C. Cetronius*, Colonel of the firſt legion: who gaue iudgement and puniſhment on euery of them in this maner. The legions called together, ſtood with their ſwords drawne before the Tribunall: and the offender ſhewen by the Tribune out of a high ſeate: and if the ſouldies did cry that he was guilty, hee was immediately throwne downe headlong, and cut in peeces: the ſouldier reioycing in theſe maſſacres, as though himſelfe therby had beene acquited: *Germanicus* did not hinder them at all, ſeeing, that being done without his commandement as well the fact, as the enuie of it, ſhould light vpon their owne necks. The olde ſouldiers following that preſident, were anon after ſent to Rætia, vnder colour of defending the prouince from the inuaſion of the Sweuians: but in deede, to draw them from thoſe garriſons; yet breathing of cruelty, no leſſe by that cruell meanes of redreſſe, then memory of their former outrages. This done, he tooke a ſurney of the Centurions; who being called by the Captaine, told their names, degrees, and countrey, what paies they had receiued, and how many yeeres: what exploits they had done in ſeruice, and with what donatiues rewarded. If the Tribunes and legions approued their valour and integrity, they kept their roomes: if by common conſent, couetouſnes, or cruelty were laied to their charge, they were caſſirde. Things thus ſetled for the preſent, there aroſe immediately, a matter of no leſſer waight then the former, through the headie inſolency of the fift, and one and twentith legion, lodged in winter ſtandings threeſcore miles of, at Vetera. For they firſt led the daunce, and with their owne hands committed the lewdeſt outrages: Nothing terrified with their fellowes puniſhment, continued impenitent, and ſtill harboured anger in their breaſts. Whereupon *Cæſar* gathereth forces, prepareth a Nauie with confederates and allies, to ſend downe the Rhene: purpoſing if they were obſtinate, to try it out in a maine battell. No tidings being all this while brought to Rome of the ſucceſſe in Illyricum: and vnderſtanding of the riſing of the Germane legions; the citie trembling with feare, began to blame *Tiberius*, that counterfeiting a doubtfulnes of taking on him the Empire, mocked the Lords of the Senate, the weake & vnfurniſhed common people, and ſuffered the ſeditious in the meane time to rebell, which by the weake authority of two yong men could not bee ſuppreſſed. That he ſhould therefore haue gone himſelfe in perſon, and oppoſed his imperiall maieſtie againſt them; at whoſe ſight they would preſently haue yeelded, being by long experience skilfull, and carrying with him power to puniſh, or reward. If *Auguſtus* ſtricken in yeares, could make often iourneies into Germanie: ſhould *Tiberius* being of a ſtrong and able bodie, ſit in the Senate, carping the Senators words? Hee had taken good order how to keepe the citie in ſeruitude: and that it was now time to apply ſome medicine to the ſouldiers minde, to induce them to a diſpoſition of peace. Notwithſtanding *Tiberius* ſtanding ſtiffe in his determination, reſolued not to forſake the head of the Empire, and hazard himſelfe and the whole ſtate. Many things troubled his minde: as that the Germane army was the ſtrongeſt: and the Pannonian neere at hand: the one leaning to the ſtrength of the Gaules: the other, lying in the confines of Italie: doubtfull himſelfe which firſt to go to: leaſt the other being poſtpoſed ſhould take it in diſdaine. But his ſonnes, might viſit both, as a thing ſtanding well with imperiall maieſtie, bearing greateſt ſtate fartheſt off. The yoong men might be excuſed if they referred ſome things

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to

to their father: and if they should resist *Germanicus* and *Drusus*, hee should be able to appease or ouerthrowe them. But if they should set light by the Emperor, what remedy could be then looked for? Neuertheles as though hee would depart out of hand, he made choise of his followers, prouided his carriages in a readines, prepared shipping; then excusing himselfe, now with the hardnes of the winter; now with this, now with that: he deceiued first the wise, then the vulgar sort; and the prouinces a very long time.

XL. *The first and the ninth legion kill many of the rebels*; Germanicus *encommeth the Marsians, beateth downe the temple of Tanfana. The death of* Iulia.

BVt *Germanicus*, although hee had an armie in readineſſe to reuenge vpon the rebels: thinking it conuenient neuertheleſſe, to giue them some respite; to see whether they would bee reclaimed by the example of the other legions: sent letters before to aduertise *Cecina*, that he was comming with a power: and that if they would not punish the offenders before his comming, he would without any respect make a generall slaughter of them all. These letters *Cecina* secretly imparted to the standard and ensigne bearers, and the better sort: perswading them to deliuer all in generall from infamy, and themselues from death. For in time of peace each mans cause and merit waighed; but in warre, the guilty and guiltlesse perished alike. They then sounding the minds of those they thought fittest, and finding the greater number of the legionary souldiers to continue dutifull; following the Lieutenants aduice, set downe a time when to cut off the lewdest, and most seditious among them. Then the watch word giuen, they brake into their tents; slue them; none priuie to the cause but such, as were of counsell in the enterprise: neither imagining the beginning, nor the ende of this butchery. The strangest manner of ciuill warre that euer happened was this: for without order of battell; not sallying out of diuers standings; but out of the same beds, in which they had eaten by day, and slept by night: they banded into factions; lanced their darts: outcries were heard; wounds giuen; blood shed; but the cause vnknowen: fortune ruled the reſt, and some honest men were slain among. But it was no sooner knowne against whom this watch was intended, but the worst persons snatched their weapons likewise: no Lieutenant, nor Tribune present to bridle them: but euery man licenced to reuenge his ill, *Germanicus* anon after entring the camp, with many teares calling that a butcherie, and not a medicine, commaunded the bodies to be burnt. The bloudy souldiers thirsted after the enemy, as a satisfaction of his furie; supposing that the ghosts of their companions could by no other meanes be appeased, then by receiuing honorable wounds in their wicked breasts. *Cæsar* followed the souldiers hearte, and building a bridge ouer the riuer, past ouer twelue thousand, drawne out of the legions; sixe and twenty cohorts of allies: and eight wings of such horsemen, as during the mutinie, were of good and modest cariage. The Germans not farre off were iocund: whilest we for the death of *Augustus*, and by ciuill discords, kept holy day. The Romane army marching with speede, past the wood Cæsia; and the bound begun by *Tiberius*; and encamped vpon it: fortifying the front and the backe with a trench, and the sides with loppings of trees. From thence they matched through darke forrests, and consulted of two waies, which was best: the short and vsuall: or the vnbeaten and hardest: and therefore least doubted of the enemy. And hauing made choise of the longest, they hastened

haſtened other things the more. For the ſcoutes had brought word, that the Germans would ſpend that night in ſolemne feaſting and banquetting. *Cecina* had charge to lead the way with a Cohort lightly armed, and make plaine the paſſage of the wood; whom the legions immediately followed. The ſtarre-light helped them, till they came to the villages of the *Marſies*: whom they beſet round; being yet either a bed, or at table; without feare, and no watch ſet. So farre had they left all things at randon; nothing miſdoubting warre; nor being drunke, greatly caring for peace. *Cæſar* diuided the legions greedy of pillage to waſt the more ground, into foure pointed battels; and deſtroyed with fire and ſword, fiftie miles; neither age nor ſexe, mouing him to pitie; profane and ſecret places, and the temple called Tanfana, a place of great fame among thoſe people, he battered to the ground: the Romanes receiuing no wound, but ſlaying the enemy halfe a ſleepe; or vnarmed, and ſtragling without order or array. That ſlaughter ſtirred vp the Bructeri, Tubantes, and the Vſipetes; who beſet the wood, that way the army ſhould returne. Whereof the Captaine being aduertiſed, he marſhalled his men in order at once, both to march and fight. Part of the horſemen with auxiliary cohorts led the way: after them followed the firſt legion: the carriages incloſed in the middeſt, had on the left ſide the 21. legion; on the right, the fift: in the rereward, the twentith; and after them the reſt of the confederates. But the enemy ſtirred not whileſt the Romane camp marched through the wood: then lightly skirmiſhing with the flanks and the foremen; ſet amaine on the hindmoſt: who being but ſlenderly appointed, and amazed with the thicke troups of Germans, were ready to ſhrinke: had not *Cæſar* ſtepped to the twentith legion; crying aloud, that now was the time to blot out the infamies of their former conſpiracies; and ſhew valour; and make haſte to turne their former fault into glory and honor. This ſpeech ſo inflamed their courages, that breaking in ſuddenly vpon the enemies, droue them to an open place, and hewed them in peeces: and the vantgard getting out of the wood, began incontinently to fortifie and intrench. After that, they marched without diſturbance: emboldened with their late ſucceſſe, and forgetting what was paſt, were brought to their ſtanding camps. Theſe newes made *Tiberius* both glad and ſory: glad, that the ſedition was ſuppreſſed: ſory, that *Germanicus* had purchaſed the ſouldiers fauour by largeneſſe, & timely diſmiſſing them: not a little grieued alſo with the glory that *Germanicus* got in that warre. Yet he imparted theſe newes to the Senate, highly commending his exploits: rather in colour and ſhew of words, then beleeued that he ſpake from the heart. *Druſus* he commended alſo; and the ſucceſſe of the Illirian rebellions, in fewer words, but more vnfainedly, and with better affection; yet confirmed all that *Germanicus* had graunted; and gaue the like to the armies in Pannonie. The ſame yeere *Iulia* died: confined firſt by *Auguſtus* her father for her vnchaſt life, in the Iland Pandateria: then in Rhegium, a towne ſeated vpon the Sicilian ſea. She had beene *Tiberius* wife, whom ſhe contemned as an vnfit match for her; whileſt *Caius* and *Lucius* flouriſhed, which was the very inward and ſecret cauſe, why *Tiberius* withdrew himſelfe to Rhodes. But hauing gotten to be Emperour, and that by the death of *Agrippa Poſthumus*, her hopes were cut off; baniſhed and infamous, with great want hunger-ſtarued her: perſwading himſelfe that her long baniſhment, would haue ſmothered the ſpeech of her death. The like occaſion egged him to the like cruelty againſt *Semp. Gracchus*: who nobly deſcended, quick witted, and eloquent to perſwade to naughtines; ſeduced the ſame *Iulia* to lewdeneſſe when ſhe was *M. Agrippas* wife. Neither was that the end of their licentiouſnes; but the wilfull adulterer abuſed her companie, when ſhee was *Tiberius* wife:

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wife: incensing her to disobedience and dislike. Diuers supposing that the bitter letters, which she sent to *Augustus* her father against *Tiberius*, were of his inditing. Whereupon being banished to Cercina, an Iland in the Affrican sea, after foureteene yeares exile: the souldiers sent to put him to death, found him on the shore as one expecting bad tidings. Of whom he requested some short time, to write his last will to *Alliaria* his wife; which being done, he offred his necke to the executioners: in the constancy of his death, not vnworthy the Sempronian name; though in his life he had degenerated. Some gaue out, that those souldiers were not sent from Rome, but from *L. Asprenus*, Proconsull of Affrike, by *Tiberius* appointment; hoping though in vaine, that the infamy of the murder should redound to *Asprenas* discredit. This yeere were instituted new ceremonies, by founding a society of Priests, called Augustales: as in times past *T. Tatius*, desirous to continue certaine religious solemnities of the Sabins, ordeined a company of Priests called Titians. One and twentie of the chiefest of the citie were drawen by lot, and *Tiberius*, *Drusus*, *Claudius* and *Germanicus* added to the number. These plaiers at their first beginning, were disturbed by a contention rising betwixt stage plaiers: *Augustus* himselfe fauouring the sport, to please *Mecænas*; who was exceedingly caried away with affection towards *Bathillus*, and himselfe not disliking them, thought it no vnciuill matter, to shew himselfe at those disports, amongst the common people. But *Tiberius* was of another humour; yet durst not on the sudden reduce the people to a straighter course, which so many yeares before had beene nuzled in pleasure and easie vsage.

XII. Germanicus *inuadeth the Chatti. A strife betweene two noble men of Germanie*, Arminius *and* Segestes. Arminius *wife is taken.*

D. *Cæsar* and *C. Narbo* beeing Consuls, a triumph was ordeined in honour of *Germanicus*, the war yet continuing: for which although great preparation was made for the summer following; yet he by a sudden incursion made on the Chatti, did anticipate it in the beginning of the spring. For a rumor bred a hope that the enemies were banded into factions, some fauoring *Arminius*; and others *Segestes*: the one most loyall; and the other most disloyall vnto vs. *Arminius* disquieted Germanie: *Segestes* discouered often to *Varus*, but especially in the last banket, after which armes were taken, a rebellion intended: and counselled him to cast himselfe, *Arminius*, and the chiefest of the conspirators into prison, the people not daring any attempt, the ringleaders being taken away; and that he should haue time thereby to sift out the offenders from the innocent. But *Varus* by destinie, and *Arminius* violence died. And although *Segestes* was by common consent drawen to the war, yet he shewed himselfe very backward by his priuate grudge against *Arminius* increasing more and more; because he had taken away by force his daughter betrothed to another. Thus then the sonne in law being odious to the father; the fathers in law at vtter defiance betwixt themselues; that which should serue for a bond of friendship among friends, serued heere for a prouocation of wrath and malice. Whereupon *Germanicus* committed fower legions to *Cecinaes* charge, fiue thousand auxiliaries, and certaine German bands leuied in haste, inhabiting the hither side of Rhene. Himselfe conducted the like number of legions, with twise as many confederates; and hauing builded a fort on the hill Taunus, where his father before him had appointed a garrison, led his armie without encombrance against the

the Chatti; leauing *L. Apronius* behind him, to mend and make sure the passages by land and riuers: for by reason of a drought, and lowneſſe of the waters (a thing seldome seene in that country) they had marched a good way without danger; but feared raine and rising of the water at his returne. But his comming was so sudden vpon the Chatti, that the weaker sort by age, or sexe, were presently either taken or slaine: the yoong men swam ouer the riuer Adrana, and draue backe the Romans, which began a bridge: But at last driuen away themselues with shot of arrowes and other engins, entreating in vaine of conditions of peace: some fled to *Germanicus*: the rest abandoning their villages and houses, dispersed themselues in the woods. *Germanicus* hauing burned Mattium the capitall citie of the countrey, returned toward the Rhene, the enemy not daring to set on him as he retired; as his manner is, when hee gaue ground, rather vpon pollicie then feare. The Cheruſci would willingly haue succoured the Chatti; but *Cæcinaes* armie fleeting from place to place, kept them in awe, and ouerthrew the Marsi which ventured to ioyne battel with him. Shortly after embassadors came from *Segestes*, to craue aid against the violence of his countrimen, which had besieged him: *Arminius* bearing greater sway, because he incited them to warre. For among barbarous people, the more audacious a man sheweth himselfe, the more loyall he is reputed; and the fittest instrument in troubled times. *Segestes* ioined his sonne *Sigismond* to these embassadors: but being touched in conscience, was vnwillingly drawnn to it: because that when the Germans rebelled, being priested at the altar of the Vbians, hee brake his head-bande, which was the marke of his calling, and fled to the rebels. Yet trusting in the Romans clemencie, fulfilled his fathers commandement; and being courteously receiued, was conueied with a gard, to the shores of Gallia. After this *Germanicus* thought it conuenient, to conuert his power against those which besieged *Segestes*, whom he deliuered, with a great number of his kindred, and followers. Among whom there were many noble dames, and *Segestes* daughter, *Arminius* wife: affecting rather hir husband than father: and being taken, not once falling a teare, nor crauing fauor, ioining hir hands on hir breast, looked down vpon hir great belly. The spoiles of *Varus* ouerthrow were at the same time brought in and distributed, as a bootie to the greatest part of such, as had yeelded themselues with *Segestes*. Who with a comely maiesty, and bolde courage, and loyaltie to the Romans, began a speech in this manner. This is not the first day that the people of Rome, hath had experience of my constancy and loyaltie: for since *Augustus* of famous memory, gaue me the priuileges of a citizen of Rome: I made choice of such friends or enemies, as might stand you in steed: not for any hatred to my countrey, (for traitors are odious euen to those whose instruments they be) but because I iudged it profitable alike to the Romans and Germans: and preferred peace before warr: for this cause I accused *Arminius*, rauisher of my daughter, and infringer of the league concluded with you, before *Varus* the generall. But when I was by the slacknes of the generall deferred to a farther day of hearing, hauing small hope of support in lawes: I besought him earnestly, that he would commit me, *Arminius*, and the rest of the conspirators, to straight custodie. I call to witnesse that night (which if it had pleased the gods I would it had beene my last) in which those things ensued, which deserue rather to be bewailed than maintained. In fine, I laid irons on *Arminius*, and suffered the same in my selfe, by his faction. But seeing you haue vouchsafed me your presence; I prefer old quietnesse before new garboiles: not hoping for any reward thereby: but only to excuse my selfe from disloyalty, and to serue for a conuenient meanes of reconciliation for the German nation, if they will

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rather

" rather repent than perish. For my sonnes youth and error I craue pardon: my
" daughter I confesse, was drawn hither by force. It resteth in you to determine, whe-
" ther it ought to be of greater force, to be with child by *Arminius*; or be begotten
by me. *Cæsar* with a milde answere, promised his children & his kindred safety: and
himselfe his ancient seat in the prouince. This done, hee bringeth backe his armie,
and with *Tiberius* liking, tooke vpon him the name of Emperor. *Armenius* wife was
deliuered of a sonne; which was brought vp at Rauenna; of whom wee will speake
more hereafter, and how he serued for fortunes scorne.

XIII. Arminius *stirreth the Germans to warre: seeketh reuenge: What danger* Cæcina *was in.* Germanicus *burieth the legions which were slaine with* Varus.

THe newes being spred of *Segestes* yeelding, and gentle vsage, as mens minds were affected to peace or warre; so they were mooued with hope or griefe. *Arminius* being fierce of his owne disposition vnderstandidg that his wife was taken prisoner, and the fruite of her wombe, a bondslaue; became as it were mad: and raunging the Cherusci ans countrey; craued for succour against *Segestes*, and
" *Cæsar*; not beeing able to conteine for outragious speeches: saying. That, that
" must needes be a braue father, a mighty Emperour, a woorthy armie, that coulde,
" with so much helpe carry away one sillie woman. He had defeated three legions,
" and so many lieutenants: not by treason, nor against women great with child, but
" in the face of the enemy, and against armed men, atchieued his enterprises. And
" that the ensignes, which he had taken from the Romanes, were to be seene in the
" woods of Germany, offered vp in honour of their countrey gods. Let *Segestes*
" inhabite the conquered bancks; and restore his sonne to his Priestly dignity:
" that the Germanes could neuer excuse it: that the Romanes haue beene seene to
" beare their roddes, their axes, and gownes betweene Albis and Rhene. Other
" nations being strangers to the Romane gouernment, could speake nothing, of their
" cruell punishments and grieuous tributes: and seeing they had shaken off those
" burdens; and that, that *Augustus* whom they placed among the gods, and *Tibe-*
" *rius* chosen after him, lost their labour; they should not feare an vnexperien-
" ced yoong man, nor his mutinous companie. If they preferred their countrey;
" their kindred; their auncient life, before new Lords, and new colonies; they
" should rather follow *Arminius*, protector of their glory and libertie, then *Segestes*
" the author of reprochfull seruitude. These speeches incensed not onely the Cherus-
cian, but the neighbours adioyning also; and drew *Inguiomerus*, a man once in credit
with the Romans, and vncle to *Arminius* by the fathers side, to their partie, which
increased *Cæsars* feare the more. And therfore least the whole waight of the warre
should at once fall vpon him: he sent *Cæcinna* with fortie cohorts of Romanes, to
seauer the power of the enemy through the Bructeries countrey, to the riuer of A-
misia. *Pedo* the Camp-master had the conducting of the horsemen, by Frisia: him-
selfe embarqued foure legions, and lead them through the lakes: all the horsemen,
footmen, and the whole nauie meeting together at the said riuer; and receiued the
Chaucians among them, who had promised their ayde. The Bructeri burning
their owne countrey, *Stertinius* ouerthrew with a companie of light harnessed soul-
diers, sent against them by *Germanicus*: and found betweene the slaughter and the
bootie, the banner of the nineteenth legion which was lost with *Varus*. From
thence

thence the army marched to the vtmoſt confines of the Bructeri, all the countrey waſted betwixt the riuer Amiſia, and Luppia: not farre from the foreſt Teutoburgh; where the reliques of the legions which *Varus* lead, were reported to lye vnburied. Whereupon *Cæſar* had a great deſire to celebrate the captaines, and ſouldiers funerals; all the armie moued to compaſſion, ſome calling to minde their kinſfolkes; ſome their friends: and ſome in conſideration of the hazards of warre, and the ſlipperie eſtate of man ſubiect vnto fortunes change. And hauing ſent *Cæcina* before, to ſearch out the ſecret places of the foreſt, and caſt bridges and cauſeyes ouer the moiſt and deceitfull paſſages of the bogs, they marched thoſe doleſull waies, irkſome to behold, and dreadfull to remember. *Varus* firſt encamping ſeare, by the large circuit of ground it contained, and dimenſions of the *Principia, did ſhew that the incloſure was capable of three legions: then by a rampire halfe broken downe, and a ſhallow trench, they perceiued where the ouertoyled remnant was retired. In the middle of the field lay white bones, either ſcattered, or on a heape, as they had either reſiſted or fled: hard by, trouncheons of weapons, and horſes ribs; and before them mens heads, faſtened vpon the bodies of trees. In the woods were their barbarous altars, on which they ſacrificed the Tribunes and chiefe Centurions. Thoſe which eſcaped aliue, or broke priſon after the butchery, told that heere the Lieutenants were ſlaine; there the ſtandards taken: where *Varus* receiued his firſt wound, where with his owne vnlucky hand hee ſlew himſelfe. On what Tribunall *Arminius* made his oration. How many gibbets he had ſet vp for captiues, & what ditches: and with what proud diſdaine hee ſcoffed at the enſignes and ſtandarts. The Romaines then which were preſent, ſixe yeares after the ſlaughter, oppreſſed with griefe, yet more then euer kindled with rage againſt the enemy; couered with earth the bones of the three legions: as if they had been all their friends or kindred; howbeit it was vncertaine whether they buried the ſtranger or friend. *Cæſar* to ſhew a gratefull memory of the dead, and himſelfe to bee partaker of their griefe, with his owne hands put the firſt turfe on their tombes; which *Tiberius* miſliked: either as conſtruing all *Germanicus* actions to the worſt; or becauſe the ſight of the dead, vnburied, would make the ſouldiers more fearfull of the enemie, and leſſe forward to fight: and becauſe a Generall honored with the Augurall dignitie, and deuoted to moſt ancient ceremonies, ought not to meddle in mortuaries. But *Germanicus* purſuing *Arminius*, already crept into inacceſſible places, as ſoone as hee found conueniencie, thruſt his horſemen on him, and recouered the field which the enemy occupied. *Arminius* gathered his men together; and commaunding them to draw neere the wood, turned ſhort on the ſudden, and gaue them the watchword which hee had hidden there before, to breake out. Whereat the horſemen amazed, and the cohorts ſent for a ſupplie, borne backe with thoſe which fled; augmenting their feare, were almoſt thruſt into the bogs, well knowne to the conquerors, and dangerous to the Romanes; had not *Cæſar* come on with the legions in battell array. Which ſtroke a terror into the enemy, and aſſured the courage of the ſouldier: both the armies in the end parting on euen hand. Anon after the armie being brought to the riuer Amiſia, he conducted the fleete and the legions backe againe, in the ſame maner they came thither. Some of the horſmen were commaunded to returne to the riuer of Rhene, ſtill coaſting the Ocean ſhore. *Cæcina* who conducted another companie, although he was skilfull in the wayes, yet was charged to returne with all diligence by the long bridges; which was a narrow cauſey betwixt wide mariſhes, throwne vp in times paſt by *L. Domitius*. The reſt of the countrey was miry, and full of faſt binding clay, with ſome doubtfull brookes.

cap. 61

*Principia ſeemeth to be that row of lodgings where the Tribunes and prefects are quartered. See in the view of the verb. forum.

cap. 62.

cap. 63

Round about were woods, aſcending little and little, which *Arminius* had filled, by a neerer way, and light armie, preuenting the Romans, loden with armour and carriages. *Cæcina* doubting how he ſhould at once, repaire thoſe bridges, already decayed with age, and driue backe the enemie; thought it beſt to encamp in the ſame place, that whileſt ſome were fortifying, others might skirmiſh with the
cap. 64. enemie. The Barbarians vſed all force to breake the wardes, and make way to the trench-makers: ſet on them, compaſſed them in; ranne from place to place; leauing nothing vndone, to diſturbe them. The laborers and the fighters made one confuſe cry: nothing proſpering on the Romans ſide. The place was nothing but a deepe mire, not firme to tread on, and ſlipperie to march: the waight of their corſelets an hinderance, and they vnable to launce their iauelins in the waters. Contrarily the Cheruſcians being a great limmed people, and accuſtomed to fight in bogs, were with huge ſpeares able to hurt a farre off. To be briefe, the night deliuered the legions from an vnluckie battell. The Germaines through proſperous ſucceſſe, nothing wearied, but forbearing from reſt; turned all the waters which roſe in the mountaines, into the vnder grounds: whereupon the plaine beeing drownd, and ſo much of the worke ouerthrowne as they had caſt vp, the Romaine ſouldier was put to a double labour.

XIIII. *The Romans eſcape a great danger through the good conduct of* Cæcina.

CAEcina had then in quality of a ſouldier of commander fortie yeere receiued pay: and therefore being acquainted as well with the changeable euents of fortune as proſperous ſucceſſes, fell nothing at all in courage: but pondering in his minde what might follow, found nothing more expedient, than to incloſe the enemie in the wood, vntill the wounded, and the cariages were gotten before. For betwixt the hils and the marſhes, there ſtretched out a plaine, capable of a ſmal armie. The legions were ſo placed, that the fift ſhould bee in the right flancke; the one and twentieth in the left; the firſt to lead; and the twentieth to defend, if they
cap. 65. were purſued. The night was vnquiet for diuers reſpects; the barbarous enemie, in feaſting and banketting, ſongs of ioy, and hidious outcries filled the valleies and woods, which redoubled the ſound againe. The Romains had ſmall fires, broken voyces, lay neere the trenches, went from tent to tent, rather diſquieted, and not able to ſleepe, than watchfull. The generall had that night a heauie dreame, which droue him into a feare: for he thought that he had ſeene *Quinctilius Varus*, riſing out of thoſe bogs, embrued all in bloud, calling him by name, & ſtretching out his hand towards him; which he thruſt backe refuſing to follow. At day breaking, the legions appointed for the flancks, either for feare, or contempt, abandoned their ſtandings; and ſeaſed on the fielde adioyning beyond the marſhes. *Arminius* although he might ſafely haue aſſaulted them, yet forbare a time. But he no ſooner perceiued their bag and baggage to ſticke in the mire, and ditches, and the ſouldiers troubled about it, disbanded and out of order, and the enſignes confuſedly diſordered; as it falleth out in ſuch times, euery man buſie to helpe himſelfe, and deafe to hearken what was commanded; but he encharged the Germaines to breake in, crying aloud. Behold *Varus*, and the legions once againe vanquiſhed by the ſame deſtinie. Hauing thus ſaid, accompanied with a choiſe band of horſemen, breaketh the rankes of the Romains, and eſpecially woundeth their horſes; which ſlipping, by reaſon of their owne bloud, and moiſture of the bogs; ouerthrowing their maſters,

either

either trode vnder feete, or scattered all they met. Much adoo they had about the ensignes, which they could neither beare vp, the shot came so thicke not pitch on the ground, it was so murie. Whilest *Cecina* maintaineth battell, his horse was killed vnder him; from which being fallen, he had been taken by the enemy, if the fift legion had not opposed her selfe. The greedines of the enemie was some helpe vnto them, being more thirsty of pillage then bloud: whereby the legions had leisure towards the euening, to win the open firme land. And yet their miseries did not thus end: They had defences to make: and stuffe wherewithall, to seeke: their tooles to cast vp earth, or cut turfes, were almost all lost: tents they had none to couer them: nor medicaments to heale the wounded: and diuiding their meate partly stained with bloud, or beraied with dirt, they bewailed that vnfortunate darkenesse; and that only day left for so many thousands to liue. By meere chance a horse brake loose in the campe, and praunsing vp and downe, affrighted with noise, ouerthrew all he met in his way: which stroake such a feare and terror in the souldiers harts, that thinking the Germans had broken vpon them, ran all to the gates of the campe, and especially to the Decumana, which was farthest from the enemy, and safest to flee away. *Cecina* being assured that it was but a vaine feare, yet not being able either by his authority, entreaty, or forcible meanes to stay their fleeing; cast himselfe a crosse the gate, and so mooued them to pitie, stopping the passage; because they would not tread on their captaines body. The Tribunes and Centurions shewed them withall, that their feare was false, and without cause. Then assembling them in the Principia, and commanding silence, admonished them of the time and necessity they stood in. That their safety onely consisted in their weapons; which yet they were to moderate by discretion: keeping still within their trench, vntill the enemy, with hope to breake vpon them, should draw neere: and that then they should rush out on euery side, and so get to the riuer of Rhene. Whereas if they should flie, they should passe through more woods, finde deeper bogs, and the enemie more cruell than euer: but by conquering they should purchase glorie and renowne: putting them in mind of those things which were esteemed deere at home, and of credit in campe: not once mentioning their disgraces and aduersities. This done, hee assigned to the most couragious a horse: beginning with his own: then with the Tribunes and Centurions, not respecting calling or qualitie to the end that they should first inuade the enemie, and the footmen follow. The Germains, what with hope, what with greedinesse of pray, what with disagreeing opinions of captaines; were as much disquiered as the Romaines. *Arminius* thought it best to suffer them to come out of their fort, and set on them in the bogs and marthes: but *Inguiomerus* aduise, though more cruell, was most pleasing to the barbarians: which was, that they should beliege the campe, perswading that by that meanes, the assaule would be easier; more captiues taken; and the boorie entire and vntouched. Afternoone then as it was day, they beat downe the trenches, filled them vp with hurdles, grappled vp to the toppe of the trench, few souldiers resisting them, and those all flocke still in a maze. The cohorts within had the allarum giuen; the comets and trumpets sounded; and with a great clamour sallied out courageously, and hemmed the enemie in, casting in their teeth, that heere there were neither woods nor quagmiers, but the places and the gods indifferent to both. The enemies imagining it but an easie conquest, and that there were but a few to resist, and those but halfe armed; hearing the sound of the trumpets, and seeing the glittering of the armours which seemed so much the greater, by how much the lesse they were esteemed, on a sudden were beaten downe and slaine, as men in prosperity greedy, and in aduersi-

tie, vncircumspect. *Arminius* and *Inguiomerus* fled, the one not hurt, and the other greeuously wounded. The common sort were slaine as long as the daie and anger lasted: the legions returned at night to their forte. And although there were more wounded then the day before, and no lesse want of victuales: yet with the victory they thought they had recouered strength, courage, health, and all other necessaries

XV. *The danger the legions were in vnder* Vitellius. Tiberius *renueth the law of treason.*

IT was noised abroad in the meane season, that the legions were besieged; and that the Germaine host was entring Gallia. And if *Agrippina* had not hindered the pulling downe of the bridge ouer Rhene; some through feare would haue ventured so lewde an action. Who being a woman of a great courage, tooke vpon her for some daies the office of a Captaine; relieued the souldiers, as they had most need, with apparell and medicine. *C. Plinius* a writer of the Germaine warres, recounteth; that she went to the end of the bridge and there staied, praising and "thanking the legions as they returned. A matter which entered deepely into *Tiberius* "minde: imagining with himselfe that it was not for nought, that shee vsed such "care and curtesie: that she sought not the fauour of the souldier against the stranger. "That there was nothing left for the Emperors to doe, if a woman tooke once vpon "her to visit the bands, go to the ensignes; and seeke meanes to corrupt the soldier: "As though it had beene but a small point of ambition, to carry her sonne about the "campe in the attire of a common souldier, and call him *Cæsar Caligula*. That *Agrippina* was now of greater credit with the armie, than the Lieutenants and Captaines; and that a woman had suppressed a sedition, which *Cæsars* name and power "could not doe. All this was aggrauated by *Seianus*, well acquainted with *Tiberius* humour; and who had long before sowen seeds of hatred: which for the time hee smoothered, because they should burst out the greater in the end. But *Germanicus* gaue *P. Vitellius* charge of the second & fowerteenth legion, which he had brought by sea, to conduct by land: to the ende the shippes might in the low water saile more easily, or in the ebbing lie a ground more lightly. *Vitellius* had a quiet beginning of his iourney, a drie shore, and small flote: but by and by through a gale of northren winde, the æquinoxe falling out the same time, and the sea swelling extraordinarily; his armie was tossed hither and thither: the face of the earth was couered with waters, the sea, the shore, the fields, were all but one. The vncertaine fands could not bee discerned from firme lande: nor the shelues from the deepe seas: their horses and carriages were drawen vnder water, and swallowed in the gulfes: dead bodies floted and met one another: the souldiers disorderly mingled, now breast, now chin high in water; and sometimes losing footing, either drowned or scattered. Encouragements tooke no place: & being thus tossed with waues, the valiant man was not distinguished from the coward: the wise not knowen from the foole: nor no difference betwixt counsell and chance; but all wrapped vp in like violence. In the end *Vitellius* hauing gotten the higher ground, brought the rest of his companie thither, where they passed all that night without vtensiles, or fire: the greatest part either naked, or moiled, in no lesse miserable a taking, than the besieged by the enemie: for the end of those is glorious, and the death of these without honor. The day shewed them land, and they passed to the riuer Visurgis, where *Cæsar* was arriued with the whole fleet: into which he receiued the legions, reported

ted to haue beene drowned, and neuer beleeued to bee aliue, vntill they saw *Cæsar* and the army returned. Now *Stertinius* sent before to receiue *Segestes* brother *Segimerus*, who had yeelded himselfe; brought him and his sonne to Coleyn, and both pardoned; though *Segimerus* eather then his sonne: because it was laide to his charge, that hee had scoffed at *Quintilius Varus* body. But to supply these losses which the army had sustained; Gallia, Spaine and Italy, stroue who should furnish most; offering armour, horses, gold, and such things as they had most in a readinesse. *Germanicus* commending their loue and affection, accepted only their armour and horses, and furnished the rest with his owne charges. And to comfort and mitigate the remembrance of their ouerthrow, with some courteous vsage; hee went about to visite the wounded: praising in particular euery ones valiantnes, and looking on their wounds; fed one with hope, and another with praise: woon all by good words, and care, and made them constant to himselfe, and resolute to fight. The same yeere by decree of Senate, the markes of triumph were ordained for *A. Cæcina*, *L. Apronius*, *C. Silius*, for their noble exploits atchieued vnder *Germanicus*. And *Tiberius* refused the Title of father of his country, which the people had often cast vpon him. Nor would not suffer any to sweare to the obseruation of his ordinances, although the Senate were thereto consenting: affirming, that all mortall things were mutable and vncertaine; and the higher he should clime, the slipperer his estate should be. Notwithstanding all this, they could not be perswaded that he meant well to the citizens; because he had put on foote against the law of treason, known to the ancients by the same name. But by vertue of that law other things were brought into question: as if any had betrayed the army; stirred the people to sedition: badly managed the affaires of the common-wealth: impaired and weakened the maiestie of the people of Rome. But then deedes only were punished, words went scotfree. *Augustus* was the first, who vnder colour of this law, comprehended the examination of infamous libels: mooued thereto by the insolent behauiour of *Cassius Severus*, who had defamed honorable persons, both men and women, with scandalous writings. *Tiberius* also, when *Pompeius Macer* the Pretor asked whether iudgement should bee giuen, touching the said crime, made answere; that the lawes were to be obserued. *Tiberius* was the more exasperated, through certaine verses cast abroad by an vncertaine author, against his cruelty, pride, and disagreeing with his mother. It shall not be amisse, if I rehearse, with what pretended crimes, *Falanius* and *Rubrius*, both meane Gentlemen of Rome were charged: to make it knowne by what beginnings, what sleights of *Tiberius*, an vtter ruine of the common-wealth was intended, then suppressed; afterward reuiued againe, and in the end, ouermastered all. *Plautius* accuser obiected against him, that amongst other worshippers of *Augustus* (for such fellowships there were almost in euery house as it had beene Colleges) he had receiued one *Cassius* a stage player, and infamous of his body; and that with his gardens hee had sould *Augustus* image. *Rubrius* was accused to haue violated an oath made in *Augustus* name. When these things were brought to *Tiberius* notice, hee answered: That his father had not a place assigned him in heauen by decree of Senate, because that honor should be conuerted to the ouerthrow of the citizens. That *Cassius* the stage player, was wont to be admitted with others of the same trade, to the playes which his mother had consecrated to *Augustus* memory. That there was nothing done against religion, if his image was sould, as the statues of other gods were, in the sale of their gardens and houses. And as for *Rubrius* oath, it was to be held in the same accompt, as if he had deceiued *Iupiter* himselfe.

" ſelfe: and that the iniuries done vnto the gods, ought to bee referred to the care " of the gods.

XVI. *An accuſation againſt* Granius Marcellus. *Orders againſt ſuing for dignities.*

NOt long after, *Granius Marcellus* Pretor of Bithynia, was accuſed of treaſon by *Cæpio Criſpinus* his Quæſtor: *Romanus Hiſpo* ſubſcribed thereto: who entered into a courſe of life, which the calamities of times, and mens boldneſſe made famous. For being needy, obſcure, and a buſie companion, by ſecret information he ſo crept into the cruell humor of the Prince, that he was able in ſhort time to endanger the eſtate of the beſt in the citie; thereby getting credit and authority with one, and hatred of many. He gaue an example, which many following, of beggers became rich, of baſe and contemptible perſons, feared; procuring deſtruction to others, and in the end to themſelues. He accuſed *Marcellus* to haue vttered bad ſpeeches againſt *Tiberius*: which was an accuſation ineuitable; becauſe that hauing choſen out the greateſt blemiſhes of *Tiberius* life and manners, becauſe they were true; were beleeued. *Hiſpo* added, that *Marcellus* image was placed higher then thoſe of the *Cæſars*; and that the head of another of *Auguſtus* being cut off, *Tiberius* image was put vpon it: which ſo incenſed him, that breaking ſilence, he cried out that hee would himſelfe, and that ſworne, giue open ſentence in that cauſe: to the end the reſt ſhould be inforced to do as he had done: for as yet there were ſome marks of dying libertie left in the Senate. Then ſaid *C. Piſo*. What place wilt thou take *Cæſar* to deliuer thy cenſure? If thou wilt ſpeake firſt, I ſhall haue a preſident to follow: if laſt, I feare I ſhall ſwarue from thee vncircumſpectly. Abaſhed with this, the hotter vnaduiſedly hee had growne, the more repenting; hee ſuffered the arraigned of treaſon to bee quit. As concerning the extorſions, the cauſe was put ouer to the delegates. And not contented with the iudgements of the Senators, hee aſſiſted in the hearing of cauſes himſelfe, and ſate in the end of the Tribunall, leaſt he ſhould put the Pretor out of his chaire. Many orders were giuen in his preſence againſt canuaſing for offices, and noble mens ſuites; but whileſt he laboured for iuſtice, liberty went to wracke. Whileſt theſe things were a doing, *Pius Aurelius* a Senator, complained that his houſe was decayed and growne to ruine, by the raiſing vp of a publike way, and conueiance of water, and craued aide of the Lords of the Senate in that behalfe. And where the Treaſurers oppoſed themſelues againſt it, hee was relieued by *Cæſar*, who payed him the value of his houſe: deſirous to employ his money in honeſt actions: which vertue hee long retained after he had ſhaken off al others. He beſtowed *ten hundred thouſand ſeſterces vpō *Propertius Celer*, once Pretor, & now crauing licence to giue vp his roome, by reaſon of the pouerty his father left him in; and commanded others which made the ſame ſute, to make it known to the Senate, that their petition was true: deſirous to be accounted ſeuere in things well done: which cauſed others rather to indure their pouertie with ſilence, then by acknowledging it, receiue a benefit at his hands. The ſame yeere, through continuall raines the riuer Tibris roſe ſo high, that it couered all the flat places of the citie; and in falling, there inſued a great ruine of men and buildings. Whereupon a remedy being conſulted of in Senate, *Aſinius Gallus* was of opinion, that the bookes of the Sibyls ſhould bee ſearched: which *Tiberius* hindered; as one who would hide from them, as well things diuine as humane. But he committed that charge vnto *Ateius Capito*, and *L. Aruntius*: Achaia and Macedonia

* About 7. thouſand eight hundred and threſcore pounds ten ſhillings.

donia complaining of their heauy taxations : it was agreed in Senate , that they ſhould no longer bee gouerned by a proconſull, but by *Cæſar Druſus* beeing made ouerſeer of a play of fencers, ſet foorth in his owne and his brother *Germanicus* name; becauſe he ſeemed to take ouer great pleaſure in ſhedding of blood; ſtroake a feare into the peoples minds, and as it is reported, was diſliked of his father. Why *Tiberius* forbare to ſee this ſpectacle , it was diuerſly conſtrued: ſome thought becauſe he loathed to be in great aſſemblies: ſome becauſe he was of a melancholy ſad diſpoſition : and alſo miſdoubting leaſt ſome ſhould fall into compariſon , betwixt him and *Auguſtus*, who was woont to be preſent at ſuch plaies with courteous and milde cariage. I cannot thinke that his meaning was, to giue his ſonne occaſion to ſhew his cruelrie, and mooue the people to offence ; although ſome haue ſo reported. The licentiouſneſſe begun in the Theater the laſt yeere, grew now to a farther outrage : many not onely of the common people ſlaine, but ſouldiers and Centurions, and a Captaine of the guarde, whileſt they went about to bridle the inſolency of the people , and hinder them from vſing lauiſhing ſpeeches againſt magiſtrates. That ſedition was debated in Senate : many being of opinion that it was conuenient , that the Pretor ſhould haue authority to whip the ſtage-plaiers. But *Hatterius Agrippa* Tribune of the people contradicted him : whom *Aſinius Gallus* rebuked in an oration : *Tiberius* holding his peace , ſuffering the Senate to vſe that ſhadow of libertie. Yet *Hatterius* preuailed, becauſe *Auguſtus* had once declared the ſtage-plaiers to be free from ſtripes : and therefore not lawfull for *Tiberius* to infringe it. Many orders were laid downe touching the moderation and charges beſtowed vpon plaies : and againſt the inſolent behauiour of their fauoures ; wherof the chiefeſt are theſe. That no Senator ſhould enter into a plaiers houſe: that the gentlemen of Rome ſhould not accompany them in publike places : that it was not lawfull to ſee their plaies but on the Theater. And that the Pretor ſhould haue authority to baniſh ſuch lookers on , as behaued themſelues diſorderly. The Spaniards had licence graunted them, at their requeſt, to erect a Temple in honour of *Auguſtus*, in the free towne of Tarracon; which was a preſident for all the other prouinces to follow. The people making ſupplication, that they might be vnburdened of the impoſition of one in the hundred of all things bought and ſold, which began after the wars were begun: *Tiberius* anſwered by an edict that it was the only ſtay of ſouldies wages : and that the ſtate would bee ouercharged if the olde ſouldiers ſhould not be diſmiſſed after twenty yeeres ſeruice: and by this means the order wrung out to appeaſe the ſouldiers that the ſouldiers ſhould be diſmiſſed after ſixteene yeeres ſeruice, was abrogated. After this it was propounded in Senate by *Aruntius* and *Ateius*, whether for the repreſſing of the inundations of Tiber, it were conuenient to diuert the courſe of the riuers and lakes, which were cauſe of his riſing. Vpon this occaſion , the embaſſadors of other free townes and colonies were heard: and eſpecially the deputies from the citie of Florence ; requeſting that Clanis might not be turned out of his owne chanell into Arne , as a matter greatly to their hurt. The like ſpeech the Interamnates vſed, ſhewing that the fertileſt tract of Italie ſhould be loſt, if (as it was intended) the riuer Nar ſhould be cut into many branches; and ſo all become a ſtanding poole, if the new chanels were not capable of ſo much water. The Reatins did not in this caſe hold their peace: no way yeelding that the mouth of the lake Velinus ſhold be dammed vp, where it diſchargeth it ſelf into Nar: for ſo it would ouerflow all about it. And that nature had well prouided for the neceſſity of mans vſe: hauing giuen all riuers their courſe and mouth, and as well their bounds, as beginnings. That the religion of their allies was to be conſi-

cap. 55. cap. 58. cap. 59.

dered,

dered, who consecrated vnto the riuers of their countrey, woods and altars. Yea that Tiber would not bee depriued of his neighbour-riuers, and so run his course with lesser glory. In the end either through the intreaty of the Colonies, or difficultie of the worke, or superstition, *Pisoes* opinion was approued, which was, that there
cap. 80. should be nothing changed. *Poppæus Sabinus* was continued in the gouernment of *Mœsia*, and Achaia and Macedonia added to his charge. For it was *Tiberius* manner, to continue men in their office and charge, either of warre, or iurisdiction, sometimes during their life; whereof there were diuers reasons giuen. Some saide
2. he did it, to auoide the tedious care of often prouiding; and that hee would haue that to continue which he had thought once well done: some, did interpret it to bee done of enuie, because many should not enioy them: some, that as he was of a subtill wit, so of no resolute iudgement; as not choosing men of excellent vertue: and on the other side, hating vices. He feared lest the best would attempt somewhat against him, and the worst dishonor the state. Which doubtfulnesse brought him to that passe at last, that gaue the gouernment of prouinces to some, which
cap. 81. he would not suffer to depart the citie. Concerning the election of Consuls, which was first obserued vnder this Prince, and afterward by others, I dare assure nothing: not only the authors, but the Prince himselfe doth so much differ in his orations. For sometimes not naming the suters, he described euery mans beginning, life, and what pay he had receiued; that a man might easily gesse who they were. At another time not touching any of those particulars, he perswaded the suters, not to disturbe the elections, by bribing and canuasing: promising that himselfe would be a meane for them. And oftentimes he said, there were no more which pretended to bee suters, but such onely, whose names hee had presented vnto the Consuls: and that others might bring in their names likewise, if they would trust either to their merit or fauor. But all was but faire words, and in deed deceiptfull and without effect: and by how much the more they were masked with a colour of liberty, by so much the heauier and greeuouser a seruitude they were like to bring after them.

THE

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. *The cause of the Parthian warres.* Vonones *driuen out of his kingdome.*

SEnnius Statilius Taurus, and L. Libo beeing Consuls, the kingdome of the East, and the Romane prouinces rebelled: the beginning thereof proceeding from the Parthians; who hauing demaunded and receiued a King from Rome, yet contemned him as a forrener, although he were descended of the Arsacides. *Vonones* was this King, who had beene before giuen in hostage to *Augustus*, by *Phrahates*. For although *Phrahates* had repulsed the armie and the Romane captaines, yet hee shewed all duties and reuerence to *Augustus*. And the better to confirme friendship, sent some of his children to him: not so much for feare of vs, as distrust of disloialtie in his owne subiects. After the death of *Phrahates*, and other succeeding Kings, through murthers committed among themselues: Embassadors came to the Citie, from the chiefe noble men of Parthia, to demaunde *Vonones* the eldest sonne of *Phrahates*. *Cæsar* thinking that to bee an honour to himselfe, enduing him with great riches deliuered him; and the Barbarians, as their maner is at the change of a new Prince, receiued him with great ioy. Not long after the Parthian grew to be ashamed, that he had so much degenerated, as to demand a Prince from another countrey; trained vp in the sleights of their enemies. That now the royall seate of the Arsacides was giuen and accounted among the Romane prouinces. Where is the glory of those which murdered *Crassus*, and chased away *Antonie*; if *Cæsars* bondslaue after so many yeeres seruitude should commaund and rule ouer the Parthians? Hee himselfe kindled their disdainfull minds, by swaruing from his predecessors manner of life; as going seldome a hunting; being careless of horses; carried in a chariot in the streets; and loathing their countrey fare: his Grecian followers were scorned, and himselfe laughed at, for keeping vnder his seale his baseſt vtensiles. But the free accesse vnto him, his courtesie towards all men; vnknown vertues to the Parthians; were accounted new vices: and because they were not vsed of their ancestors, were odious alike to the good and bad. Whereupon *Artabanus*, one of the Arsacides bloud, brought vp with the Dahes, was raised against him: who in the first encounter ouerthrowen, recouered newe forces, and enioyed the kingdome. When *Vonones* was ouercome hee fled to Armenia, then without a King; and betwixt the Parthian and the Romane wealth wauering, through *Antonies* treacherie: who hauing vnder colour of friendship tolled vnto him their King *Artaxasses*, loaded him with chaines, and in the end depriued him of his life. *Artaxias* his sonne, hating vs for the iniurie done to his father, with the power of the *Arsacides*, defended himselfe and the kingdome against vs. But when *Artaxias* was slaine by the treason of his neereſt friends, *Tigranes* was made King of the Armenians, and brought by *Tiberius Nero* into the kingdome. Yet *Tigranes* raigne dured but a short time, nor his childrens: although they were, as the manner of strangers is, linked in marriage with the Armenians. Then by commaundement of *Augustus*, *Artaxasses* was

cap. 1. An. 764.

cap. 2.

cap. 3.

was appointed their King, afterward driuen out: not without a great slaughter of
cap. 4. our men. After that *Cæsar* was chosen to settle the affaires of Armenia; who with the good liking of the Armenians, appointed *Ariobarzanes* descended from the *Medes*, to be their King: a man greatly reckoned of for the comelines of his personage, and valiant courage. *Ariobarzanes* dying by misfortune, the Armenians would endure none of his race: but tried the regiment of a woman called *Era'us*, whom they expulsed in a short time: and led an vncertaine and loose kind of life, rather without a Lord than in Liberty: and in the end receiued the fugitiue *Vonones* againe. But when *Artabanus* began to vse threatning; and that small aide was to be expected of the Armenians: and yet if he should be defended by our forces; it were to enter into war against the Parthians: *Creticus Silanus* gouernour of Syria sent for *Vonones*: and appointed him a guard: and suffered him to enioy all pompe and sumptuousnesse, and name of a King: from which mockerie how he purposed to deliue: himselfe, we will set downe in his place.

II. Germanicus *maketh war in Germanie.*

cap. 5. BVt it displeased *Tiberius* nothing at all, that the East parts were in an vproare; becaule that vnder that pretext hee might draw *Germanicus* from his accustomed legions, and by giuing him charge ouer new prouinces, expose him to trechery and hazard. But he, by how much the more affectionate the souldiers were towards him, and his vnkle backward; by so much the more earnest hee was to hasten the victory; and laide all the plots he could to giue the enemy battell: Discoursing with himselfe, what fortunate or vnfortunate successes had happened vnto him those three yeeres past, which he had spent in war amongst them: that the Germans in a pitched field and indifferent places would easily be vanquished: that they tooke aduantage of woods, bogs, short sommers, and timely winters: that his souldiers receiued not so great hurt by wounds, as by long iourneies and waight of their armor: that Gallia was wearied with furnishing horses; the long traine of cariage was subiect to ambushes; and not easily defended. But if he should take sea, the possession was open for him, and vnknowen to the enemie. Withall, that so the war might be sooner begun: the legions and victuals brought together: the horses and horsemen conueied by channels and mouthes of riuers into the heart of Ger-
cap. 6. manie. Hauing thus resolued, he sent *P. Vitellius*, and *Scantius* to leuie the subsidies of Gallia: *Silius Anteius*, & *Cæcina* had charge of all preparation by sea. A thousand ships were thought to suffice: which were made ready with speed. Some were short & narrow at the fore and hinder part, & broad in the middle, as stronger against the waues. Some were flat bottommed, to land without danger. Many had rudders at both ends, that the rowers altering their stroke on a sudden; might driue to land at either end. Many of them had bridges ouer, to carry both their engins, horses, and prouision, swift of saile, and nimble with oares; in shew gallant and fearefull to the enemy, by reason of the souldiers cheerfulnes. The place appointed to meet at, was the Iland of the Batauians, as a place of easie arriuall; and fit to receiue the armie; and from thence to transport them to the place of battell. For the riuer of Rhene keeping one chanell, or else enuironing but few Ilands, at the entring of Batauia, is diuided into two riuers, and keepeth his name and swiftnesse through Germanie vntill he fall into the Ocean. But by the cost of Gallia it waxeth broader, and runneth not so swiftly; and changing his name, the inhabitants call it Vahales: which name, it afterward changeth againe into Mosa: so continuing vntill it fall into the

same

some Ocean, with a great bredth. Whilest the ships were a putting from shoare: cap 7.
Cæsar commandeth the Lieutenant *Silius*, with a band of men lightly appointed, suddenly to inuade the Chatti. And himselfe vnderstanding that the fort of Luppia vpon the riuers side, was besieged, conducteth thither sixe legions. *Silius* by reason of sudden raines, did little else then bring away, some small bootie, and the wife and daughter of *Arpus*, prince of the Chatti. Neither did those which had besieged the forte, staie to fight; but slipt away, when *Cæsars* comming was noised. Yet they had throwne downe the tombe, lately built in honour of *Varus* legions, and the old altar erected for *Drusus*. The altar, the Prince reedified; and in memory of his father, he and the legion ran a horse race; but thought it not conuenient to set vp the tombe againe: but fortified all passages betwixt the fort, Aliso, and Rhene with new mounds and bulwarks. By this time the Fleet was come: and hauing sent cap 8.
before all prouision, and assigned the legions and confederates their shipping; himselfe entered the ditch, called the Drusian ditch, where he made a praier to *Drusus* his father, that hauing vndertaken the same enterprise, that he had done; he would willingly and benignly further him, with the example and memorie of his counsels and exploits. From thence he sailed prosperously, by the lakes and Ocean, vntill he came to the riuer Amisia, where the nauie was left, leauing the riuer on the left side of it. Wherein there was an ouersight, that they brought the shipping no higher, the souldiers being afterward constrained to land on the right side: whereby many daies were spent in making of bridges to passe them ouer. The horsemen and legions passed the first arme of the sea, the waters being yet but small; without feare: but the auxiliarie souldiers which followed, and Batauians, whilest they sported themselues, and shewed their skill in swimming, were some hindered and troubled, and some drowned.

III. Arminius *dehorteth his brother* Flauius *from the Romans seruice.*

AS *Cæsar* was planting his campe, word was brought, that the Angriuarians were reuolted behinde him. And *Stertinius* was incontinently dispatched away with a company of light horsemen, which reuenged their treason with fire and sword. Betwixt the Romaines and the Cheruscians ran the riuer Visurgis, cap 9.
and on the bancke side was *Arminius*, with the rest of the nobility: who inquiring whether *Cæsar* were come; and answere giuen him that he was: intreated that he might haue licence to speake with his brother *Flauius*, who was in the campe: faithfull and trustie to the Romaines; and who not many yeares before, had lost one of his eyes, vnder *Tiberius*. His request was graunted him: and as *Flauius* came neere, *Arminius* saluted him. And causing his followers to withdraw themselues, requested that our archers which were placed in order on the banke side, should stand farther off; who being gone away, he asked his brother how hee came to that blemish in his face. Hee named both the place and the battell. He asked him further, what rewards he had receiued? *Flauius* telleth him that his pay was augmented, sheweth his chaine, his crowne, and other military gifts which *Arminius* skorned as base rewards of seruitude. After that, they grew to farther communication, the cap 10
one extolling the greatnes of the Romans: *Cæsars* wealth: the grieuous punishments inflicted on the conquered, and the clemencie vsed to such as yeelded: that neither his wife nor sonne were intreated as enemies. *Arminius* alleaged the dutie of his countrey: their ancient liberty: the gods of the inward parts of Germany:

that

that his mother and himselfe besought him; that hee would not rather chose to be a traitor and forsaker of his countrey, than a captaine of his kindred, allies and nation. Growing from thence by little and little to hard words, although the riuer was betwixt them, they had coped; if *Stertinius* had not run in, and held backe *Flauius*, full of anger, calling for his armour and horse. *Arminius* was heard to threaten on the other side, and denounce battell: intermingling some latine words: for once hee commanded his countrimen; and receiued pay in the Romaine campes. The next day, the Germaine army presented it selfe in battell aray beyond Visurgis. *Germanicus* not thinking it the part of a commaunder, to hazard the legions, not hauing first made bridges, and appointed gards to defend them, passed ouer the horsemen at the foord. *Stertinius* and *Aemilius*, sometime captaine of the principall ensignes, were the leaders: who separated themselues farre one from the other, to diuide the enemies forces. *Carioualda*, Captaine of the Batauians, where the riuer was swiftest sallied out: the Cherusci making as though they fled, tolled them to a plaine, enuironed with woods: and there turning againe, and spreading abroad, droue backe those which made head; hotly pursued those which shrunke: then being gathered round in a ring, ouerthrew them; some neere, some farre off. *Carioualda* hauing long sustained the brunt of the enemy: exhorted his souldiers closely together, to breake into the enemies troupes: himselfe venturing amongst the thickest, was beaten downe with darts: and his horse killed vnder him and many noble men about him. The rest either through their owne valour, or aide of the horsemen, with *Stertinius* and *Aemilius*, escaped danger. When *Cæsar* had passed the riuer Visurgis, hee vnderstood by a fugitiue from the enemie campe, what place *Arminius* had chosen to giue battell: and that other nations were assembled in a wood consecrated to *Hercules*, with intention to assaile the camp by night. The runnagate was beleeued: lights were seene: and the espials getting neerer, reported they heard a great confuse noise of men and horses. Being therefore at a iumpe to hazard all, thinking it conuenient to sounde the souldies minde, hee bethought himselfe what was the fittest expedient to trye the truth. The Tribunes and Centurions brought him oftener, pleasing than true newes: the freed men were of a seruile disposition, in friends there was flatterie: if he should call an assembly, that which a few should begin, the rest would applaude. That their minds would be best knowen, when they were by themselues; not ouerlooked: in eating and drinking they would vtter their feare or hope. As soone as it was night, going out at the Augurall gate, accompanied with one alone, in secret and vnknowen places to the watch: casting a sauage beasts skin on his backe, he went from one place to another: stood listning at the tents: and ioyeth in the praise of himselfe: some extolling the nobilitie of their Captaine; others his comely personage: many his patience, and courtesie: that in sports and serious matters, he was still one man: confessing therefore that they thought it their parts, to make him some requitall in this battell, and sacrifice the traitors and peace-breakers, to reuenge and glory.

cap. 11. cap. 12. cap. 13.

IIII. Arminius *and the Germans ouerthrow.*

AMidst these things, one of the enemies campe, skilfull in the Latine tongue: riding close to the trench: promiseth alowd in *Arminius* name, wiues, and lands, & a hundred* sesterces a day, as long as the war cõtinued, if any would flee from the Romans, & come to his side. That brauado did greatly exasperate the legions: wishing among themselues: O that the day were come, that wee might

* About fifteen shillings sixe pence.

once

once come to ioyne battell with them: saying, that they would take possession of the Germans lands and bring away their wiues by force. They accepted of their words as a presage, and vowed they would haue their wiues and money for a bootie. About the third watch the enemy assailed the campe, but threw no dart: because he perceiued many in readinesse to defend their forts: and no man remisse in his charge. The same night *Germanicus* in a pleasant dreame, thought he had beene offering of sacrifice, and that his pretext or robes of his infancie, had beene sprinkled with holy blood, and that hee receiued another at the hands of *Augusta* his grandmother. Emboldned with that dream, and the Augures foretelling lucky successe, concurring with it: he called the souldiers to an assembly; and declared vnto them what things by wisedome he had foreseene: and what he thought expedient for the imminent danger of the battell. That not onely the open fields were commodious for the Romans to fight in, but the woods also and forests; if they proceeded by discretion. Neither were the barbarous huge targets, and long pikes so handsome, among trees and low shrubs; as darts and swords; and armour close to the body. They should therefore lay on thicke load; and strike at their faces with their swords. That the Germans had neither coat of fence nor helmet: and their bucklers were not ribbed with iron, or sinewes, but with osiers, or painted thinne boord. Their first rancke was in some sort appointed with pikes: but the rest had but short weapons burnt at the point. And although they were grim in countenance, and of some courage for a short fit: yet being once wounded they would flee and be gone without shame of discredit, or care of their Captaine: in aduersity faint hearted and timorous: but in prosperity, vnmindfull both of diuine and humane lawes. If they desired an end of their wearisome iournies, and sea; in this battell they might ease themselues. Albis was now neerer then Rhene; Neither was there any further warre to be made, if in that place treading the steps of his father, and vncle, they would make him conqueror. The heat of the souldier being inflamed with this speech of the Captaine, the signe of battel was giuen. Neither did *Arminius* nor the rest of the German nobility omit to incourage theirs on the other side, saying: These are the Romans which fled from *Varus* campe: who for feare of ioyning battell, had raised a rebellion. Whereof some their backs loaden with wounds; and others their sides tired and broken with waues and tempests of the sea; once more offered themselues to the enemy ful of ire, without hope of good; the gods being against them. They took sea, & chose out the bie-waies of the Ocean, least they should haue bene encountred as they came, or pursued after they were repulsed. But when they shall come to handistrokes, they shall find small refuge in the wind and oares. That now they should call to mind their couetousnes, cruelty, & pride: was there any thing else to be done, thā to maintain their liberty; or die rather than be brought to seruitude? Thus encouraged, and demaunding battell, they were brought into a place called Idistauisum, betwixt Visurgis and the hils: not of one breadth, but now wide, now straight, as the riuer or iutting out of the hils did suffer. Behinde them was a wood of high trees: and betweene those trees a plaine and euen ground; which the Barbarians had possessed with the entrance of the wood: the Cherusci put themselues on the tops of the hils, to fall furiously vpon the Romans in the heat of the fight. The order of our battell was this. The aides of Gallia, and the Germans were placed in the front: followed with the foote archers: after them foure legions; and *Cæsar* himselfe with two Pretorian cohorts: and a choise troupe of horsemen. After them so many legions more, with light horsemen, & bow men on horseback: and the rest of the confederates; all of them most carefull to keepe their order and array

cap. 14.

cap. 15.

cap. 16.

Cap. 17. aray. *Germanicus* perceiuing the Cheruſcians troupes to come fiercely toward thē; commanded the ableſt horſemen, to charge them on the flanke, & *Stertinius* with the other ſquadrons of horſemen, to enuiron him, & ſet on him behind promiſing to be himſelfe at hand if need required. In the meane ſeaſon, eight Eagles (a very lucky ſigne) were ſeene to flee towards the entrance of the wood. Which the Emperour perceiuing; cried that they ſhould march on, & follow the Roman birds; the peculiar gods of the legions. Wherupon the footmen brake in, & the horſemen ſent before charged them on the flanke and on the backe. And which is ſtrange to report, two companies of the enemie tooke a contrary flight: thoſe which kept the wood, ran to the plaine: and thoſe which held the plaine, haſtened to the wood. The Cheruſci being betweene both, were thruſt downe from the hils: amongſt whom with great valour, *Arminius* maintained the battell, with his hands; voice and wounds. All his might he bent againſt the archers, to haue burſt out that way, if the cohorts of Gallia, of Rætia, and the Vindelicians, had not oppoſed themſelues with their enſignes. Neuertheleſſe, by ſtrength of body, and courage of his horſe, hee eſcaped; hauing firſt died his face with bloud, leſt hee ſhould be knowne. Some report that he was knowne to the Cheruſci, which were among the auxiliarie bands of the Romans, and let paſſe by them. The ſame either valour or guile, gaue *Inguiomerus* meanes to eſcape; the reſt were ſlaine on euery ſide. And moſt of them endeuoring to ſwim ouer Viſurgis, were either with the darts throwne after them, or force of the riuer, or waight of ſuch as lept after, or with the banks which fell, killed or ouerwhelmed. Some cowardly fleeing away, ſought to clamber the tops of trees, and there hiding themſelues in the boughes, were ſhot through by the archers in a mockerie: and others bruſed by the ouerturning of the trees. The victotie was
Cap. 18. great, and vnto vs not bloudy. From fiue of the clocke, vntill night, the enemies were ſlaine, which filled ten miles of ground with dead carcaſſes, and armour. Some chaines were found among their ſpoiles; brought to impriſon the Romans, as not doubting a proſperous ſucceſſe. The ſouldiers ſaluted *Tiberius* by the name of Emperour, in the ſame place where the battell was fought: and erected a mount of earth, as a token of victorie: and put on it the armour of the enemy: and vnderneath the names of the nations which they had conquered.

V. *A ſecond battell woon by the Romans againſt the Germans.*

Cap. 19. THe wounds which the Germans receiued, and their ouerthrow, did not ſo much fret and greeue them as this ſpectacle: in ſo much that thoſe which were on the point to abandon their dwellings, and make preparation to paſſe the riuer Albis; catch vp their weapons, and demaund battell. The common ſort, the chiefe Gentlemen, yong and old, aſſaile and endanger the Romans. At laſt they choſe a place, enuironed with woods and a riuer, which had a narrow wateriſh plaine within it. The woods were enuironed likewiſe with a deepe marſh: ſauing on one ſide, where the Angriuarians had raiſed vp a broad cauſey, by which their territories were ſeparated from the Cheruſci. The footmen ſtayed there: the horſemen hid themſelues in the woods adioyning; that when the legions ſhould enter
Cap. 20. the wood, they might charge them on the backe. *Cæſar* was informed of all their plots: hee knew their deſeignments, their places, their open and ſecret deuices, and turned the enemies fraud to his owne deſtruction. The charge of the horſemen and the plaine he committed to *Seius Tubero* Lieutenant: part of the footmen marched

in

in order of battell to the wood: and part went about to win the cauſey; the hardeſt he vndertooke himſelfe; and the reſt he committed to the Lieutenants. They vnto whom the plaine fell, did eaſily enter it: but thoſe which were to aſſault the cauſey were ſore gaulded, & put backe, with blows from aboue as if they had ſcaled a wall. The Captaine perceiuing that the enemy had the aduantage by fighting ſo neere, cauſed the legions to retire a little: and commaunded the ſling-caſters and ſtone-caſters to let freely at them, and driue them from their fence. Many darts and ſpeares were ſhot out of engins; and the more the enemies were in ſight, the more wounds they receiued. The cauſey being taken, *Cæſar* himſelfe with his guard, courageouſly entered the woods, and fought with the enemy hand to hand: who had behind him a marſh, and the Romans a riuer or mountaines: the place brought a neceſſity of fighting to both parts: their hope conſiſted in their manhood: and their ſafety in the victory. The Germans were no leſſe couragious: but they were ouercome by the aduantage of weapons, and manner of fight. For beeing a great multitude, and the place narrow, they could neither thruſt out, nor draw back thoſe long pikes; nor vſe any nimbleneſſe of body in running in, and ſtepping backe: but were forced to fight, and not moone a foote. Contrarily the Romain ſouldier, his ſhield cloſe to his breſt; his ſword in his hand: gored the wide ſided, and open faced Barbarian: and by their ſlaughter opened away through them. *Arminius* being now courageleſſe, by reaſon of continuall danger, or freſh bleeding wound lately receiued: but *Inguiomerus* flue vp and downe the army, wanted rather fortune than courage. And *Germanicus* to be the better knowne, vnlaced his helmet, and beſought them to continue the ſlaughter: captiues there was no neede of: onely the generall butchery of the nation, would make an end of the warre. And in the euening he draweth out one legion from the army; to make ready the camps: the reſt filled themſelues vntill night with the bloud of the enemie. And for the horſemen, it is hard to gheſſe which had the better. Then *Cæſar* hauing praiſed the valour of the conquerors in an aſſembly, made a great heape of armour with this proud title. The people betwixt Rhene and Albis being vanquiſhed, *Tiberius Cæſars* army doth dedicate thoſe monuments to *Mars*, *Iupiter*, and *Auguſtus*. Of himſelfe hee added no word for feare of enuie, or becauſe the memory of the fact was ſufficient teſtimony for him. Immediately after he commaunded *Stertinius* to make warre againſt the Angriuarians, vnleſſe they would preſently yeeld: who humbly intreating and yeelding to all that was demaunded, receiued generall pardon. But the ſommer being now far ſpent, ſome of the legions were ſent backe to the ſtanding camps; and *Germanicus* embarking many, conueyed them to the Ocean, by the riuer Amiſia. At the firſt they had a quiet and calme ſea: no noiſe heard, but the noiſe of the oares of a thouſand veſſels; which ſometimes likewiſe were driuē with ſailes; by & by haile powring downe out of blacke and thicke clouds, and ſundry ſtormes and tempeſts, ariſing from all parts; and vncertaine raging ſurges depriued them of all foreſight, and skill in gouerning their ſhipping. And the ſouldier fearefull and vnacquainted with the dangerous aduentures by ſea, whileſt he troubled the mariners, or vnſeaſonably goeth about to helpe; hindered the office of the more skilfull. In the ende the heauen, and all the ſea gaue place to the ſouthwind: which more and more preuailing, through the mountaines of Germanie, deepe riuers, and huge clouds; and growing more violent and boiſterous through the colde of the north, neer which it is: toſſed and ſcattered the ſhipping into the wilde Ocean, or rockie Ilands, or dangerous and vnknowen quickſands. Which being a little, but with much adoe eſcaped, by the changing of the ſea, they went whither the wind droue them. They could

cap. 21.

cap. 22.

cap. 23.

could neither caſt anchor;nor pumpe out the water which came in on them. Horſes of ſeruice and cariage;bag and baggage;yea their armour, they threw into the ſea; that the ſhips might be lightened, which leaked at the ſides; the billowes ſwelling more and more. By how much the Ocean is more violent,then any other ſea; and cap. 24. Germany exceedeth other countries in roughnes and ſharpnes of aire: by ſo much that misfortune exceeded others, in ſtrangeneſſe and greatneſſe: happening at the ſhores of the enemies land,or in ſo deepe and wide a ſea; that it hath beene beleeued to be the laſt,& beyond which there is no land. Some of their ſhips were drowned; many caſt vpon Ilands far off: the ſouldiers,the countrey being vnhabited, periſhed by famine,vnleſſe it were ſuch as releeued themſelues with the horſes as were caſt aland. *Germanicus* gallie onely arriued at the Chauceans countrey: who ſeeing himſelfe all thoſe daies and nights vpon rocks, and points; crying that hee onely was guilty of the caſting away of ſo many perſons: could hardly be kept and ſtaied by his friends,from caſting himſelfe into the ſame ſea. At length the ſea growing lower, and the wind more fauourable; the lame and vntackled ſhips, with a fewe oares, or their garments ſpread in ſteed of ſailes, or drawen at the taile of ſtronger, returned. Which *Germanicus* mending in haſte, ſent to ſearch the Ilands: by which care many of the ſouldiers were gathered together and recouered. The Angriuarians lately receiued into protection,deliuered ſome, which they had redeemed,of ſuch as dwelt further in the land: ſome were caſt into Britanie, and ſent backe by the perie Kings. As euery man returned from farre countries, hee reported ſtrange woonders; tempeſtuous ſtormes; birds neuer before heard of; ſea-monſters; doubtfull ſhapes, whether of men or beaſts: which they had either ſeene,or imagined through feare.

VI. Germanicus *being returned,waſteth the countrey of the Chatti: and recouereth an enſigne,loſt with* Varus.

cap. 25. BVt the fame of the nauie loſt; as it did put the Germans in a hope of beginning a new warre: ſo did it giue *Germanicus* ſtomack to curbe them. Whereupon he commanded *C. Silius* to go againſt the Chatti, with thirty thouſand footmen, and three thouſand horſemen; and himſelfe inuaded the Marſi with ſtronger forces. Their Captaine called *Malouendus*;who not long before had yeelded himſelfe,gaue notice how, that not farre off,an enſigne of *Varus* legion was buried, and kept but with a ſlender guarde. A band of men was ſent thither out of hand: with direction, that ſome ſhould toll them out, and aſſaile them in the front; and others by inuironing them behind,to open the earth & take out the enſigne:fortune ſhewing herſelfe fauourable to both the companies. This made *Cæſar* more forward, and entereth further into the land: waſteth,forrageth,rifleth the countrey; the enemie not daring to encounter them:or if at any time he did reſiſt;he was ſtraight driuen back: neuer (as they vnderſtood by certaine captiues)fearing more in their liues. For they gaue out,that the Romans were inuincible,and not to be daunted with any misfortune; ſeeing that hauing loſt their nauie,and armour;and after that the ſhores were couered, with the carcaſſes of their men and horſes; they inuaded them a freſh, with the ſame courage,and like fiercenes:yea as if they had increaſed their number. cap. 26. From thence the ſouldiers were brought back to their winterſtanding camps: glad that they had recompenſed their misfortune by ſea, with ſo proſperous a victory. *Cæſar* vſed great largeſſe,recompenſing euery man, to the value of the loſſe hee had ſuſtained.

sustained. Little doubt, but the enemie grew faint hearted, and began to consult how he might intreat a peace: and that if the next sommer the wars should haue beene continued, there would be an end of all. But *Germanicus* was sollicited by often letters from *Tiberius*, to returne and receiue the triumph which was ordai- » ned for him: that he had passed through many chances and accidents: that he had » had prosperous successe in many battels: that he should remember what grieuous » and cruell losses he had sustained, not by any ouersight of the Captaine, but by the » winds and waues of the sea: that he had beene sent nine times into Germanie by » *Augustus* of famous memory: where he had atchieued more noble exploits by cou- » sell then force. So he had receiued the submission of the Sigambri: to the Sueuians, » and the King of the Maroboduans were inforced to make peace: that the Cheruſci » and other rebellious nations, seeing the Romans had had a sufficient reuenge on » them, might be left to war one against another. But *Germanicus* intreating for one » yeere longer, to finish the enterprises he had begun; *Tiberius* assaulted his mode- » stie more earnestly; offering him the consulship once more: which he should exe- cute in person. He added further, that if there were any more wars to be enterprised, he should reserue that subiect, for the glory of his brother *Drusus*: who no other enemy being left, could not but by warring against the Germans, get the title of Emperor, or win the crowne of laurell. *Germanicus* made no longer stay; although he knew well that those were but colours, sought through enuie, to draw him from the glory he had already purchased.

VII. Libo *accused of treason, killeth himselfe.*

ABout the same time *Libo Drusus*, one of the Scribonian familie, was accused for practizing against the state. The beginning, the order, and the end of that busines, I will set downe: because those things came then first to light, which for so many yeeres had consumed and eaten the common wealth. *Firmius Cato* a Senator, and one of *Libos* inward friends, induced this vncircumspect young man, and eatily led to vanities, to giue credit to the Chaldeans promises, Magicians ceremonies, and interpreters of dreames: vainely and boastingly putting him in minde, that *Pompey* was his great grandfather; *Scribonia*, who had beene *Augustus* wife, his Aunt: the *Cæsars* his cosen germans: and that his house was full of images and monuments of his predecessors. Hee incited him further to licentious riot: to take vp and borrow money, making himselfe a companion of his wanton lusts and familiarities, the better to wrap and conuince him with many euidences. When he had found witnesses sufficient, and such also of his seruants which were priuie to the whole matter, he desired he might be admitted to the speech of the Prince: and by meanes of *Flaccus Vescularius*, a Gentleman of Rome, and one of *Tiberius* familiars, discouered the matter, and the man. *Cæsar* was content with the accusation, yet denied conference with *Firmius* the accuser: saying, that by the same messenger *Flaccus*, their speech might passe from one to another. In the meane season hee honoreth *Libo* with the Prætorship, inuiteth him to his table, neuer changed his countenance towards him, nothing passionate in words (so skilfull hee was in concealing his anger) and although he could haue preuented both his words and enterprises; yet he desired rather to know the manner of his proceedings: vntill one *Iulius* sollicited to conuince and raise infernall spirits by inchantments, vttered the matter to *Fulcinius Trio*, one amongst the promoters, compted quicke and ready witted, and careleſſe of discredit. This *Trio*, accused immediately the partie: went to the Con- suls:

suls: and required that the Senators would heare the matter. The Senators were assembled, and giuen to vnderstand that they were to deliberate of an important
cap. 29. and waighty affaire. *Libo* in the meane time changing his attire, went with certaine noble women from one house to another, intreated his cosens, and craueth their good word in his extremity: but all of them refused; some pretending one excuse, some another; fearing least they should bee thought partakers of the same crime. The day come that the Senate sate; being through feare, or as some report, faining himselfe sicke, weak and weary, was brought to the court gates in a chariot, leaning on his brother, and holding vp his hands, craued pardon of *Tiberius*; who receiued him, neuer once changing countenance. Then *Cæsar* read the libels alowd, & their
cap. 30. authors; so moderating himselfe, that he was not thought either to mittigate or aggrauate any way the crimes. Besides *Trio* and *Catus*, there stepped foorth two other accusers, *Fonteius Agrippa*, and *C. Liuius*, striuing which had best right to pleade against him; vntill *Liuius* (because they would not yeeld the one to the other, and *Libo* came without any aduocate) promised that he himselfe would set downe seuerally euery crime by him committed. Then he produced such sottish declarations, that among other things, they contained, how *Libo* had consulted with the Magicians, whether he should euer haue money enough, to be able to couer the Appian way, from Rome to Brundusium; with many such simple and friuolous matters, and more mildly to terme them, pittifull. Yet the accuser enforced one thing more: that in one writing of *Liboes* owne hand, there were added certaine dangerous and vnknowne characters, to the names of the *Cæsars* and Senators. And the party arraigned denying it; it was thought good, that his bondmen which knew his hand, should be examined vpon the racke. And because that by an ancient decree of Senate, it was not lawfull to torture a bondman against the life of his Lord: *Tiberius* a subtile deuiser of new lawes, commandeth them all to be sold to a publicke Actor, that without preiudice of the decree, they might be tortured, as not beeing *Liboes* bondmen. Whereupon *Libo* desired that the matter might be deferred to the next day. And being at his house, intreated his neere kinsman *P. Quirinius*, to make the
cap. 31. last intercession for him to the Prince: who had answere giuen him that hee should intreat the Lords of the Senate. In the meane season his house was beset with a gard of souldiers, who in the entry made such a noise, that they might easily be both heard and seene. When as *Libo* loathing the very sight of the dainties ministred for his last comfort, began to call for some one to murder him: and taking his bondmens right hands, and putting a sword in them; whilest they trembling with feare, and refusing to doe it, ran from one place to another: ouerthrew the light on the table: in that mortall and deadly darkenesse, he thrust himselfe twi'e in the guts. At the grone when he fell, his freed men came running about him: but the souldiers seeing the murder, stood aloofe. Notwithstanding, the accusation was prosecuted with like asseueration, and *Tiberius* swore, that if he had not voluntarily hastened
cap. 32. his owne death, he would haue begged his life, although he had been guilty. His goods were distributed among the accusers, and Pretors roomes were extraordinarily giuen to such as were of the Senate. Then *Cotta Messalinus*, gaue his opinion, that *Liboes* image should not be carried in the funerals of his posteritie. *C. Lentulus*, that none of the Scribonian familie should take vpon him the surname of *Drusus*. By the aduise of *Pomp. Flaccus*, certaine daies of generall processions were ordained. *L. P.* and *Gallus Asinius*, and *Papius Mutilus*, and *L. Apronius*, were of opinion, that gifts should be offered to *Iupiter*, *Mars*, and the goddesse of Concord; and that the Ides of Septemb. when *Libo* killed himselfe should be kept holy day. The dignities

and

and flatteries of these men, I haue thought good to register, that it migh be knowne that that was alwaies an old disease in the common-wealth.

VIII. *An expulsion of Mathematicians. A reformation of abuses.*

DEcrees of Senate were ordained, for the expulsing of Astrologers, and Magicians out of Italie: among whom *L. Pituanius* was throwen headlong from the Tarpeian rocke: and the Consuls punished *P. Martius* without the Esquilin gate, with the sound of trumpets, according to the auncient custome. At the next meeting of the Senate, *L. Haterius* once Consull, and *Octauius Fronto*, who had beene Pretor, spake much against the superfluous excesse of the citie. Where it was decreed, that they should not serue at their tables vessels of beaten gold, nor men weare silke aboue their degree. *Fronto* went further, and demanded that there might be an order set downe touching their plate, houshold stuffe, and number of seruants: for it was yet a thing in vse, for the Senators to lay downe that for a decree, which they thought expedient for the common wealth. *Gallus Asinius* spake to the contrary, saying: that with the greatnesse of the Empire, priuate mens wealth was increased: which was no new matter, but of old times receiued likewise: that the wealth in *Fabricius* time differed from that in Scipioes; and yet all referred to the common wealth: which being but in meane estate, the citizens houses were thereafter. But now that it is growen to that magnificence; the estate of particular men is bettered also. Neither is there any thing too much or too little, either in plate, number of seruants, or other furniture of houshold, but in respect of the quality of the owner. The reuenewes of a Senator were distinguished from a gentlemans: not because they differed in nature; but as they were preferred in place, degrees, and dignities, the one before the other. These things are procured for the recreation of the minde, or health of body. Vnlesse peraduenture they would that the most noble, should take most cares vpon them, and hazard their persons in most dangers; and yet want those pleasures and comforts, which best serued to lenifie and make them more easie. The acknowledging of vices vnder honest termes, and the likenesse of affections in the hearers minds, caused *Gallus* to haue an easie assent. *Tiberius* added, that that was no time for reformation: & if there were any dissolution in manners, there should not want one to redresse it. Among these things, *L. Piso* reprehending the ambition vsed in places of iudgement, corruption of iustice, cruelty of aduocates, the threats of accusers; protested he would be gone & forsake the city, and lead his life farre off in some retired and solitary place in the countrey: and in so saying went out of the Senat house. *Tiberius* was mooued at this; and did what he could to pacifie him with faire words: and withall was earnest with his neerest kinsmen to staie him, either by intreatie or authority. Not long after the same *Piso* gaue no lesse free testimonie of his griefe, by summoning *Vrgulania* to appeare in iudgement; whom the fauour of *Augusta* had priuiledged aboue the course of lawes: But *Vrgulania* disobeying the sommonce being conueied into *Cæsars* house, made small reckoning of *Piso*: yet he desisted not, although *Augusta* complained her credit was touched therein, and her calling embased. *Tiberius* thinking it a part of curtesie, so farre to yeeld vnto his mothers request, as to promise he would goe to the Pretors Tribunall to defend *Vrgulania*: went out of the Pallace, the souldiers beeing commãded to follow a far off. The people which met him in the face, marked with what a setled countenance he went forward, protracting the time & the way, with diuers discourses,

Vide annot. l. 1. hist. cap. 7.

cap. 33.

cap. 34.

discourses, vntill that (*Pisoes* friends labouring in vaine to disswade him from the suite) *Augusta* had commanded the money which was demaunded to be brought to the Tribunall. That matter was so ended, not without some glory to *Piso*, and greater fame to *Cæsar*. But *Vrgulanias* credit and authority was so ouergreat in the citie, that she disdained to come, and giue witnesse in a matter which was handled before the Lords of the Senate. And therefore the Pretor was sent to examine her in her house: when as the auncient custome was, that euen the Vestall virgins were
cap. 35. examined as witnesses, in the common place of pleading and iudgement. I would not recite the matters propounded that yeere, but that the diuersitie of opinions, betwixt *Cn. Piso*, and *Asinius Gallus* in that point is worthy the knowing. For *Piso* was of opinion, that although *Cæsar* had promised he would be present, that so much the rather he would prosecute his cause against *Vrgulania*: and that in the absence of the Prince, the Senators and Gentlemen might execute their charge, as a thing well beseeming the dignity of the common wealth. *Gallus*, because *Piso* had first taken vpon him the colour of liberty, held that there was nothing done with maiesty, and answerable to the dignity of the people of Rome; but what was done in *Cæsars* presence: and therefore, the assemblies of Italie, and meetings of Prouinces, were to be reserued vntill he would be present. These things were debated very hotly on both sides, *Tiberius* giuing them the hearing, and holding his
cap. 36. peace, and in the end they were deferred. There arose another controuersie betwixt *Gallus* and *Cæsar*. For *Gallus* was of opinion, that the assemblies for creation of Magistrates, should be from fiue to fiue yeares: and that the Lieutenants of the Legions, who had executed that charge before they had beene Pretors, should then bee chosen Pretors elect: and that the Prince should euery yeere nominate twelue. Little doubt but this aduise went deepe, and reached to a secret of state. *Cæsar* ne-
" uertheless, as though his authority should thereby be made greater, sayd, that it
" stood not with his modesty to choose so many, and deferre so many. And if the e-
" lection should be euery yeere, hardly could it be chosen, but some would bee offen-
" ded, although such as had the repulse, might be comforted with hope to bee chosen
" the next yeare. And how would they hate me, which should be deferred aboue fiue
" yeares? how could it be knowne in so long a time, what euery mans minde is, what
" his house, and fortune: If men grow too proud in one yeere, what would they bee if
" they should be cõtinued for fiue yeares? Magistrates should so be multiplied fiue for
" one: and lawes subuerted: which haue prescribed a time for suters to exercise their
cap. 37. " industrie, and to procure and inioy dignities. With this speech, in shew plausible, he confirmed the state to himself: he bettered the reuenews of certain of the Senators: and therefore it was the more to be maruelled that he accepted no better of the request of *M. Hortalus*, a noble yong man, fallen into manifest pouerty. This *Hortalus* was nephew to *Hortensius* the Orator, and by the liberality of * ten hundred thousand sesterces giuen him by *Augustus*, perswaded to marry, and haue children, lest so worthy a family should be extinguished. Standing therfore with foure of his sonnes before the entry of the Senate house, in stead of his opinion, in a ful assembly of the Senat in the pallace, casting his eyes sometimes on the image of *Hortensius*, placed among the Orators, and sometimes on that of *Augustus* began as followeth.

* About 781. li. sterl.

" These children, Lords of the Senat, whose number and tender yeeres you see; I haue
" not begotten of mine owne accord; but because the Prince did so exhort me: and
" because my predecessors had deserued to haue issue to succeede them. As for my
" owne part, seeing I could neither attaine to wealth, nor winne the peoples fauour
" through the alteration of times; nor yet eloquence, which is the proper ornament

of

of our house: I contented my selfe if my small ability, were neither a reproch to my selfe, nor a burden vnto others. By the Emperors commandement I tooke a wife; behold the ofspring and progeny, of so many Consuls and Dictators: which I speake not for enuie to any, but to moone pitie. They shall enioy O *Cæsar* whilest thou dost flourish, such honours as thou wilt bestow vpon them. In the meane space defend from pouertie *Hortensius* nephewes sonnes, brought vp by *Augustus*. To which *Tiberius* perceiuing that the Senators were inclined to his speeches, was the more readier to gainesay him almost in these words. If all such as are needie begin to come hither, and craue for money for their children, they shall neuer bee satisfied, and the common wealth vnable to supplie their necessities. Neither haue our predecessors permitted vs to digresse, from the matter put in deliberation; and when we should intreat of somewhat to the benefit of the common-wealth, debate how to better our priuate estates: and increase our substance with the hatred of the Senat, and Princes, whether they graunt or denie our requests. These are not petitions, but vnseasonable, importunate, vnlooked for crauing: to rise vp in this place & with the number and age of children, when the Lords are assembled to handle other matters, to assaile the modestie of the Senate, and vse the like violence vnto me, and as it were forcibly to breake open the publicke treasury: which if we waste by ambition, must be supplied by vnlawfull meanes. *Augustus* of famous memory, hath giuen thee money *Hortalus*, vnasked: yet not vpon condition that it should alwaies be giuen thee: for in so doing, industry would decay, and idlenesse increase: if men had not a feare and hope in them. And if all men should carelesse expect reliefe from others, they would be to themselues vnprofitable, and to vs burdensome. These & the like speeches, although they were heard with the approbation of such, whose custome is to applaude all the Princes actions, be they honest or dishonest: yet many held their toongue, or secretly muttered, which *Tiberius* perceiued; and hauing paused a little: said that he had answered *Hortalus*: Neuertheless if it so seemed good vnto the Lords of the Senate, hee would giue euery one of his male children * two hundred thousand sesterces. The rest gaue him thanks: *Hortalus* helde his toongue, either for feare, or as retaining somewhat of the nobilitie of his auncestors, euen in extremity of fortune. Yet *Tiberius* had no compassion afterward on him, although the *Hortensian* familie fell into shamefull pouertie.

* 1562. l. 8. sterl.

IX. Clemens a bondslaue, counterfaiteth himselfe to be Agrippa: and his bold answere.

THe same yeere, an audacious part of a bondslaue had shaken the whole estate with ciuill warres and discord; had it not beene preuented in good time. A bondman of *Agrippa* called *Clemens*, vnderstanding of *Augustus* death: with a courage more then seruile purposed to goe to the Iland Planasia, & by fraud or force bring away *Agrippa* to the German campe. But his enterprise was hindered by the slowenesse of a ship of burden: and in the meane season *Agrippa* being murdered, bending his mind to greater and dangerouser attempts; stealeth away his ashes: and being come to Coram, a promontorie of Etruria, in vnknowen places hideth himselfe, vntill his beard and haire were growen out: being in fauour and yeeres not vnlike his Lord. This done, he whispereth it abroad, by fit companions of his secrets, first (as in things forbidden commonly it is wont to bee) by priuie rumors, that *Agrippa* was yet aliue; then openly, in the credulous eares of the

weaker

weaker sort; or busie headed and turbulent: and therefore most desirous of nouelties. His manner was towards night to go to small townes; shewing himselfe abroad, but seldome: nor stay long in a place. And because time, and the eie trie out truth; and falshood winneth credit on a sudden, and by vncertainties, he either left some speech of him where he had beene, or preuented it, before any was begun. In the mean time it was commonly reported throughout Italy, and beleeued at Rome, that *Agrippa* by the goodnes of the gods was preserued aliue. Insomuch that being arriued at Hostia: there great multitudes, and in the citie secret assemblies shewed signes of ioy: *Tiberius* being doubtfull and perplexed, whether hee should make away his bondman by souldiers; or suffer that vaine credulousnesse to vanish away with time. Thus wauering betwixt shame and feare: sometimes thinking it no policie to make light of any thing: and sometime lesse to feare all things: in the end committed the matter to *Sallustius Crispus*. He chuseth two of his followers (or as some say souldiers) and perswadeth them, as though they had fled for some offence to goe to him; offer him money; promise him loyaltie; and that they would stand to him in all dangers. They fulfilling his commandement, espying a night when hee had no guard: with aide sufficient, bound him, stopped his mouth, and drew him to the pallace. And when *Cæsar* asked him, How he was made *Agrippa*: it is reported hee answered, As thou wast made *Cæsar*. Hee could not be brought by any meanes to disclose his confederates. Neither durst *Tiberius* punish him openly; but in a secret part of the pallace commanded him to be murdered; and his body priuily to be conueyed away. And although many of the Princes own house, Senators, and gentlemen, were reported to haue sustained him with their goods, and aided him with their counsell; yet there was no further enquirie made.

In the end of this yeere a triumphall arch was erected neer to *Saturnus* Temple, for the recouery of the ensignes lost with *Varus*, vnder the conduct of *Germanicus*, and *Cæsars* good fortune. And a Temple built also of strong fortune, neere Tiber in the gardens which *Cæsar* the Dictator had bequeathed to the people of Rome; and a Chappell dedicated to the Iulian familie; and an image to *Augustus* at Bouilles.

IX. Germanicus *triumpheth: is sent to the East: The death of* Archelaus *King of Cappadocia.*

COElius, and *L. Pomponius* beieng Consuls, the seuenth Kalends of Iune, *Germanicus Cæsar* triumphed for the victories gotten against the Cherusci, Chatti, and Angriuari, and all other nations inhabiting to the riuer of Albis. In which triumph were caried the spoiles, and captiues, and counterfeit of the mountaines, riuers, and battels; and so the warre was taken as ended, because he was forbidden to prosecute it any further. The comelines of his person, and triumphall chariot, loaden with fiue of his children, made the shew more gallant. But when they thought with themselues how vnluckie the peoples fauour was in his father *Drusus*: that his vncle *Marcellus* was taken from them in the flowre of his youth, & heat of the peoples loue: that the affection of the people of Rome was vnfortunate, and of small continuance, they were all secretly stricken into a feare. And although *Tiberius* gaue in *Germanicus* name, to euery one of the people * three hundred sesterces a man, and made him his copartner in the Consulship; yet could neuer be accompted a sincere friend, but that he went about to remoone the yong man, vnder colour of honour, and forged pretences; or greedily taking hold of such

as were offered by chance. King *Archelaus* had now fiftie yeares enioyed Cappadocia, greatly disliked of *Tiberius*, because that during his being at Rhodes, hee had vsed no shew of dutie towards him: which *Archelaus* did not omit through pride, but because he was so admonished by *Augustus* familiarest friends. For whilest *C. Cæsar* yet flourished and managed the affaires of the East, *Tiberius* friendship was suspected as dangerous. The house of the *Cæsars* was no sooner extinguished, and that himselfe was in possession of the Empire, but he calleth *Archelaus* by his mothers letters to Rome: who not dissembling her sonnes displeasure, offered him all gentle intreaty, if he would come to him with submission. He then ignorant of the trechery, or misdoubting violence if he seemed to perceiue it, maketh hast to the citie: where being curtishly receiued, and after accused in Senate; not for the crimes which were pretended, but by anguish of mind, or feebleness of age; and because not onely base, but also things indifferent are strange and vnusuall to kings; he either willingly or naturally ended his life. The kingdome was afterward reduced into a prouince: and *Cæsar* declaring that with the reuenews therof, the tribute of one in the hundred might be eased; made a decree, that from thence forward one should be leuied in two hundred. At the same time *Antiochus*, king of the Comageni, and *Philopator*, king of the Cilicians being dead, those nations were diuided among themselues, some desiring to be gouerned by the Romans, and others by Kings. And the prouinces of Syria and Iudea, ouercharged with taxes, made supplication that their tributes might be diminished. These things therefore, with those which I haue rehearsed of Armenia, *Tiberius* sheweth to the Lords of the Senat: and that the tumults of the Orient, could no way be pacified but by *Germanicus* wisedome. As for himselfe, he was stricken in age, and *Drusus* was not yet of ripe yeares. And thereupon by decree of Senate, *Germanicus* had the charge giuen him ouer all the prouinces, diuided by sea, and a greater commaund whither soeuer he went, than any, which either by lot or Princes sending receiued gouernement. Now *Tiberius* had before remoued from Syria *Creticus Silanus*, who was by marriage allied to *Germanicus*, his daughter being promised in marriage to *Nero Germanicus* eldest son; and in his roome had appointed *Gn. Piso* to be Lieutenant, a man both rash and headstrong: not knowing what it was to obey, as hauing that fiercenesse of courage naturally from *Piso* his father: who during the ciuill warres, aided in most eager manner the sides which rose in Affrike against *Cæsar*: then following *Brutus* and *Cassius* faction; and licence granted him to returne, forbare all dignities, vntill he was wooed to accept the Consulship, offered him by *Augustus Cæsars* owne motion. But besides the hereditary courage of his fathers, the nobility and wealth of *Plancina* his wife, made him grow so insolent, that hee would scarse yeeld to *Tiberius*, and contemned his children as far inferiour to himselfe: not doubting at all but that he was chosen gouernor of Syria; to bridle and keepe vnder *Germanicus* hopes. And some beleeued that he had had secret commaundement by *Tiberius* so to doe: and without all peraduenture *Augusta* had put it into *Plancinaes* head, (emulation being a vsuall matter amongst women) to contend and quarrell with *Agrippina*. The court was deuided some secretly fauouring *Drusus*, some *Germanicus*. *Tiberius* did leane to *Drusus*, as his owne, and of his bloud: but the small affection *Germanicus* vncle caried him, was cause that others loued him the more: and because that by the mothers side he was more nobly descended, hauing *M. Antonius* for his grandfather, and *Augustus* for his vncle: whereas *Pomponius Atticus*, a Gentleman of Rome, great grandfather to *Drusus*, did not answere the honorable memories of the Claudians. And *Germanicus* wife *Agrippina*, did goe beyond *Liuia* *Drusus* cap. 43.

Druſus wife, in fruitfulnes, fame, and name. Neuertheleſſe the brothers did exceedingly well agree, nothing at all mooued with the emulation and contentions of their kinred.

X. *The Germanes are at variance betweene themſelues: an earth-quake in Aſia.*

Not long after, *Druſus* was ſent to Illyrium to bee trained vp in feats of warre, and to winne the ſouldiers hearts. And *Tiberius* thought it better, that the yong man luſtly giuen, by the wanton laſciuiouſneſſe of the citie, ſhould bee better faſhioned in the campe, and himſelfe in more ſecurity, both his ſonnes being commanders ouer the legions. But the colour was, that the Sweuians did craue aide againſt the Cheruſci: for being rid of the Romans, and voide of forren feare, through emulation of glory, a thing vſuall in that countrey, they turned their armes againſt themſelues. Ods there was none in the ſtrength of the nations, or valour of Captaines, but that the name of a King, which *Maroboduus* tooke vpon him, was odious to the common people: and *Arminius* fauoured becauſe he fought for liberty. And therefore not onely the Cheruſci, and their confederates: *Arminius* olde ſouldiers tooke armes: but the Sweuian nations alſo of *Maroboduus* kingdome. The Semnones and the Longobards tooke part: and ioyning with *Arminius* had preuailed; if *Inguiomerus* with a ſtrong company of his vaſſalles, had not fled to *Maroboduus* for no other cauſe, but onely being olde and vncle to *Arminius*, diſdained to obey him being but yoong and his brothers ſonne. They pitcht their battell with like hope on both ſides: not vſing rouing incurſions, or skirmiſhing in ſcattered troupes, as the manner of the Germans in times paſt had beene: but by long warring againſt vs, they had accuſtomed themſelues to follow their enſignes, ſtrengthen and aide one another, and obey their Captaines. Then *Arminius* viewing his armie on horſe backe vaunted tō all he met, that their libertie was recouered; the legions ſlaine: & ſhewed in the hāds of many of the ſouldiers, the ſpoils and armour which by force they had taken from the Romans. Contrarily he called *Maroboduus* a runnagate, vnskilfull in warres; that hee had ſaued himſelfe in the lurking holes of *Hercynia*: and then by gifts and embaſſies, entreated an agreement: that hee was a traitour to his country, and one of *Cæſars* followers: therefore that they ſhould thruſt him out; with no leſſe hatred than they had ſlaine *Varus Quinctilius*: that they ſhould now call to minde ſo many battels: by ſucceſſe of which; hauing in the ende driuen out the Romans; it is eaſily ſeene who ſhould haue the vpper hand. Neither did *Maroboduus* on his ſide forget to vaunt himſelfe, or inueigh againſt his enemie: but taking hold of *Inguiomerus*, told them that all the honours of the Cheruſci conſiſted in that body: and that all that fell out luckily, was atchieued by his counſell. That *Arminius* a ſot; vnexpert in matter of warre; attributed others glory to himſelfe: becauſe he had entrapped by guile, three vnfurniſhed legions with their Captaine, nothing miſdoubting their fraud; to the great loſſe of Germanie, & his owne ignominie, ſeeing his wife, & his ſon do yet endure ſeruitude. But as for him, he had maintained the honour of Germany vnſtained, being aſſailed by twelue legions, vnder the conduct of *Tiberius*; and in the end parted with reaſonable conditions. Neither did it repent him that it was yet in their choiſe; either to make war againſt the Romans, or accept of peace without bloudſhed. Both parts being incenſed with theſe ſpeeches; yet other peculiar cauſes did more inflame them. Conſidering that the Cheruſci, and the Longobardi, did fight for their auncient

cient honours, or fresh liberty: and contrarily the others to inlarge their dominions. A fiercer encounter than this there was neuer seene: nor a more doubtfull issue; the right wings on both sides being slaine. And a new fight was hoped for, if *Mithrobodues* (an euident token of a faint heart) had not retired to the hils: & being somewhat weakned, by the backesliding of traitors, withdrew himselfe to the Marcomans, and sent Ambassadors to *Tiberius* to craue aide. Vnto whom it was answered, that he had no reason to craue the Romans aide against the Cheruſci; seeing he aided the Romans nothing at all, when they fought against the same enemy. Yet as we haue said, *Iunius* was sent to make a peace. The same yeer twelue famous cities of Asia were destroyed by an earthquake in the night: a calamity so much the greater, by how much the lesse looked for. The vsuall meanes of sauing themselues in like cases, by fleeing to the open fields, doing them no good at all; because they were swallowed vp by the opening of the earth. It is reported that huge mountaines were laid flat, and plaines raised vp into high hils: and fire flashed out among those ruines. And the disastre being more grieuous among the Sardians, than elsewhere; greater cõpassion was had on them: for *Cæsar* promised them* an hundreth hundred thousand sesterces: and released them for 5. yeeres space of all that they were to pay to the common Treasurie. Next vnto them endomaged and relieued, were the Magnetians, neere vnto Sipylus. It was thought expedient for the same space, to discharge of all tributes, the Temnians, Philadelphians, Ægetians, Appolonienses and such as are called Moscenians, or Macedonians, of Hyrcania, and Hierocæsarea, Myrina, Cymen, Tmolum, and to send some of the Senators, to view & relieue their present estate. This charge was committed to *M. Aletus* once Pretor; lest if one who had been once Consull ouer Asia, should haue been deputed; there might some emulation haue risen betwixt equals; and thereby the busines hindered. *Cæsar* did with no lesse gratefull bountie, shew his liberality when he bestowed the goods of *Aemilia Musa*, a rich woman, fallen to the fisque; vpon *Aemelius Lepidus*, of whose house she seemed to haue been. And the like when he gaue the inheritance of *Patulcius*, a rich gentleman of Rome (albeit he was instituted heir in part) to *M. Seruilius*, whom he found to haue beene written in the first not suspected testament: hauing declared before, that both their nobilities were to bee holpen with money. Neither did he at any time take any inheritance, vnlesse he had deserued it by friendship. He did reiect all such, as being vnknowne to him; and for hatred vnto others, declared the Prince to be their heires. And as he did relieue the honest pouertie of the innocent: so the prodigall and needy through their owne behauiour, hee put from the Senate, or giue licence to depart: as to *Vibidius Varro*, *Marius Nepos*, *Appius Appianus*, *Cornelius Sulla*, *Q. Vitellius*. At the same time, the Temples of the gods, begun by *Augustus*, and fallen to ruine by age or fire: he dedicated to *Bacchus*, *Proserpina*, & *Ceres*, neer to the great Circus; which *A. Posthumius* had vowed. And in the same place the Temple of *Flora*, built by *Lucius* and *Marcus*, *Publicius*, *Aediles*: And also *Ianus* Temple, which *C. Duillius* had built neere the herbe market; who first of all others, had a prosperous fight by sea for the Romans: and deserued a triumph by sea ouer those of Carthage. The Temple of hope, which in the same war *Atilius* had vowed, was dedicated by *Germanicus*.

cap. 47.

* About 2815 pound.

cap. 48.

cap. 49

XII. *The accusation of* Apuleia. Tacfarina *maketh warre in Africa.*

cap. 50. IN the meane season, the law against treason grew strong: and a pickthanke accused *Apuleia Varilia*, *Augustus* sisters neece; that she had reprochfully scoffed at *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, and his mother: and that nothing regarding that she was by marriage allied to *Cæsar*, she had abused her body. But as for the adultery there was sufficient order taken by the law *Iulia*: yet *Cæsar* requested that the treason might be distinguished from the other crime; and that she might be punished, if shee had spoken irreligiously against *Augustus*. As for that which shee had spoken against himselfe, he would not haue it brought into examination. And being asked by a Consull, what he thought of those things she was accused of, against his mother; he held his peace. But the next time the Senate met, hee intreated in his mothers name, that such words as she had vttered against her, might not be construed for a fault. Of treason also he acquitted her: and intreated that the punishment of adulterie, might not be seuerely enforced against her: perswading her friends, that according to the example of their ancestors, they would remoue her from her kin-

cap. 51. dred aboue two hundred miles: and *Manlius* the adulterer was banished Italy and Affrike. When *Vipsanius Gallus* was dead, there arose a strife in subrogating a Pretor in his roome: *Germanicus* and *Drusus* both then being at Rome, fauoring *Haterius Agrippa*, neer kinsman to *Germanicus*: and some labouring to the contrary, desired that according to the laws, among suters such should preuaile as had the greatest number of children: *Tiberius* reioycing, that the Senate debated the matter betwixt his children and the lawes. Without doubt the law was ouercome: but neither by and by; nor with a few suffrages; but after the same manner, as when the

cap. 52. lawes were in greatest force. The same yeere the warre began in Affricke, *Tacfarinas* being the captaine of the enemies. This *Tacfarinas* was a Numidian borne; and being an aide souldier, receiued paie vnder the Romans: then a forsaker of them gathered together certaine wandering companions, inured to robberies, thefts, and pillage: whom he marshalled into companies, and deuided into ensignes, according to the manner of seruice: and at last was reckoned a leader not of a disorderly multitude, but Captaine of the Musulanians: which being a strong nation neere vnto the desert of Afrike, hauing no dwelling in townes, tooke armes, and drew their neighbours the Moores with them, vnder their captaine *Mazippa*. Their armie was so deuided, that *Tacfarinas* should encampe himselfe with chosen men, armed after the Romain manner, and traine them vp in discipline and obedience. *Mazippa* with a company lightly armed should roue vp and downe, burne, slay, and terrifie. They had also perswaded the Cinithians, a nation not to be despised, to the like. When as *Furius Camillus* Procõsul of Affricke, hauing gathered a legion, & the confederates which were vnder ensignes (a small power if you respect the multitude of Moores and Numidians) and lead them against the enemie: and doubting nothing more than least they should shift off the battell for feare, with a hope of victory tolled them on, and in their hope ouerthrew them. *Furius* placed a legion in the middle, the cohorts lightly appointed, and two companies of horsemen in the wings. *Tacfarinas* refused not to ioyne battell: but the Numidians were vanquished; and the Furian name, after so many yeeres recouered the reputation of warriors: For euer since that *Furius*, which recouered the citie from the *Galli*, & his son *Camillus*; the glory of beeing captaines hath remained in other families. And this

man

man whom wee haue ſpoken of, not being a man of action, his exploits were the more willingly ſet foorth by *Tiberius* to the Lords of the Senate: who decreed, that he ſhould be honored with triumphall ornaments; which to *Camillus*, by reaſon he was of a modeſt behauiour, could no way be a cauſe of enuie.

XIII. Germanicus *Peregrination.*

THe yeere following, *Tiberius* was the third time made Conſull, and *Germanicus* the ſecond. But *Germanicus* tooke that dignity at Nicopolis, a citie in Achaia, whether he came by the coaſt of Illyrium; hauing firſt viſited his brother *Druſus*, then making his abode in Dalmatia: and hauing had an vnproſperous voiage by the Adriaticall and Ionian ſea. By reaſon whereof he ſpent ſome daies in repairing his nauie; and in viſiting the coaſts, which by the victory of *Actium* were made famous; and the ſpoiles dedicated by *Auguſtus*: with the place where *Antonie* had camped; by thoſe meanes renewing the memory of his anceſtors; for as I haue ſaid before, *Auguſtus* was his vncle, and *Antonie* his grandfather: and therefore in that place he ſaw repreſented, things both ioyfull, and dolorous. From thence he went to Athens; which being an ancient citie, and a confederate with the Romans: he would haue but one Lictor before him. The Grecians receiued him with moſt exquiſite honors, and repreſented the ancient exploites, and ſayings of his predeceſſors: that their flatterie might be ſo much the more gratefull and acceptable. And going from thence to Eubœa, hee paſſed by Lesbos: where *Agrippina* in her laſt deliuery, had *Iulia*. Then deſirous to viſite places of antiquitie and fame, he went to the confines of Aſia, Perinthum, and Byzans, cities of Thrace: then he entered the ſtraites of Propontis: and the mouth of the Pontian ſea. Withall he releeued the prouinces, which were wearied with ciuill diſcords, and oppreſſions of magiſtrates. In his returne deſirous to viſite the ſacrifices of the Samothracians, and ſundrie other things; for change of fortune, and our beginning from thence woorthie of honor. The northren winds droue him backe againe. Then he coaſted Aſia, and came to Colophona, to conſult with the oracle of *Clarius Apollo*. There is no woman as at Delphos; but a Prieſt vſually choſen out of certaine families, and for the moſt part from Miletum: doth heare onely the number and names of ſuch as come to conſult: then going downe to a den, and drinking a draught of the ſecret fountaine, giueth anſwere (being commonly ignorant in learning & verſes) in verſes touching thoſe things, which a man hath fore-thought in his minde: It is reported, that by circumſtances of darke ſpeeches, as the manner of the oracles is, he prophecied that *Germanicus* death was not farre off. But *C. Piſo*, to the ende hee might more ſpeedily begin to effectuate his determination, ſharpely rebuked the citie of Athens, already amazed with his turbulent behauiour, indirectly carping at *Germanicus*, that contrary to the dignity of the Romane name, hee had vſed too great curteſie: not towards the Athenians which had beene waſted by ſo many miſeries; but towards a rif-raffe of other nations: and thoſe which were *Mithridates* confederates againſt *Sulla*: and *Antonies* againſt *Auguſtus* of famous memorie. Other ſtale matters hee obiected alſo againſt them; as that they had not proſperous ſucceſſe againſt the Macedonians; and vſed violence againſt their owne citizens: bearing them alſo a ſpeciall grudge, becauſe that at his requeſt they would not deliuer one *Theophilus* cõdemned of forgery, by the coũſell of the Areopagites. From thence ſailing with all celerity by the Cyclades, and ſeeking out the ſhorteſt cuts, at the Iland of Rhodes, he ouertooke *Germanicus*: nothing ignorant how hee had

cap. 53 An. 766.

cap. 54

cap. 55

had backbitten him: yet neuertheleſſe ſuch was his mild diſpoſition, that when *Piſo* was driuen through tempeſt againſt the rocks, and that his miſcarrying might haue beene imputed to chance, he ſent gallies to ſuccour him, and ſo deliuered him from danger. But all this did not mollifie *Piſoes* heart, but ſcarſe enduring one daies ſtay, forſaketh and preuenteth *Germanicus*. For beeing come to the legions in Syria, winning the baſeſt of the common ſouldiers with gifts: he began to diſplace the old Centurions, and ſeuere Tribunes: and beſtow their roomes on his followers, or to the moſt lewdeſt: ſuffered idlenes in the camps: licentiouſnes in the citie; vagrant and rioteous ſouldiers to range the countrey: whereby they grew to ſuch corruption that among the common ſort, he was called the father of the legions. Neither did *Plancina* containe her ſelfe within the bounds of womanly modeſty: but would bee preſent at the horſemens exerciſe, as the running of the cohorts: and vſe reprochfull ſpeeches againſt *Agrippina*, and *Germanicus*: ſome of the better ſort of ſouldiers, ready to follow her humor, in bad actions; becauſe there was a ſecret rumour ſpred
cap. 56. that thoſe things were not done with diſlike of the Emperour. *Germanicus* knew all this: but his greateſt care was to preuent the Armenians. That nation was in times paſt doubtfull and vncertaine to the Romanes, not onely through their diſpoſition and affection; but alſo through the ſituation of their countrey: which ſtretching into our prouinces, reacheth euen to the Medes. And being ſeated betwixt great kingdomes, are often in wars, through hatred to the Romans, and enuie to the Parthians. King at that time they had none; *Vonones* beeing expulſed. But the nation fauoured *Zeno*, *Polemon* King of Pontus ſon, becauſe that from his infancy, hee had imitated the cuſtomes and attire of the Armenians; their hunting and banquetting and other exerciſes of the Barbarians greatly eſteemed: thereby winning the fauour as well of the nobility, as common people. *Germanicus* then in the city Artaxata, the noble men approouing it, in the preſence of a multitude, crowned him King: & the reſt doing him honor as their King, ſaluted him after the name of the city by the name of Artaxias. The Cappadocians being reduced to the forme of a Prouince; receiued *Q. Veranius* for their Lieutenant: and to giue them a good hope of the Romane gouernment, ſome of the tributes vſually before paid to the Kings, diminiſhed: and ouer the Comageni, then firſt reduced vnder the regiment of a Pretor, *Q. Seruaus* was made gouernor.

XIIII. Germanicus, *and* Piſoes *iarring*.

cap. 57. ALbeit, all the affaires of the allies were ſetled in good order: yet *Germanicus* was nothing the more at his eaſe; by reaſon of *Piſoes* pride: who being commanded either by himſelfe, or by hir ſonne, to conduct part of the legions to Armenia, neglected both. At length they both met at Cirrum, where the tenth legion wintered: *Piſo* with a reſolute countenance againſt feare: and *Germanicus* as I haue ſaid the milder of the two, leaſt he ſhould be thought to threaten. But his friends their craſts maſter in prouoking hatred, made the moſt of that which was true, & ſuggeſted much which was falſe, laying diuers things to his own charge, *Plancinas*, & his childrens. In the end, *Cæſar* in the preſence of a few of hir familiars, vttered ſome ſuch ſpeech to *Piſo*, as anger & diſſimulation doth ſuggeſt, & *Piſo* anſwered with a proud ſubmiſſion, & ſo they departed open enemies. After that time *Piſo* was ſeldome ſeen at *Cæſars* tribunal: & if he did aſſiſt at any time, he ſhewed himſelf froward, and alwaies diſſented openly from him. In a banket made by the king of the Nabateans, when there were preſented crownes of great waight to *Cæſar* and *Agrippina*

grippina; and light-ones to *Piso* and the reſt: He was heard to ſay, that that banket was made to the ſonne of a Romane Prince, and not to the ſonne of a King of Parthia: and withall threw away his crowne, vttering many ſpeeches againſt the ſuperfluity of the banket: which although *Germanicus* could hardly digeſt, yet indured all patiently. Whileſt theſe things were a doing, Embaſſadors came from *Artabanus*, king of the Parthians, calling to mind their friendſhip and alliance with the Romans, and deſiring that they might renew right hands: and that in honor of *Germanicus*, he would come to the bancke of Euphrates. And requeſted in the meane time, that *Vonones* might not remaine in Syria, leaſt he ſhould by meſſengers, draw the noble men of the countrey round about to ciuill diſſentions. Touching the alliance, *Germanicus* anſwered magnificently: but concerning the Kings comming, and the honor done to himſelfe, he anſwered ciuilly, and with great modeſtie. *Vonones* was remooued to Pompeiopolis, a ſea towne in Cilicia; not ſo much as at *Artabanus* requeſt, as to ſpite *Piſo*; vnto whom he was moſt acceptable, for many benefits and gifts beſtowed vpon *Plancina*. cap. 58.

XV. Germanicus *voiage to Aegypt and Thebes*. Maroboduus *and* Catualda, *both expelled, flee to the Romanes*.

WHen *M. Silanus*, and *L. Norbanus* were Conſuls, *Germanicus* went to Ægypt to ſee the antiquities of the countrey; but pretended a care of the prouince: where hee opened their ſtorehouſes, and brought downe the price of corne: and did other things to win the fauour of the people: as to goe without ſouldiers; weare open ſhoes: apparell himſelfe like the Grecians: imitating *P. Scipio*, whom wee haue heard to haue done the like in Sicily, when the war was hotteſt againſt the Affricans. *Tiberius* hauing lightly blamed him for his behauiour and apparell, did moſt ſharply rebuke him, that contrary to *Auguſtus* order, and without the Princes licence, he had entered Alexandria. For *Auguſtus* amongſt other ſecrets of ſtate, had reſerued Ægypt; and forbidden all Senators, Noblemen, and Gentlemen, to enter into it, but with permiſſion, leaſt Italy ſhould be oppreſſed with famine: whoſoeuer ſhould be maſter of that prouince: being the key of the ſea and land: & eaſily defended with a ſmall power, againſt a ſtrong hoſt. But *Germanicus*, not knowing that his voyage was miſliked, went vp Nilus, beginning at the towne Canopus, which the Lacedemonians built: becauſe *Canopus* the gouernor of their ſhip was buried there, when *Menelaus* going backe to Greece, was carried to a contrary ſea, and land of Libya. The next mouth of the riuer from thence, is dedicated to *Hercules*; the firſt of which name was borne there, as the inhabitants doe report; and of whom all which come after him, of like valour and vertue, tooke their ſurname. After that, he viſited the great monuments of auncient Thebes: where yet were to bee ſeene Ægyptian letters in olde buildings, which contained their ancient wealth. And one of their auncienteſt Prieſts, being commaunded to interpret thoſe letters in the countrey language; related, that in times paſt there had dwelt in that citie, ſeuen hundred thouſand perſons, of age fit to beare armes: and that with that armie King *Rhamſes* had conquered Libya, Æthiopia, Media, and Perſia, Bactria, and Scythia, and the countries which the Syrians, and the Armenians, and the Cappadocians, their next neighbours inhabited: and that their dominion reached from the Bithynian to the Lycian ſea. There were alſo read the tributes impoſed ouer nations, the weight of ſiluer and gold, the number cap. 59. An. Chr. 769.

cap. 60.

ber and furniture of horses and armour: the gifts giuen to the Temples, the Iuory, sweet sauours: and what plenty of corne; what vtensiles euery nation was charged to furnish; which were no lesse magnificall, then are now commaunded, by
cap. 61. the forces of the Parthi: or power of the Romans. But *Germanicus* was yet tied to other miracles: whereof the chiefest was, the image of *Memnon* made of stone; when it was stroken with the sunbeames yeelding a sound like a mans voice: and the Pyramides as great as mountains, on the not passeable sands; built a vie by Kings in times past to shew their riches: and the ditches wrought by handie worke to receiue the ouerflowing of Nilus; so narrow in some places, and so deepe in others, that the bottome cannot be found by any search. From thence he came to Elephantines, and Syenes, in times past the bounds of the Roman Empire, which now openeth to the red sea. Whilest *Germanicus* spent that sommer, in visiting many Prouinces, *Drusus* gate no small honour, by sowing sedition in Germanie: and incensing them to pursue *Maroboduus* already weakened, euen to his vtter ruine.
Cap. 62. Among the Gotones, there was a noble yoong man called *Catualda*, who through *Maroboduus* violence hauing before fled his countrey; things standing now in doubtfull termes; ventured a reuenge. And with a strong power, entered the frontiers of the Marcomans: and hauing corrupted the chiefe noble men to his confederacie, forceth the kings palace, and a castle hard by. Where hee found the olde spoiles of the Sueuians and the base rascals of our Prouince: and certaine marchants; whom intercouse of Merchandize, and a desire of increasing their wealth; or last of all a forgetfulnes of their countrey; had drawen from their own dwellings
cap. 63. to the enemies countrey. *Maroboduus* being forsaken of all hands: had no other refuge left, but the mercie of the Romans. And hauing passed the riuer of Danub, where it coasteth the Prouince of Norica; wrote vnto *Tiberius*, not as a fugitiue and suppliant, but putting him in minde of his former fortune and estate: alleadging that when sundry nations inuited him to their alliance, being sometimes a renowned king, he preferred the amity of the Romans before thē all. *Cæsar* answered him, that he should haue a sure and honourable dwelling in Italy, if he listed to remaine there: but if any thing of greater aduancement should happen vnto him, that hee should depart with the same safe conduct he came thither. Afterward hee declared in Senate, that the Athenians had no such cause to feare *Philip*: nor the people of Rome, *Perrhus*, and *Antiochus*, as this man. An oration of his is yet extant, wherein he extolleth his power; the strength of the nations he had vnder him; and how neere an enemy hee was to Italie; and what plots he had deuised to roote him out. *Maroboduus* was receiued at Rauenna; that if at any time the Suenian should waxe insolent; hee was in sight as it were alwaies readie to returne. But he departed not Italie the space of eighteene yeeres, and grew old with losse of reputation, through ouer great desire of liuing. The like hope had *Catualda*, and no other refuge: for not long after being driuen out by the Hermunduri, vnder the conduct of *Vibilius*, he was receiued and sent to Forum Iulij, a Colony of Gallia Narbonensis. The barbarous people which followed both these; lest being mingled among others, should disturbe the quiet Prouinces: were placed beyond Danubium betwixt the riuers Marus, and Cusus; and a King giuen them of the Quadian nation.

XVI. *Wars*

XVI. *Wars betwixt* Rhescuporis *and* Cotys. Rhescuporis *is sent to Rome.*

NEwes being come that *Artaxias*, was by *Germanicus* made King of Armenia: the Lords of the Senate ordained that *Germanicus* and *Drusus* should enter into the citie ouant, or with a small triumph; and that arches should be erected about the sides of the Temple of *Mars* the Reuenger, with the images of the two *Cæsars*: *Tiberius* being more glad that he had established a peace by wisedome; then if he should haue ended the war by a maine battell. Now he determined by some subtiltie to set vpon *Rhescuporis* King of Thrace. That countrey once hauing beene vnder *Rhœmetalces*: after his death, *Augustus* gaue part of it to his brother *Rhescuporis*, & part to his sonne *Cotys*. In that partition, the erable grounds, the cities. and places adioyning to Greece fel to *Cotys* share. That which was vnhabited, wild, and lying neere the enemie; to *Rhescuporis*. The dispositions also of those Kings were such, that the one was tractable and of a milde condition; this stout, couetous, and impatient of a companion: and both at the first liuing in cunning and dissembled concord. Then *Rhescuporis* began to exceed his bounds; and draw that to himselfe which was giuen *Cotys*, and vse violence if he resisted: but not so hotly in *Augustus* time; whom he feared being the author of both kingdomes, would reuenge if he were despised. But vnderstanding of a chaunge of the Prince, he sent in troups of theeues, beat down his castles, and sought occasions of warre. Nothing did more trouble *Tiberius*, then that those things which were once setled, should now be disturbed: and therefore making choise of a Centurion dispatcheth him away to signifie to the Kings, that they should not in any case enter into armes: and thereupon *Cotys* dismissed presently the aide he had prepared. *Rhescuporis* with a fained modestie, requesteth a place of meeting, to ende their controuersie by conference: neither did they long doubt of the time, place, and conditions; the one yeelding to all with a facility of nature; the other accepting all with a fraudulent meaning. *Rhescuporis* as he pretended to conclude this agreement; maketh a banquet: & when the night was far spent with great mirth, much eating & quaffing of wine: he loaded vncircumspect *Cotys* with chaines: who perceiuing the treason, besought him by the sacred ceremonies of the kingdom, the gods of the same family, & by the entertainment of his table, he would vse no such violēce. Hauing thus made himself master of all Thrace, he wrote to *Tiberius*, that there were conspiracies wrought against him, and the contriuer of them preuented. And withall, pretending warre against the Bastarnians, and the Scythians, maketh himselfe strong with a new power of footemen and horsemen. *Tiberius* wrote to him coldly againe, that if there were no fraud in his doing, hee might trust to his innocencie: but neither he nor the Senate could discerne the right from wrong, vnlesse they knew the cause: & therefore that he should deliuer vp *Cotys*, and come to them, and purge himselfe of the enuie of the crime. Those letters *Latinius Pandus* Proprætor of Mœsia sent with the souldiers, vnto whom *Cotys* should be deliuered. But *Rhescuporis* balancing betweene anger and feare, and desirous to be guilty rather of the fact committed, then only attempted; commandeth *Cotys* to be slaine: and vntruly gaue it out, that he had killed himselfe. Yet for all this, *Cæsar* altered not his intended course, but after *Pandus* decease, whom *Rhescuporis* accused to haue beene his backfriend, made *Pomponius Flaccus* an olde souldier, and with whom the king was very inward, and therefore a more fit instrument to deceiue, for the same cause especially gouernour

cap. 64.

cap. 65.

cap. 66.

of

cap. 67. of Mœsia, *Flaccus* being gone to Thrace, by way of great promises, perswaded him, although doubtfull, and calling to minde his owne wickednes: to enter into the Romane garrison, where he was garded with a strong companie, vnder colour of honor. He had Tribunes and Centurions at hand to counsell and perswade him: and the further hee went, the greater guard: and at last knowing in what terms of necessity he stood, they brought him to the citie: where being accused in Senate by *Cotys* wife; he was condemned to be kept far from his countrey. Thrace was afterward diuided betwixt *Rhœmatalces* his sonne, who was knowen to be an enemie to his fathers proceedings, and *Cotys* children: which not being of full age, *Trebellienus Rufus*, who had beene Pretor in the meane season, was made gouernor of the kingdome: following the example of our predecessors, who sent *M. Lepidus* into Ægypt to be gardian to *Ptolomeus* children. *Rhescuporis* was carried to Alexandria and there going about to escape, or because it was so fathered on him, was killed.

cap. 68. At the same time *Vonones*, who (as we haue said) was confined in Cilicia, hauing corrupted his keepers, vnder colour of going a hunting; attempted all meanes to escape to the Armenians; from thence to the Albanians, and Heniochians, and to his Cosen the king of Scythia. And forsaking the seacoasts, gott into by-waies and forrests: and by the swiftnes of his horse, posted with all speed to the riuer Pyramus. The borderers vnderstanding the kings escape, hauing broken down the bridges, & he not able to passe at any foord, was taken by the riuers side, and bound by *Vibius Fronto*, captaine of the horsemen, Anon after *Remmius Euocatus*, vnto whose charge the King was first committed, as it had been in an anger, thrust him throgh with his sword. Whereupon it was the easlier beleeued that he had so slaine *Vonones*, as one guilty and consenting to his escape, and therefore fearing hee should be bewraied and accused.

XVII. Germanicus *sickneſſe and death. The variance betwixt him and* Piso.

cap. 69. BVt *Germanicus* returning from Ægypt: and perceiuing that all which he had commaunded, either in the legions or townes, left vndone, or changed cleane contrary; began to vse greeuous and contumelious speech, against *Piso:* and he to requite *Cæsar* with no lesse dangerous attempts. Whereupon *Piso* determined to depart Syria: but staying a time by reason of *Germanicus* sicknes; when hee heard of his amendment, and that the vowes were accomplished for his health: hee droue away by his sergeants the beast brought to the altar, and disturbed the preparation made for the sacrifice, and the solemne meeting of the people of Antioch. Then he went to Seleucia, expecting the euent of his sicknes which he fell againe into: the rage thereof so much the more grieuous, through an opinion that *Piso* had poysoned him: for there were found pulled out of the ground, and wals, charmes, verses, and enchantments: and *Germanicus* name engrauen in sheets of lead: ashes halfe burned, and tempered with corrupt bloud, and other sorceries, by which it is thought, that soules are dedicated to the infernall powers. Some also

cap. 70. were accused to haue bin sent from *Piso*, to espy in what state he was in. That droue *Germanicus* both into anger and feare, considering with himselfe: if his house should be besieged; if he should lose his life in the sight of his enemies: what should happen after to his wofull wife, and his yong children? he saw that the poison seemed slow in working: but *Piso* hastened, that he might alone haue the gouernment of the legions and the prouince. But *Germanicus* was not so destitute of friends,

that

that the murderer ſhould enioy the rewards of the murder. And hereupon enditeth a letter to him, in which he renounceth his friendſhip. Some adde, that he commanded him to depart the prouince. *Piſo* made no longer delay, but looſeth anker, and moderated his courſe to returne the ſooner, if *Germanicus* death ſhould open him a way to Syria. *Germanicus* being a little amended, and in ſome hope: then growing feeble againe; when his end was at hand, hee ſpake to his friends about him in this manner. If I ſhould die a naturall death, yet ſhould I haue iuſt cauſe of griefe againſt the gods: that by an vntimely death, they ſhould take me in my youth from my kinſfolks, children, and countrey. But now being brought to this paſſe by the lewd practiſe of *Piſo* and *Plancina*, I leaue in your breaſts for my laſt praiers; that you ſignifie vnto my Father and my Brother, with what cruelty tome, with what fraud circumuented, I haue ended my miſerable life, with a moſt naughtie death. If the hopes conceiued of me haue mooued any; if neereneſſe in bloud any: yea, if enuie towards me when I liued: they will weepe, that he who hath ſomtimes flouriſhed, and eſcaped ſo many battels, ſhould now end his life by the guile and treachery of a woman: you ſhall haue occaſion to complaine to the Senate, and demaund the execution of lawes. This is not the chiefeſt duty of friends, to ſhew their affection towards the dead, by a ſlow and dull complaint; but remember and execute that which they commanded. Yea, ſuch as knew not *Germanicus*, will weep for him: if you did rather loue mee then my fortune, you will reuenge my death. Shew the people of Rome *Auguſtus* neece, and the ſame my wife, and my children which are ſixe in number: the accuſers themſelues will haue compaſſion; and thoſe which pretend wicked commaundements, ſhall either not bee beleeued, or not pardoned. His friends taking him by the right hand, ſwore they would rather looſe their life, then omit reuenge. Then turning to his wife, intreated hir by the memory of him, and by the children common between them, that ſhee would lay aſide all haughtineſſe, and ſubmit her courage to raging fortune: leſt returning to the citie, ſhe ſtirred not with emulation of greatneſſe more powerable then her ſelfe againſt her. Thus much he vttered openly, & other things in ſecret; whereby it was coniectured he ſtood in feare of *Tiberius*. Not long after he yeelded vp the ghoſt, with great lamentation of the Prounce and countries about; forren nations and Kings lamented alſo: ſo great was his courteſie to his allies; and mildneſſe to his enemies. He was no leſſe venerable to thoſe which ſaw him, than thoſe which heard of him: and did ſo well temper the greatneſſe of high eſtate and grauity; that he auoided both enuie & arrogancie. His funerals although he had neither images nor pompe: yet by the commendation and memory of his vertues, were honoured of all men. Some there were which compared his fauour, his age, and manner of death, by reaſon of the vicinity of the places wherein they died, vnto *Alexander* the great. For being both of a comely ſtature, noble parentage, not much aboue thirty yeeres of age: they died in ſtrange countreies, by the trechery of their owne people. But this man was courteous towards his friends, moderate in pleaſures, & his children certaine, begotten in mariage by one woman. Neither was he to be counted a leſſe warrior then the other: although he were not raſh, and hindered to reduce vnder the yoke of ſeruitude the Germans danted with ſo many victories. And if he alone had had the ſupreme managing of affaires, and power, & a name of King: ſo much the ſooner he would haue caried away the priſe & renowne of warfare, by how much he did excel him in clemency, temperancy, & other good vertues. His body before it ſhould be burned, was laid naked in the market place of *Antioche*, which was the place appointed for his buriall. Whether hee

cap. 71

cap. 72.

cap. 73

ſhewed

shewed any tokens of beeing poisoned or not, it is vnknowen: for diuers did diuersly interpret it; either as they were inclined to pitty *Germanicus*, or suspected to fauour
cap. 74. *Piso*. This being done, the Lieutenants & the Senators which were present, cōsulted among themselues, whom they should make gouernour of Syria; and the rest not greatly contending: it was long debated betwixt *Marsus* & *Gn. Sentius*; & in the end *Marsus* yeelded to *Sentius* being his elder, & prosecuting the suite more eagerly. He sent to Rome one *Martina*, a woman infamous in that Prouince for empoisoning, but deerly beloued to *Plancina*, at the suit of *Vitellius* and *Veranius*, and others, which
cap. 75. framed their accusations, as against one already guilty of the fact. But *Agrippina* wasted with sorrow and feeble of body: yet impatient of delaying reuenge: tooke shipping with *Germanicus* ashes with her; and her children: all men taking compassion, that a woman so nobly descended, and who not long since in regard of her stately mariage, was honored & reuerenced by al men: should now carry in her lap, those lamentable relickes of her husband: incertaine of reuenge; doubtfull of her person; so oft exposed to fortunes mercy by her vnluckie fruitfulnesse.

XVIII. Piso *is doubtfull whether he should returne to Syria or not. And prepareth an armie against* Sentius.

IN the meane season a messenger ouertaketh and aduertiseth *Piso*, at the Iland Cous, that *Germanicus* was departed. Which tidings he receiued intemperately, offered sacrifices, visited the temples, nothing moderating his ioy; and *Plancina* growing more insolent then first, changed the mourning weede shee ware for
cap. 76. the death of her sister into a ioyfull attire. The Centurions flocking about him, told him, that he had the good will of the legions at his deuotion; that it was his best to returne to the prouince wrongfully taken from him, and now voide of a gouernour. Whereupon taking aduise what was best to be done; his sonne *M. Piso* was of opinion that he should make all haste to the citie: that there was nothing yet done which might not be answered: and that weake suspitions, and vaine reports were not to be feared. The variance betweene him and *Germanicus*, was woorthie perhaps of some rebuke, but not punishment: and by taking the prouince from him, his enemies were satisfied. But if he should returne, *Sentius* being against him, a new ciuill warre would begin. Neither would the Centurions and souldiers continue on his side; with whom the fresh memory of their Captaine, and the loue
cap. 77. deepely printed in their harts towards the *Cæsars* would preuaile. *Domitius Celer*, one of his inwardest friends, perswaded the contrary. That he ought to take the
" time when it was offered: that *Piso* and not *Sentius* was made gouernour of Syria:
" vnto him were the fasces, and dignitie of Pretor giuen, to him the legions commit-
" ted. If any violence should be offered by the enemy, who should more iustly oppose
" his armies against them, then he who hath receiued the authority of a Lieutenant,
" and speciall commission? Rumors grow stale and vanish away with time: and often
" the innocent are borne downe with fresh enuie: but if he had a power at hand, and
" his forces encreased, many things which could not be foreseene, by meere chaunce
" might turne to the better. Do we hasten to come to Rome, with *Germanicus* ashes:
" that *Agrippinas* lamentation, and the vnskilfull multitude, at the first rumor, should
" laie hands on thee, vnheard and vndefended? Thou hast for thee *Augustas* consci-
" ence, and *Cæsars* fauour, though in secret. And none bewaile more braggingly *Ger-*
cap. 78. " *manicus* death in outward shew, than such as in their hearts are most glad. *Piso* being

ing forward enough of himself to haughty attemps, was with small adoe drawen to this opinion. And sending letters to *Tiberius* accuseth *Germanicus* of riot and pride: and that himselfe was driuen out of the prouince, because there might be a way made open to innouation: that he had againe taken charge of the armie, with the same fidelity, as he had already gouerned it. Withall, he commanded *Domitius* with a galley to saile into Syria, and auoiding the coasting of the shoare, and letting passe the Ilands, take wide and open sea. Then marshalling and arming runnagates, and rascall base companions, and sailing ouer to the continent, hee intercepted an ensigne of yoong and raw souldiers, which were going to Syria. And writeth also to the Lords of Cilicia, to send him aide: the yoong man *Piso* being nothing slacke in the seruice, although he was against the vndertaking of the warre. Wherefore passing by the coast of Lycia, & Pamphylia, meeting with the ships which had conueied *Agrippina* to Rome, each side hating one another; made themselues ready to fight: yet both sides fearing the one the other, they proceeded no further then to hard words. *Marsus Vibius* summoned *Piso* to come to Rome to answere for himselfe: who scoffingly answered him againe, that he would come and appeare, when the Pretor which was to inquire of poysonings, would appoint a day as well for the plantif, as defendāt. In the meane time *Domitius* being arriued at Laodicea, a city in Syria, & going to the standing camp of the sixt legion, as most fit for new enterprises; was preuēted by the Lieutenant *Pacuuius*. *Sentius* openeth that by letters to *Piso*; warning him not to go about to tempt the army with corrupters, nor raise any war in the Prouince. And such as he knew to haue *Germanicus* in minde, or were aduersaries to the enemies, he assembled together: putting them often in minde of the greatnes of the Emperor, & how the common-wealth was assailed; and thereupon gathereth a stronger power ready to fight. Yet neither *Piso*, nor his side, although his enterprises fell out otherwise, then he expected; did let slip that which was of most safety for the present; but putteth himselfe in a very strong castell in Cilicia, called Celenderis. For by sorting and medling together the runnagates, the new and raw souldier lately taken, his owne and *Plancinaes* slaues, and the aides which the Lords of Cilicia sent, he marshalled them in forme of a legion. And then affirmed that he was *Cæsars* Lieutenant: but drouen out of the Prouince committed to him: not by » the legions, for they called him thither; but by *Sentius*, which cloaked his priuate » malice with false crimes: therefore that they should stand stoutly to the battell; be- » cause the soldiers would not fight, when they should see *Piso* whom heretofore they » called their father. If they would proceede by order of iustice the right was on his » side: if by arms: he wanted not strength. Then he displaied his companies in order of » batel, before the castle on a steep craggy hils side: the rest being inuironed with sea. » On the cōtrary side the old souldiers, with their supplies were marshalled into rācks. On this side was the strength of souldiers: on that of place. In courage and hope there was great oddes also: and on their side no weapons, but rude and clownish, prepared for a present shift. And when they came to handie strokes; there was no lōger doubt who should haue the vpper hand, but til the Roman cohorts could win the plain ground: which done, the Cilicians shewed their backs, & shut themselues in their fort. In the meane space *Piso* went about, but in vaine, to assaile the nauie which waited not farre off. Then returned to the castle againe, now tormenting himselfe vpon the wals; now calling to euery souldier by his name, and offering rewards: assaied to raise a mutinie, and did so much preuaile, that the standard bearer of the sixt legion, went with his ensigne to his side. Then *Sentius* commaunded the cornets and trumpets to sounde; gaue an assault to the rampiers; caused ladders

cap. 79. cap. 80. cap. 81.

to

to be put vp; and the ablest men to follow; and the others out of engines to shoote dartes, stones, and fire brands. In the end *Pisoes* obstinacie being ouercome; entreateth that hauing yeelded vp his weapons, he might remaine in the castell, vntill *Cæsar* were consulted, who should be gouernour of Syria. The conditions were not accepted; nor any thing granted him: but onely, that hee should haue shipping and safe conduct to the citie.

XIX. *Great bewailing for* Germanicus *death: strange religions suppressed: loose life restrained in women of account.*

Cap. 82. BVt when *Germanicus* sickenes was noised at Rome, and as in newes it falleth out, the farther it goeth, augmented to the worser: all men burst out into anger, griefe, and complaints: saying, that therefore he was sent to forren countries: that was the reason why *Piso* had the prouince committed to him: this was the effect of *Augustaes* secret conference with *Plancina*: that the ancient men said most truely of *Drusus*, that the courteous and modest disposition of children doth dislike such as raigne. Neither were they made away for any other reason, but because, liberty restored; they had a meaning to reduce the people of Rome to a certaine equality. These speeches of the common people, the newes of his death did so much kindle; that before any edict of Magistrates, before any decree of Senate was made, vacation being taken of themselues, the places of iudgement were abandoned; houses shut vp; silence and mourning euery where: nothing of all this counterfeited or done for ostentation. And although they did not abstaine from outward tokens of mourning, yet in their harts they mourned much more. Certaine Merchants returning by chance out of Syria, *Germanicus* yet liuing, bringing ioyfull tidings of his health, were presently beleeued, and spread abroad, and as they met one another (although they had scarse heard the tale to the end) yet they reported it againe, and they againe to others, still making it more, and increasing their ioy. They ran vp and downe the city, went about to wrest open the gates of the temples: the night furthered their credulousnesse, and in the darke euery man more ready to affirme. Neither did *Tiberius* gainsay these false reports, but let them vanish away with time. But then the people, as though he had been a second time
Cap. 83. taken from them, grieued more bitterly. Such was his funerall pompe done in memory of him, as either mens loue, or pregnancy of conceit could inuent: as that his name should be sung in a Salarian verse, which *Mars* Priests were wont to sing: that in the roomes of the Augustall priests, chaires of estate should be placed, with garlands of oake: that his image grauen in Iuory, should be carried before the Circensian plaies: and that none should be created Flamen or Agur in *Germanicus* place, vnlesse he were of the Iulian family. At Rome, and at the bancke of Rhene, and on the hill Amanus in Syria, were erected arches, with an inscription of his exploits: and that he died for the common wealth: a sepulchre at Antioch where his body was burnt: a Tribunall at Epidaphna, where he ended his life. It would be hard to number the images and places in which he was honored. And when some thought it conuenient that he should haue a shield of exquisite gold and greatnes, dedicated him among the authors of Eloquence: *Tiberius* said hee should haue none but such as was vsuall, and equall to the rest: for neither was eloquence to be iudged of by fortune: and that it was a sufficient honour for him, if he were put in the number of ancient writers. That which before was called the band of yong men,

the

the Gentlemen called *Germanicus cuneum*, or pointed battell: and ordained that the squadrons of horsemen should follow his image the Ides of Iuly. Many of these ceremonies yet remaine; some were presently left off; and some, time wore out. But whilest this griefe was yet fresh in euery mans memory; *Liuia Germanicus* sister, and *Drusus* wife, was at once deliuered of two sonnes: which being a thing rare, and welcome, euen to meane families, did so reioyce the Prince, that hee could not containe (for euen casuall things hee attributed to his glory) but must needes bragge before the Lords of the Senate, that no other of the Romans of his greatnesse, had euer before had two male children at a birth. But in such a time euen that also, brought griefe vnto the people; as though that *Drusus* increase of children, would the rather depresse *Germanicus* house. The same yeere womens lasciuious life, was punished by seuere decrees of Senate; and ordained that none should put their bodies to sale, whose grandfather, father, or husband had beene a Gentleman of Rome. For *Vestilia* descended of a Pretorian familie, had made hir loose licentious life knowen to the Aediles; according to a receiued custome among the auncients; who thought it a sufficient punishment for vnchaste women, if publickly they confessed their lewdnes. And *Titidius Labeo*, *Vestilias* husband, was called into question, because he had inflicted the punishment of the law, on his wife manifestly taken in the offence. But he for his excuse, alleadged that the threescore daies giuen to deliberate, were not yet past; and therefore thinking it enough to punish *Vestilia*; she was confined in the Iland Seriphon. It was debated in Senat touching the rooting out of the Ægyptian & Iudaical ceremonies: & a decree made that four thousand libertines of competent age, infected with that superstition, should be conueied into the Iland Sardinia, to suppresse robberies committed there: and if they should die through the vnwholesomnesse of the aire, the losse were but vile and small: and that the rest should depart Italy, if before a certain day they would not forsake those prophane rites. When those things were done, *Cæsar* propounded, that another Virgin should be receiued in the roome of *Occia*; who with very great integrity, seuen and fifty yeeres, had beene gouernesse of the ceremonies of the Vestall virgins: and gaue thanks to *Fonteius Agrippa*, and *Domitius Pollio*; who offering their daughters, stroue in duty to the cõmon wealth. But *Pollios* daughter was preferred for no other reason, but because her mother had continued wife to her first husband: *Agrippa* hauing diminished the reputation of his house with diuorcement. Yet *Cæsar* in regard the other was preferred, did comfort her with * ten hundred thousand sesterces for her dowrie. The people complaining of a dearth of corne, he put downe a price for the buier; promising to pay of his owne in euery bushell * two nummos. Yet for all this hee would not take vpon him, the title of Father of his country, before offered him: but did sharply rebuke them, who had called his affaires diuine, and him Lord. And therefore vnder a Prince which feared libertie, and hated flatterie; all speeches ought to bee briefe; and yet can hardly escape captious construction. I finde in auncient writers of that time, that *Adgandestrius* Prince of the Chatti, letters were reade in Senat, promising *Arminius* death, if poyson were sent him to commit the deede. And that it was answered him, that the people of Rome vsed not to reuenge on their enemies by treachery and priuie meanes; but openly and armed. Wherein *Tiberius* equalled himselfe to the old Roman Captaines, which did forbid king *Pyrrhus* to be poysoned, but disclosed it vnto him. Now *Arminius*, the Romans being departed, and *Marobodus* expulsed, earnestly coueting the kingdome, had the people as defending their libertie against him: and beeing assailed, and fighting with doubtfull

* *Almost 78 li. 11 s. sterl.*

* *Three pence ob.*

fortune, was slaine by the fraud of his own neereſt familiars. Doubtles the deliuerer of Germanie; and who prouoked, not as other Kings and Captaines had done, the firſt ſpringing vp of the people of Rome; but when they flouriſhed moſt in rule and Empire. In his battels, he had doubtfull fortune, ſometimes luckie; ſometimes vnluckie; but neuer was ouercome in warre. He liued full ſeuen and thirty yeres, and was Prince twelue. To this day he is famous amongſt barbarous nations; but in the Annales of the Greeks, which admire no thing but their owne doings vnknowne, and not greatly ſpoken of among the Romanes. Who whileſt wee extoll auncient things, are careleſſe of our owne time.

THE

THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. Agrippina *commeth to Rome*: Germanicus *funerals.*

AGrippina although it were winter, yet ſtil continuing her voiage by ſea, arriued at laſt at the Iland Corcyra, ouer againſt the coaſt of Calabria: where as one without meane in mourning, and vnable to endure, ſhe reſted a few daies to ſettle her mind. In the meane time, her arriuall known, her deereſt friends, and eſpecially ſouldiers which had ſerued vnder *Germanicus*; and many alſo which ſhe knew not, from the townes round about: ſome thinking it to be their duety towards their Prince; and many following them flocked to Brundiſium, being the neereſt and ſafeſt place of landing. And as ſoone as her ſhips were diſcerned a far off; not onely the hauen and places, neere the ſea ſide; but the walles and houſe tops, and other places, from whence a man might fartheſt kenne; were filled with a mourning and heauy multitude of people: asking (as not knowing what was fitteſt for the time) one another, whether they ſhould receiue her with ſilence, or acclamation, when ſhe came out of her ſhip. But when by little and little the ſhips drew neere, they ſaw no cheerefull rowing, as the manner was wont to be: but all of them compoſed to ſadneſſe. But being come to land with her two children; holding the funerall pot with her husbands aſhes in her hand, and her eies fixed on the ground: all men began to bewaile and lament alike. Neither couldeſt thou haue diſcerned the lamentation of kinſfolks from the ſtranger; nor the women from the men: ſauing, that the freſh griefe of ſuch as went to meete her, exceeded the lamentation of her traine, already wearied with long continuance of ſorrow. *Caſar* had ſent two companies of his guard to meete them: and gaue further charge, that the magiſtrates of Calabria, the Apuleians, & Campanians, ſhould ſolemnize the laſt obſequies in memory of his ſonne. The aſhes were carried on the Tribunes and Centurions ſhoulders; the enſignes vntrimmed; and the faſces or knitch of rods, turned downwards, went before: and when they paſſed by any colonies, the common people in mourning weede, and Gentlemen in their attire called Trabea, according to the wealth of the place, burnt garments, ſweet odors, with other accuſtomed funerall ſolemnities. Yea ſuch whoſe townes were farre off, yet met them; erected altars; offered ſacrifices to the infernall gods; witneſſing their dolour with teares and cries. *Druſus* went to Terracina with his brother *Claudius* & *Germanicus* children, which had remained in the city. The Conſuls *M. Valerius* & *M. Aurelius* (who began then to enter into office) the Senate & a great part of the people filled vp the way, ſcattered hither and thither, weeping, as euery mans affection was. Flattery there was none: all men knowing that the death of *Germanicus*, joyful to *Tiberius*, could badly be diſſembled, howſoeuer he counterfeited the contrary. *Tiberius* and *Angoſta*, abſtained from mourning in publike: iudging it a thing vnder their maieſtie, if they ſhould be ſeene openly to lament: or leſt the eies of all men obſeruing their countenance, ſhould eſpie they did but counterfeit. I finde not in any author, or diurnall regiſter, that his mother *Antonia* did

cap. 1.

cap. 2.

An. C. 768

cap. 3.

did any thing woorthy memory in that ſolemnity: when as beſides *Agrippina*, *Druſus*, and *Claudius*, the reſt of his bloud, are by name written of: either hindered by ſickneſſe, or in minde ouercome with ſorrow, could not endure the ſight of ſo heauy a griefe. I ſhould eaſlier haue beleeued, that *Tiberius* and *Auguſta*, which kept within doores, made her doe the like: that their griefe might be iudged equall: and that the grandmother and vncle, ſhould ſeeme to haue kept in, by the example of the mother. The day that the aſhes were put in *Auguſtus* tomb, was ſometimes cap. 4. with ſilence deſolate and ſtill; and on the ſudden vnquiet with weeping: all paſſages of the citie were full; Campus Martius ſhined with burning torches. There the ſouldier with his weapons: the magiſtrates without the markes of their dignity and calling; and the people gathered into tribes and companies cried: that the commonwealth was fallen to ground; and no hope left: and that ſo openly, and boldly, that thou wouldeſt haue beleeued, they did not remember by whom they were gouerned. Yet nothing went ſo neere *Tiberius* heart, as the ardent affection men bare *Agrippina*: calling her the honour of their countrey; the onely bloud of *Auguſtus*; the patterne of antiquity: and turning towards the heauen, and the gods, praied cap. 5. that hir iſſue might long continue, and ouerliue the wicked. Some deſired that the funerals might be celebrated with publike pompe: comparing the magnificence and honors that *Auguſtus* had vſed for *Druſus*, *Germanicus* father. And that hee in the hardeſt time of winter, went as farre as Ticinum: and how neuer once departing from the bodie, accompanied it to the citie. That about the coffin were the images of the Claudians and Iulians: that he was bewailed in the place of publike aſſemblies: praiſed with an oration before the people: and all honours done him, which either our aunceſtors or latter times could inuent. But *Germanicus* had not ſo much as the vſuall ſolemnities done for him; his body through diſtance of place, was in ſome ſort burnt, in ſtrange lands: but by ſo much the more, honours ſhould now haue beene beſtowed vpon him, becauſe fortune had denied him the firſt. His brother went to meete him but one daies iourney: his vncle not ſo farre as to the gate. Where are the auncient cuſtomes become? why was not his image put before the Beere; and verſes ſung in memory of his vertues? why was hee not praiſed, cap. 6. and bewailed, with the vſuall repreſentation of mourning? All this was well known to *Tiberius*; and to ſuppreſſe the ſpeech of the common people, he admoniſhed them by edict. That although many notable Romans had died for the commonwealth: yet none had euer beene bewailed with ſuch an ardent affection. Which was to him and vnto others alſo honorable, ſo as there were a meane vſed. For the ſelfe ſame things are not ſeemly for noble men, the Emperor and the common people. It was conuenient that ſmall houſes, or Cities ſhould mourne and lament, in freſh griefe; and after their griefe take comfort againe: but now it was time to confirme the minde, as *Iulius Cæſar*, hauing loſt his onely daughter; and *Auguſtus* his nephewes: did caſt off all ſorrow. It was needleſſe to alleadge auncient examples, to ſhew how oft the people of Rome had ſuffered conſtantly the loſſe of armies; death of captains; and the vtter ouerthrow of noble families. That princes are mortall, and the common-wealth euerlaſting. Therefore that they ſhould take their ſolemnities againe; and becauſe the ſhew of the Megalenſian plaies was at hand, returne to their pleaſures.

II. Piso *commeth to Rome, where he is accused: and killeth himselfe.*

THe vacation ended, every man returned to his busines: and *Drusus* went to the armie of Illyricum: the people bent to demaund a reuenge of *Piso*; complained that he in the meane time now here, now there, in the pleasant countrey of Asia, and Affrike, with a proud and subtill delay, did shift off the proofes brought against his lewdnesse. For it was commonly rumored, that *Martina*, as I haue before said, a woman infamous for poysoning, was sent to Rome by *C. Sentius*, and being suddenly dead at Brundisium, had no token vpon her that she had taken her owne bane; and that the poison was found hidden in a knarle of her haire. But *Piso* hauing sent his soone before him to the citie, with lessons how to pacifie the Prince, went towards *Drusus*, not hoping to finde him cruell in his behalfe, for the death of his brother, but rather fauourable, as being rid of such a concurrent. *Tiberius* to make a shew of vpright dealing, hauing entertained the yong man courteously, vsed the like liberality towards him as he was accustomed to do to the noble mens children of such as he was familiar with. *Drusus* answered him, that if the accusations laid against him were true, the greatest griefe should be his: and for his owne part he could wish they should be false and vaine; and that *Germanicus* death might be preiudiciall to none. These words were openly vttered, and not in secret; neither was it doubtfull at all, but that *Tiberius* had before hand taught him his lesson; when as being plaine, simple, and yong, yet shewed the cunning of the olde man. *Piso* hauing past ouer the Dalmatian sea, and left his ships at Ancona, went by Picenum, & after by the Flaminian way, ouertooke the legion which was brought from Pannony to Rome, to lye in Garrison in Affrike: beeing common in euery mans mouth, how in the campe and in the way hee did often shew himselfe to the souldiers. From Narnia (whether it were to auoide suspition, or because such as stand in feare are irresolute in their determinations) being conueyed by Nare, and anon after by Tiber, he increased the euill will of the people towards him, because hee landed neere the *Cæsars* tombe: on a day when the shore was full of people: many followers after him: and *Plancina* accompanied with a traine of women, both pleasant and cheerfull in countenance. Among other causes of enuie and heart-burning, *Pisos* house was one, looking on the market place, trimmed to feast and banket in, where nothing could bee hidden. The next day *Fulcinius Trio* accused *Piso* before the Consuls. *Vitellius* and *Veranius*, and the rest which had followed *Germanicus*, alleadged that that was their office, and that *Trio* had no part therein; and that as witnesses and openers of the cause, and not as accusers, they were to report that which *Germanicus* had giuen them in charge. *Trio* relinquishing the accusation, obtained licence to accuse his former life: and the Prince intreated to receiue the hearing of the cause to himselfe: which the defendant refused not, as mistrusting the Senators, and peoples good will: and contrary, being well assured that *Tiberius* regarded not rumors, but would leane to his mothers conscience: and that the truth, or things beleeued and wrested to the worst, might easily bee discerned by one Iudge: whereas hatred and enuie beare the sway where there are many. *Tiberius* was not ignorant, how waighty a cause hee vndertooke, and how diuersly hee was censured: and therefore calling some of his *familiar* friends about him, hearing the menaces of the accusers; then the request of the party arraigned, referred the whole cause to the Senate. In the meane season, *Drusus* returning from Illyrium, although the Senators had decreed, that for receiuing of *Maroboduus*, and

and exploits done the sommer past, hee should enter the citie, ouant, or with a small triumph: yet deferring that honor for the time, he entered priuately. After that *Piso* had demaunded *T. Arruntius*, *Fulcinius*, *Asinius Gallus*, *Aeserninus*, *Marcellus*, *Sext. Pompeius* for his aduocates; and all of thē alleadging diuers excuses, *M. Lepidus*, *L. Piso*, and *Liueneius Regulus* vndertooke his defence: the whole citie being attentiue to know how *Germanicus* friends would sticke vnto him; what hope the partie arraigned had; whether *Tiberius* were able to master his affections, or would shew himselfe. All these things were greedily expected of the people: neuer shewing themselues more attentiue, nor at any time licencing themselues a more secret speech of the Prince, or suspicious silence. The day that the Senat met, *Cæsar* made cap. 12.

" a premeditate oration, tempered in this sort, saying: That *Piso* had beene his fa-
" thers Lieutenant and friend, and giuen by him to *Germanicus* as a coadiutor, by the
" authority of the Senate, in the administration of the affaires of the East: but whe-
" ther he had there exasperated the yong Prince, through disobedience and conten-
" tion: and whether hee had shewed himselfe glad of his death: or villanously had
" made him away; that they should iudge of that with vpright consciences. For if
" being Lieutenant, he hath gone beyond the bounds of his office: and shaken off his
" duty to his Lord generall: and reioyced in his death, and my griefe: I will hate him,
" and estrange him from my house, and reuenge not the Princes, but priuate grudges.
" If any villanous deede be detected in him worthie of reuenge, euen in the death of
" any priuate person, affoord your selues, and *Germanicus* children, and vs, his father,
" reasonable and iust comfort. And examine also whether seditiously and muti-
" nously *Piso* hath stirred vp the armie: whether by ambition he hath sought to win
" the fauour of the souldiers: whether hee returned into the prouince by force of
" armes: or whether these things be false; and made greater than they are, by the
" accusers: with whose ouergreat affection I haue iust cause to bee offended. For to
" what purpose should his bodie bee shewen naked, bee handled of the common
" people; and bruted abroad among strangers, as though hee had beene empoiso-
" ned; if these things be yet vncertaine, and are to be inquired of? I lament true-
" ly, and am greeued for my sonne, and alwaies shall. But I hinder not the defen-
" dant, to alledge all he can, for the purgation of his innocencie: or if *Germanicus*
" had any fault woorthy of reprehension. And I beseech you, not to take the crimes
" as already proued, because the cause is ioyned with my sorrow. If either his neernes
" in bloud, or his owne faithfulnes, hath yeelded him any to defend his cause; helpe
" him, as much as in you lieth either by your eloquence or care, in this his extremity.
" To the same labour and constancie, I exhort the accusers. *Germanicus* this onely
" priuiledge we will affoord aboue the lawes: that his death shall be rather inquired
" of in the Curia, then in the Forum: before the Senat, then other Iudges. Let all the
" rest be debated with like modesty, nothing regarding *Drusus* teares: or my griefe:
" or if any slaunders be forged against me. After that the accusers had two daies gi- cap. 13.

uen them to bring in their accusations; & after 6. daies were past, the defendant had three more to iustifie himselfe. Then *Fulcinius* began with stale and friuolous matters: as that he had gouerned Spaine ambitiously, and couetously. Whereof being conuicted, he could not be interessed; if he could purge himselfe of the later crimes: nor if he could defend himselfe from that accusation; yet was hee not acquitted, if greater matters were laid to his charge. After him *Seruæus* and *Veranius* and *Vitellius* with like affection; but *Vitellius* with greater eloquence obiected that *Piso*, for hatred to *Germanicus* and desire of innouation, had so farre corrupted the common souldier with licentiousnes and iniuries towards the confederates: that of the

lewdest

lewdeſt ſort, he was called the father of the legions. Further, that he had vſed cruelty againſt euery good man; and eſpecially againſt *Germanicus* followers and friends: in the end, that he had killed him with poiſon and enchantments. Then, that he and *Plancina* vſed wicked ceremonies and ſacrifices: that he had borne armes againſt the common-wealth: that he would neuer haue appeared in iudgement, had hee not beene ouercome in battell. In many things his defence was weake: for hee could not denie but that he had woone the ſouldier by ambition: or that he had not expoſed the prouince as a prey, to the lewdeſt ſort: nor the iniurious ſpeeches againſt the generall. Onely he ſeemed to haue purged himſelfe of the empoyſoning: which indeed the accuſers did not ſufficiently prooue: accuſing him to haue empoiſoned *Germanicus* meat with his hand, which was infected, as he ſate aboue him at a banquet. For it ſeemed abſurd, that he ſhould dare ſo bold an attempt, amongſt other mens ſeruants, in the ſight of ſo many ſtanders by, and in *Germanicus* owne preſence. And thereupon he offered his familie, and was very earneſt that his ſeruitors might be examined vpon the racke. But the Iudges were implacable for diuers reſpects, *Cæſar* becauſe he had made war againſt the prouince, the Senators, becauſe they could neuer beleeue but that *Germanicus* died by trecherie, and that they had expoſtulated the matter by letters the one to the other. Which *Tiberius* did no leſſe denie than *Piſo*. Withall, the outcrie of the people was heard before the Senate houſe, that they would not temper their hands, if he eſcaped by ſentence of the Senate. And they had drawne *Piſoes* images to the Gemonies; and broken them in peeces, if they had not beene ſaued, and put in their places againe, by the princes commaundement. *Piſo* was carried backe in a chariot, by a Tribune of the Pretorian band, diuerſly rumored: whether he followed him as a garde for his ſafetie, or executioner of his death. The like hatred was toward *Plancina*, but greater fauour, and therefore it was doubted, how farre *Cæſars* authority would reach in her behalfe. As long as there was any hope left for *Piſo*, ſhe promiſed to take part of whatſoeuer fortune with him, and if it ſo fell out, to be his companion in death. But ſhe was no ſooner pardoned through *Auguſtaes* ſecret intreatie, but ſhe began by little and little, to ſeparate hir-ſelfe from hir husband, and bring hir defences apart. The which when *Piſo* perceiued, to aboade his vtter deſtruction, doubting whether he ſhould make any further triall in iudgement: his ſons perſwading him he hardneth himſelfe, and goeth once againe to the Senate. Where his accuſation being renewed, and the Senators voices againſt him; and hauing endured all things aduers and cruell: he was amazed at nothing more, than that he ſaw *Tiberius* without pitie, without anger, reſolute, and not ſwaied with any affection. Being brought home from thence, as though he had premeditated ſome iuſtification for the next day; he writeth, ſealeth, and deliuereth ſome few lines vnto a freedman. This done, he gaue himſelfe to the accuſtomed care of his body. Then the night being farre ſpent, his wife going out of the chamber; he commaundeth the doores to be ſhut, and the next morning earely, he was found with his throat cut, the ſword lying on the ground. I remember I haue heard of auncient men, that *Piſo* was often ſeen to haue a little booke in his hands which hee publiſhed not: but as his friends ſaid, it contained *Tiberius* letters, & Commiſſion againſt *Germanicus*; and that he had purpoſed to diſcloſe it to the Lords of the Senate, and accuſe the Prince; had hee not beene deluded by *Sejanus* vaine promiſes, and that hee killed not himſelfe, but that ſome one was ſent to murder him. But I will not aſſure either of thoſe things, although I ought not to conceale it to haue been vttered by thoſe, which liued vntil I came to mans eſtate.

III. Pisoes *letters to* Tiberius: Plancina *is quit.*

CAESAR hauing changed his countenance into sadnes: perswading himselfe that, that death of *Pisoes* would breede him enuie: questioned of in Senat how *Piso* had behaued himselfe, the day before he died; & how he had passed the last night. And hee answering most things wisely; and some inconsiderately; reciteth the contents of the writing made by *Piso* almost as followeth. Being oppressed by the conspiracies of my enemies, and enuie of a false crime: so far, that there is no place left to my innocency and truth: I call the immortall gods to witnes *O Cæsar*, that I haue liued with all loyaltie towards thee; and no lesse duety towards thy mother. And I beseech you, that you would be an aide and stay vnto my children. Among which *Cn. Piso* is guiltlesse of my fortune whatsoeuer it be: seeing he hath liued all this while in the citie. *M. Piso* did alwaies disswade mee from returning to Syria. And I would to God, I had rather yeelded to the counsell of my yoong sonne, then he to his olde Father. And therefore I beseech you most earnestlie, that being innocent, hee suffer not the punishment of my demerit. By the seruice of fiue and fortie yeeres, by the fellowship of the Consulship which we bore together, once liked of *Augustus* the father, and a friend to thee; I recommend vnto thee as my last request, my vnfortunate sonnes life. Of *Plancina* he added no-
cap. 17. word. After this, *Tiberius* excused the yoong man of the ciuill warres, because the sonne could not disobey the fathers commandement: withall, hee had compassion on the noblenes of his house, and his owne heauy fortune, howsoeuer he had deserued. Of *Plancina* hee spake with shame and discredit: pretending his mothers intreatie: against whome euery good man was incensed, and secretly complained, saying: Is it lawfull then for the grandmother to looke vpon the murderesse of her nephew, talke with her, and take her out of the hands of the Senate, that iustice might not be executed? Shal not that haue place in *Germanicus*, which the law doth permit all other citizens? *Cæsar* was bewailed by *Vitellius* and *Veranius*: *Plancina* defended by the Emperour and *Augusta*: that now shee might conuert her skill and poisons which she had so happily experimented, against *Agrippina* and her children, and satiat the good grandmother & vncle with the bloud of a most miserable house. Two daies were spent vnder colour of examining the cause: *Tiberius* vrging *Pisoes* children, to defend their mother: and when the accusers and witnesses, had spoken a vie against her, and no man answered for her, pitie encreased more than enuie against her. *Aurelius Cotta* being first demaunded his opinion (for *Cæsar* propounding the case, the magistrates spake first) gaue his censure that the memory of *Piso* should be blotted out of the Chronicles: that part of his goods should be confiscated; and part bestowed vpon *Gn. Piso* his sonne; with condition that hee should change his name: that *M. Piso* being deposed from his dignitie, and receiuing * fiftie hundred thousand sesterces, should be exiled for ten yeares: and *Plancinaes* life pardoned at the suite of *Augusta*. Diuers points of that sentence were mitigated by the Prince, as that *Pisoes* name should not be wiped out of the Fasti: seeing that *M. Antonius*, who had made warre against his countrey; and *Iulius Antonius* name, who had violated *Augustus* house, remained: and *M. Piso* he deliuered from infamie, and graunted him his Fathers goods, neuer as I haue often said, greedie of money: and at that time more easilier pleased, for shame that *Plancina* was quit. And when *Valerius Messalinus* propounded, that there should an image

* About 3250 pound. cap. 18.

of

of gold be set vp in *Mars* their reuengers temple : and *Cæcina Seuerus* an altar erected to reuenge. He hindred both, alleaging that those things were to be dedicated and offered for forren victories, and that domesticall aduersities ought to be buried in sorrow. *Messalinus* added, that thanks should be giuen to *Tiberius* and *Augusta*, to *Antonie* and *Agrippina*, and to *Drusus* for *Germanicus* reuenge, not once mentioning *Claudius*. And *L. Asprenas* asking *Messalinus* before the Senate, whether hee had willingly omitted him ? *Claudius* name was then first added. The more I meditate with my selfe of things done both in olde and latter times; the more the vncertainties and vanities of fortune in mortall affaires come to my remembrance; for in fame, hope, estimation, all men were rather destined to the soueraigntie, then he, whom fortune had kept hidden for the future monarch. A few daies after *Cæsar* cap. 19. perswaded the Lords of the Senate to bestow the dignity of Priesthood vpon *Vitellius*, *Veranius*, and *Seruæus* : and hauing promised his voice to *Fulcinius* for the obtaining of any dignity, aduised him not to ouerthrow his eloquence with rashnes. And that was the ende of reuenging *Germanicus* death : many things diuersly reported; not onely among such as then liued, but in times consequent. So doubtfull are all waighty matters; whilest some take all as certaine, howsoeuer they heare it: others report a trueth otherwise then it is: posterity adding to both.

IIII. *Warres renewed in Africke vnder* Tacfarinas: *who is defeated by* Apronius: Lepida *condemned for changing a childe.*

BVt *Drusus* being gone out of the citie, once more to learne future things by the flying of birds ; entereth in againe, with a small triumph. And a fewe daies after, *Vipsania* his mother died, onely of all *Agrippas* children, of a naturall death : because it was certainely beleeued, that some died by the sword; others by poyson or famine. The same yeere *Tacfarinas*, who as I haue said was the last cap. 20. sommer driuen out by *Camillus*, renueth the warre in Affricke : at the first by routing pillages; vnreuenged by reason of his sudden comming, then by wasting of villages; and carrying away great booties; and last of all not far from the riuer Pagyda he besieged a Romane cohort. One *Decrius* was Captaine of the fort, a lusty man, and of good skill in matters of warre : who taking that besieging as a disgrace to himselfe ; encourageth his souldiers to fight in open field ; and marshalled his armie in order of battell before the fortresse. The cohort being beaten back at the first brunt : he runneth in among the weapons of such as fled; rebuking the standard berers, that a Roman souldier would shew his back, to a few vntrained raw traitors. And hauing receiued wounds; and an eie stroken out; yet put himselfe in the face of the enemie; neuer leauing off fighting, vntill he was forsaken of his companie and slaine in the place. Which when *L. Apronius* (who succeeded *Camillus*) vnderstood: cap. 21. being more perplexed with the shame of his own people; then glory of the enemy : he draweth out by lot (a rare matter in those daies though in old times practised) euery tenth person of the dishonorable band, & beateth him with cudgels to death. Which seuerity wrought so great good, that an enfigne of old souldiers, in number not aboue fiue hundred, defeated *Tacfarinas* armie, going about to assault a fort called Thala. In which battell *Rufius Helenus*, a common souldier got the credit of sauing a citizens life, on whom *L. Apronius* bestowed chaines and a spear. *Cæsar* added a ciuicall crowne to them, finding fault rather then offended, that *Apronius* had

had not giuen it by his proconsularie authority. But *Taesarinas* perceiuing the Numidians to be danted, and refusing to besiege any longer, scattered his war, giuing ground when he was pursued: and following a fresh when their backs were turned. Which manner of fight vsed by the Barbarian, molested and kept the Roman plaie, to no purpose. But after that greedy of pray, hee drew to the sea coasts, and there encamped: *Apronius Cæsianus* being sent thither by his fathers appointment, with a troupe of horsemen and aid cohorts; adding vnto them the readiest of the legions; cap. 22. had a prosperous fight, and droue the Numidian to the deserts. *Lepida*, who besides the honour of the Aemilian family, from which shee was descended; had *L. Sulla* and *Cn. Pompeius* for hir great grand-fathers, was accused at Rome, for faigning hir selfe to haue had a child, by *P. Quirinius*, a rich man and without children; and also of adulteries and empoisonings: and that shee had consulted with the Chaldeans against the house of *Cæsar*: hir brother *Manius Lepidus* defending her cause. *Quirinius* being offended, and separated from hir; yet had commiseration on hir, although she were both infamous and faulty. In the hearing of that cause, it was hard to gesse the Princes mind; he did so turne and wind himselfe, and interlace tokens of anger with Clemencie: hauing first of all requested that matters of treason should not bee debated at that time. Then he drew *M. Seruilius*, once Consull, and other witnesses to broach such matter, which he would seem to haue suppressed: and sent to the Consuls *Lepidaes* seruants, whom he had garded before with a companie of souldiers: & would not suffer them to answer by torture, to such interrogatories as did appertaine to his house. Neither that *Drusus* Consull elect should first yeeld his opinion: which some construed to be a point of ciuility; that others should not bee forced to doe the like: others did wrest it to cruelty: and that he cap. 23. should neuer haue giuen place, but to condemne the party called in question. *Lepida*, the day of hearing, falling out when the playes were to be shewen; entring the Theatre with a company of noble women: calling on hir ancestours with a dolefull lamentation; and *Pompey* himselfe, whose monuments and images were there in view: moued such great compassion, that the people gushing out in teares, began to curse *Quirinius*: wishing him all cruelty and misfortune: vpon whom being old and without children, and of base parentage, shee was bestowed, who had once beene destined a wife for *L. Cæsar*, and daughter in law to *Augustus*. Not long after her lewde behauiour was discouered; by torturing her slaues: and all of them condescended vnto *Rubellius Blandus* opinion, which was that she should be banished. *Drusus* yeelded vnto his opinion, although others were mildlier bent. Then *Scaurus*, who had had a daughter by her, obtained that her goods should not be cõfiscate. At last *Tiberius* declared, that he was assured also by *P. Quirinius* slaues that cap. 24. she sought to poyson him, as being an enemy alwaies to noble houses. And so in a short compasse of time, the Calphurnians lost *Piso*: and the Aemilians *Lepida*. But *D. Silanus* being restored to the Iunian family, was a comfort vnto it: whose fortunes I will lay downe.

V. Decius Silanus *touched with adulterie*: Papias Poppæus *law against single life*.

AS fortune was fauourable to *Augustus* in gouernment of state, so in household matters vnluckie and improsperous: his daughter and Neece which he banished the citie, being both of incontinent life: and the adulterers punished with death or exile. For perceiuing the offence to bee common in the mouth both of man and woman; and terming it by a rigorous name, of religion violated;

violated, or treason; hee passed the bounds of his auncestors clemencie, and his owne lawes. But I will lay downe the ends of others, and what hath happened in that age: if hauing finished this which I haue begun I shall haue longer life, to vndertake further matter. *Decius Silanus*, who was accused to haue committed adulterie with *Augustus* Neece, although there was no seuere punishment decreed against him, then that hee should bee depriued of *Cæsars* friendship; yet interpreting that to be a banishment, durst neuer intreat pardon of the Senate and the Prince, vntill *Tiberius* came to be Emperour; and that by his brother *M. Silanus* credit and authority, for his great nobility and eloquence highly esteemed. But *Silanus* thanking *Tiberius*: hee answered before the Lords of the Senate, that he was glad of his brothers returne from a long peregrination: and that he might lawfully so do, because hee was not expulsed by decree of Senate or law: yet that the offence committed against his father, was entire: and that by *Silanus* returne, those things were not made frustrate which *Augustus* had decreed. He remained after this in the citie, but as a priuate man without office. After this, they cap. 25. debated the matter concerning the moderation of the law Papia poppæa, which *Augustus* stroken in yeeres, had ordained after the Iulian lawes, for augmenting the punishment of single life, and enriching the publicke treasure. Neither for all that, were mariages and education of children the more frequented: the single life hauing taken strong roote: whereby the multitude of the endangered by the law, growing greater, most houses were subuerted by the interpretations of enformers: and as heretofore through lewdnesse of life: so now by lawes the estate of many was ouerthrowne. This giueth me occasion to speake more at large of the beginning of lawes; and by what meanes we are come to such an infinite multitude and variety of them. In most auncient times no disordinate desire raigned: euerie cap. 26. man liued without reproch and vice; and therefore without punishment and restraint of lawes; neither was there any need of reward, when as euery man desired honest things of his owne wil: and where nothing was demanded against custome, nothing was forbidden by feare. But after that equality was banished, and that ambition and violence crept in, in stead of modestie and shame; rule and dominion tooke footing, and continued for euer among many nations. Some presently, or after they were weary of Kings, desired rather lawes: which at the first were simple, mens minds being yet rude And aboue the rest, fame commended those of the Cretensians which *Minos* gaue: and those of the Sparteans, which *Lycurgus*: and not long after *Solon* prescribed more, and more exquisite, to the people of Athens. *Romulus* ruled vs as pleased himselfe: then *Numa* bound the people with ceremonies, and diuine lawes: some were found out by *Tullus* and *Ancus*: but the chiefest law-maker was *Seruius Tullius*, which kings themselues were bound to cap. 27. obey. *Tarquinius* being driuen out; the people made many against the factions of the Senators, to defend their libertie and establish concord. Then ten men were chosen, to collect all the best lawes of other countries; out of which they composed twelue tables: the end of law and equity. As for the lawes which followed, although they were sometimes made against malefactors for their misdemeanours; yet notwithstanding for the most part, they were brought in through the dissention of the communalty and noble men: for getting of vnlawfull dignities; or driuing out of noble men; or other disorders. By this occasion, the *Gracchi*, and the *Saturnini* were disturbers of the people: and *Drusus* no lesse prodigall vnder pretence of the Senators name, corrupted his companions with hope, or mocked them by sundrie oppositions against them. Neither did they omit in the warre of Italie, nor in the

the ciuill warre, to make many lawes: vntill *L. Sulla* the Dictator, the former lawes either abolished or changed: after he had added many vnto them; forbare somtime for making any more, though not long by reason of *Lepidus* turbulent demaunds: and because that not long after, licence was yeelded the Tribunes to manage the people, as themselues lusted. And now not in generall, but against particular men lawes were ordained: and thereby in a common wealth most corrupt; lawes vpon
cap. 28. lawes were multiplied. Then *Cn. Pompeius* being a third time Cousull, and chosen for reformation of manners; being more seuere in punishing then the offence deserued; was the author and ouerthrower of his owne lawes: and lost those things by armes, which he had defended by armes. From that time forward there was continuall discord twenty yeeres together: no custome; no law obserued: the most lewdest enterprises escaped vnpunished: and many vndone for well doing. At length *Augustus Cæsar* being the sixt time Consull, and setled in the state abolished those things, which being Triumuir himself had commanded: and gaue new lawes to be obserued in time of peace and vnder a Prince. Straighter lawes were made by him; and spies appointed to watch the transgressors: and many induced through recompences granted by the law Papia poppæa; that if any forbeare from the priuiledges of parents, ceast from mariage, and had no children: that then the people who was the common father of all, should inherit their goods. But the pickthanks went farther, and informed against many, not only in the city, but also through all Italy, and whereseoeuer else the citizens were: and ouerthrew many mens estates, and droue a terror into all: if *Tiberius* in prouiding a remedy had not chosen by lot, fiue such as had beene Consuls, fiue as had beene Pretors, and so many of the rest of the Senators, which soluing many intricate quirks of this law, were some ease for the present time.

VI. Nero *is recommended by* Tiberius *to the Senate: and marrieth with* Iulia, Drusus *daughter.*

cap. 29. ABout the same time, he recommended *Nero* one of *Germanicus* children, now entered into his youth, to the Lords of the Senate: and requested that hee might be dispensed with for the office of Vigintiuirat: and (which to all men seemed ridiculous) be lawfull for him to demaund the Questorship, fiue yeeres sooner then the lawes did permit: pretending that the same was graunted him and his brother at *Augustus* request. But I doubt not, but at that time, some secretly laughed at that demaund. Yet these were the first beginnings of *Cæsars* rising; and the auncient custome more in euery mans eies: and a lighter band of alliance, held to bee betwixt the father in law, and his wiues children; then the grandfather and his nephew. The Pontificall dignitie was likewise bestowed vpon him: and the first time he entred the place of common assemblies; he gaue the people a donatiue: verie ioyfull to see *Germanicus* ofspring now of full age. Their ioy was augmented by *Neroes* marrying of *Iulia*, *Drusus* daughter. And as these things were gratefull to the people; so went it against their stomacks, that *Seianus* should be destined father in law to *Claudius* son: as a disparagement to their nobility: & that at their own motion
cap. 30. they exalted *Seianus*, who cõceiued ouer great hopes in his mind. In the end of that yeere died *L. Volutius* & *Sal. Crispus*, two noble personages. *Volusius* was descended of an auncient stocke; but neuer higher then a Pretors roome: himselfe obtained a Consuls roome: & was made Censor for the chusing of bands of horsemen; & the first

first gatherer of riches, whereby that house rose to that greatnes. *Crispus* was a gentleman borne, and so called and adopted by that excellent writer of the Roman Historie *C. Sallustius*, because he was his sisters nephew. But he, although he had a readie entrance for obtaining of dignities; yet following the example of *Mæcenas* neuer once being Senator, had greater authority and power, than many which had triumphed and beene Consuls. Yet differed from his auncestors in manner of life; as being neat, fine, and bountifull, very neere riotousnes; and was of a great capacitie, and in courage able to performe great matters: and so much the more liuely; by how much in vtter shew he seemed drousie and heauie metled. Therefore whilest *Mecenas* liued, next vnto him his credit was best: and after his death, trusted with greatest secrets of state; and priuie to the murdering of *Posthumus Agrippa*; and growne into yeeres, held rather a shadowe of the Princes friendship, then the substance. Euen so fell it out with *Mæcenas*: either so by the course of the heauens decreed, that Princes fauour is seldome euerlasting; or because both haue their fill: those when they haue giuen all they can; these when there is nothing left to desire. Now followeth the fourth time *Tiberius*; and the second that *Drusus* was made Consull: a thing worthy of remembrance, that the father and the sonne were fellow officers: for two yeeres before, *Germanicus* had the same dignity with *Tiberius*: but that was no ioy to the vncle; neither hee so neere in blood vnto him. In the beginning of that yeere *Tiberius* went to Campania, vnder colour of getting his health; yet indeed by little and little to absent himselfe; or else that the father being away, *Drusus* might alone manage the whole Consulship. It fell out by meere chance, that a matter of small moment growing to a waighty contention, brought the yoong man to great credit. *Domitius Corbulo*, who had beene Pretor, complained before the Lords of the Senate on *L. Sulla* a noble yoong man, that hee gaue him not the place at a play of fencers. For *Corbulo*, made his age; the custome of the countrey; and the fauour of the auncient men: on the other side, *Mamercus Scaurus* and *L. Arruntius*, and other of his kinred, stucke vnto *Sulla*. Orations were made on both sides: and examples of old times brought, sharpely rebuking the irreuerence of youth: vntill *Drusus* qualified the matter with a fit discourse; and *Corbulo* satisfied by *Mamercus* the most excellent Orator of his time, and vncle, and father in law to *Sulla*. The same *Corbulo* exclaiming that many high waies of Italy were broken, and not passable; by reason of the fraud of the vndertakers of the worke, and negligence of the magistrates in great; accepteth willingly the finishing of that busines. Which did no so much turne to a publike benefit, as the destruction of many: whose wealth and fame he tyrannised by condemning them, and setting their goods to sale.

sup. 31 fo. 769

VII. *Whether Captaines and Gouernours of Prouinces should haue there wiues with them.*

NOt long after, *Tiberius* sent letters to the Senate; aduertising them that by *Tacfarinas* incursions, Affrike was againe in armes: and that with the aduise of the Lords it were needfull, that a Proconsull were chosen, *skilfull* in matters of warre; of an able bodie, and a sufficient man for this warre. Which entrance *Sextus Pompeius* hauing gotten, of vttering his malice against *M. Lepidus*; accused him to be a coward, beggerly, and a dishonour to his auncestors; and therefore not to be admitted to lot, for the gouernement of Asia. The Senators were on his side; who thought *Lepidus* rather meete then a coward; and the small wealth

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left him by his father; and his nobility past without reproch, rather they iudged a credit, then an ignominie. And therefore hee was sent into Asia. And touching Affrica, it was decreed that *Cæsar* should chuse one himselfe for that charge. Whilest these things were a doing, *Seuerus Cæcina* was of opinion, that no magistrate vnto whom should fall the gouernment of a Prouince, should haue his wife follow him: hauing first often repeated, the good agreement betwixt him and his wife: that he had sixe children by hir: and that hee propounded nothing publikely to bee executed, which he had not obserued at home: not suffering his to goe out of Italy, "although he had had commanderie in wars forty yeeres in many Prouinces. It was "not in vaine, saide hee, ordained in times past, that women should not be drawen "to confederates & forrein nations. For it was incident where women followed, that "in peace they were a hinderance by riot and sumptuousnesse: in warre by feare; and "made the Romane armie, like the Barbarians going to warre. That sexe was not "onely weake and vnable to take paine; but if it got the bridle, cruell, ambitious and "greedy of rule. To marche among the souldiers, to haue the Centurions at com-"mand; we haue seene a woman of late: and to ouersee the cohorts exercise, and the "legions horse-races. That they should consider, that as oft as any were accused of "extortion and polling, more was obiected against their wiues, then themselues. "That the lewdest persons of the prouinces, did by and by cleaue vnto them. They "would intermeddle and conclude of all affaires: by this meanes two were courted, "and two iudgement seats. Women being wilfull, command proudly; and brideled by the Oppian and other lawes; now hauing gotten the raines in their hands, rule houses, places of iudgements, and armies. This was heard but with the good liking of a few: many interrupting him, and saying, that that was not the matter propoun-"ded, nor *Cæcina* a fit censurer to sway a matter of so great importance. *Valerius Mes-"sallinus*, sonne vnto *Messalla*, in whom appeared the image of his fathers eloquence, "answered immediately as followeth. Many hard and irksome customes of our pre-"decessors, haue beene changed into the better and pleasanter. Neither was the city "besieged as in times past: or the prouinces at defiance with vs, and some few things "are graunted to womens necessities: which are so farre from ouercharging the con-"federates; that they are not burdensome to their husbands houses. Other things "were common as well to the husband as the wife; and no hinderance at all therein "to peace. True it is, that warres are to be vndertaken by armed men: but vnto such "as returne after their labours, what more honester solace than a mans wife? But "some haue fallen into ambition and couetousnesse. What? of magistrates them-"selues, are not many of them subiect vnto sundry affections? yet it can not be, that "none should bee sent into the Prouince. But oftentimes the husbands haue beene "corrupted by the naughtines of their wiues, are therefore all single men vncorrupt? "The Oppian lawes were once in vse, the state of the commonwealth so requiring; "but afterward somewhat of their rigor was remitted and mitigated, because it was "then expedient. It was in vaine to couer our cowardlinesse with new names; for it "was the husbands fault, if the woman exceeded the meane. In fine, it were not well "done for the weakenesse of one or two, to take from husbands their companion in "prosperous and aduerse fortune: and withall, a sexe weake and fraile by nature, to "be left alone, and exposed by her owne licentiousnes, to the lust of others. Matri-"mony could hardly be kept vndefiled, their husbands being present: what would "become of them, if they should be forgotten for many yeeres, as it were by diuorce-"ment? therefore they should so preuent faults committed abroad, that they forget "not the dishonours of the citie. *Drusus* added somewhat of his owne matrimony,

and

and that Princes most often visit the remotest parts of their Empire. How oft had *Augustus* of famous memory gone to the East and West, accompanied with Liuia? That himselfe, had gone to Illyrium; and if it were expedient, was ready to goe into other countries: but yet not alwaies willingly, if he should be drawne from his most deere wife, and mother of so many children, common betweene them both. And so *Caesars* sentence tooke no effect.

VIII. *What abuses were committed by running to the Princes images. Warres in Thrace.*

THe next day that the Senat met, *Tiberius* hauing couertly rebuked the Lords of the Senate by letters, because they did cast all the cares on the Princes neck, nominated *M. Lepidus*, and *Iunius Blaesus*, one of them to be chosen Proconsull of Affrike. And both of them being heard, *Lepidus* very earnestly excused himselfe; pretending the feeblenes of his body; his childrens age; and a daughter mariageable: respecting also (though thereof he made no mention) that *Blaesus* was *Setanus* vncle, and therefore sure to carry it away. *Blaesus* answered as though he would haue refused, but not with the like asseueration as the other; yet had a fauourable hearing of flatterers. Then many secret complaints were made known: for euery lewd companion, if he could catch hold on *Caesars* image, might freely, and without punishment, iniury honest men without opprobrious speeches, & rayse enuie against them: yea, freed men and bondslaues also, were feared, threatning with words and fists their patrons and masters. Whereupon *C. Cestius* a Senator vttered these speeches: That indeede Princes were like vnto gods: but yet the gods heard no supplications but iust: neither had any refuge to the Capitol, or other temples of the citie, that they should vse that as a defence against all misdemeanour. That the lawes were abolished and vtterly ouerthrowne: seeing that *Annia Rufilla* whom hee had condemned of fraud before the Iudge, did threaten, and vse reprochfull speeches against him, in the place of assemblies and before the Curia; hee not daring to trie the lawe with her, because shee had *Caesars* image ouer against her. Others muttered the like, or bitterer speeches than these: and besought *Drusus* that hee would shew exemplarie punishment vpon her: and being called and conuicted, was condemned to prison. Likewise *Considius Aequus*, and *Calius Cursor*, Gentlemen of Rome, were by commaundement of the Prince, and order of the Senate punished, for forging crimes of treason against the Praetor *Magius Caecilianus*. Both turned to *Drusus* commendation, because that by him who conuersed in the citie withall companies, in familiar communication; the secret designments of his father were qualified. Neither did the yoong mans not greatly dislike them; reputing it a lesser fault, to employ the day in buildings, and the night in banquetting; than giuen to no pleasures, alone heauily to passe the daie in lewde practises and deuises. For *Tiberius* and the accusers were not yet wearied. But *Ancharius Priscus* accused *Cassius Cordus*, Proconsull of Creete, of powling the countrey: and added treason, which was a supply when all other accusations failed. When *Caesar* perceiued that *Antistius Vetus*, one of the chiefe noble men of Macedonia, was acquitted of adulterie laid to his charge: hauing rebuked the Iudges, drew him in againe, to purge himselfe of treason: as being seditious and a confederate with *Rhescuporis* in his counsels, when as hauing slaine his brother *Cotys*; hee intended warre against vs. Whereupon he was banished into an Iland; neither commodious for Macedonia, nor Thrace. For Thrace, the kingdome being

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beeing diuided betwixt *Rhæmetalces* and *Cotys* children; vnto whom by reason of their infancie, *Trebellienus Rufus* was made Tutor; through the strangenes of our manners, fell to rebell a fresh: no lesse blaming *Rhæmetalces* then *Trebellienus*, because they suffered the iniuries done to the people to escape vnpunished. The Cœlaletæ, and the Odrusetæ, all strong nations; tooke armes vnder diuers Captaines, for basenes of birth not vnlike: and therfore could not grow to any cruell battel. For some troubled the present state; some passed the hill Hæmus, to draw such to them as dwelt a far off: most of them, and those of better gouernment, besieged the King
cap. 39. and the citie Philippopolis, built by *Philip* King of Macedon. Which when *P. Velleius* vnderstood, who was Captaine of the next armie: he sent a certaine company of horsemen, and a band of footmen lightly appointed, against those which romed about for pillage; or to seeke more succour: himselfe brought his strength of footmen to raise the siege; all ending prosperously; the forragers slaine; and a dissention growing amongst the besiegers: the King sallied out against these; the legions arriued in seasonable time. This deserued not the name of any army or battell: in which a few vnfurnished straglers were slaine without any bloud-shed on our side.

IX. *The Galli vnable to pay their taxations rebell*: Iulius Florus *and* Iulius Sacrouir *being their Captaines.*

cap. 40. THe same yere the cities of Gallia, by reason they were greatly indebted, began a rebellion: the chiefest firebrand among the Treueri beeing *Iulius Florus*, and with the Aedui *Iulius Sacrouir*: both nobly descended, and whose auncestors had atchieued valiant acts; and therefore made citizens of Rome: then a rare thing, and a guerdon onely of vertue. They by secret conferences, hauing drawen to them the most audacious; or such whose pouerty or feare of punishments for their misdeeds, were ready to plunge themselues into any enterprise: resolued that *Florus* should stir vp the Belgi, and *Sacrouir* the French neerer at hand. In their conuenticles therefore and meetings; they began to cast out seditious speeches of their continuall tributes; the greatnes of vsury; the cruelty & arrogancy of gouernours; & that the souldiers fell together by the eares when they heard of *Germanicus* death. That that was a notable time offered, of recouering their liberty: if now in their flourishing estate they would weigh, how poore Italy was; how weak the city souldier; and no strength in the armies, but what was in strangers. There was almost
cap. 41 no citie which was not infected with the seeds of that commotion. The Andecauians, and the Turonians were the first which burst out: of which the Andecauians were subdued, by the Lieutenant *Acilius Auiola*; with a bande of men which lay in garrison at Lugdunum. The Turonians were ouerthrowne by the legionary souldier; which *Visellius Varro*, Lieutenant of lower Germanie, sent vnder the same Captaine *Auiola*: and certaine of the chiefe gentlemen of Gallia, which brought him aide; the better thereby to cloake their reuolt, and when occasion serued, rebell with more assurance. *Sacrouir* was seene to demaund battell of the Romans bare-headed, as he said to shew his valour: but the captaines said he did it to make himselfe the better knowne; thereby to be spared from their darts. *Tiberius* being consulted vpon that point, made no reckoning of the disclosing of it; but
cap. 42. nourished the warre by doubting. *Florus* in the meane time held on his purpose; enticed a wing of horsemen, enrowled at Treuers, and trained vp in our seruice and discipline; that hauing slaine the Roman Merchants, which there vsed trafficke; he might begin the warre: few of the horsemen were corrupted; but most continued in their alleageance. Other rude indebted persons, or followers, tooke armes; and

went

went toward the forreſt called Arden: but the legions from both armies; which *Viſidius*, and *C. Silius*, had ſent to croſſe them, droue them backe. *Iulius Indus* being of the ſame citie; and an enemie to *Florus* (and therefore more forward to ſhew his valour) being ſent before with a choiſe power; ſcattered and defeated that diſordered multitude. *Florus* eſcaped the conquerours hands, by vncertaine lurking holes; and at laſt perceiuing the ſouldiers to ſet on his places of refuge, ſlew himſelfe with his own hands. And that was the end of the rebellion of thoſe of Treueri. It was a matter of great difficulty to ſuppreſſe the Aedui; by reaſon their city was more wealthie; and the aide which ſhould haue ſubdued them farther off. *Sacrouir* had with certaine armed cohorts, gotten poſſeſſion of Auguſtodunum, the chiefe citie of the countrey; and taken the nobleſt mens children of all Gallia, which there followed their ſtudies; as a pledge to win and binde their parents and kindred; and withall, ſecretly diſtributed weapons which himſelfe had cauſed to be made, to all the youth. They were in number forty thouſand; the fift part armed as the legions were: the others with hunting ſtaues, hangers, & ſuch other weapons, as hunters vſe. To theſe were added certaine ſlauiſh fencers, couered according to the country faſhion, from top to toe, in armour of iron; vnapt and vneaſie to ſtrike; but to withſtand impenetrable, whom they call *Crupellarij*. Theſe forces were augmented. though not by any open conſent of cities adioyning; yet with euery mans particular good wil: the Romane captaines ſtriuing and doubting who ſhould haue the conducting of the warre; both deſiring it. But *Varro* being old and feeble, yeelded to *Silius*, who was in his prime. It was currant in Rome, that not onely the Treueri, and the Aedui, but alſo that threeſcore & fower cities of Gallia had reuolted; and the Germans ioyned with them: that Spaine was wauering; and all (as the nature of a report is) beleeued, more then it was. Euery good man with the care of the common-wealth was greatly greeued: many diſliking the preſent ſtate, and deſirous of alteration, reioyced euen in their owne harmes: and blamed *Tiberius* that in ſo great a hurlyburly, hee would ſtill ſpend his labour in hearing accuſers libels. What (ſaid they) ſhall *Iulius Sacrouir* bee condemned of treaſon in Senate? at laſt ſome were found, which with armes would ſuppreſſe theſe bloudie libels of accuſers: that a miſerable peace was well changed for warre. *Tiberius* ſo much the more compoſed to a careleſſe ſecurity, changed neither place nor countenance; paſſed ouer thoſe daies after his accuſtomed woont, either through haughtineſſe of courage; or becauſe he knew the matter to bee lighter then the report. In the meane time *Silius* marching on with two legions, hauing ſent a power of allies before, waſteth the villages of the Sequans, which were borderers and confederates with the Aeduans. Anon after hee marcheth ſpeedilie with his armie towards Auguſtodunum: the ſtandard-bearers ſtriuing who ſhould make moſt haſt; and the common ſouldier fretting, and chafing likewiſe, leaſt hee ſhould reſt the night as hee was wont: onely that they might ſee the enemie, and be ſeene, that would bee enough for the victory. Twelue miles off, *Sacrouir* appeared in the champian countrey. In the front he had placed his men couered with iron; his cohorts on the wings: and thoſe which were halfe armed in the reareward: himſelfe mounted on a goodly courſer, amongſt the chiefeſt of the citie; went to the ſouldiers and put them in minde of the auncient glory of the Galls; and how oft they had defeated the Romans. How honorable a thing liberty was to the conquerors: and how intollerable ſeruitude would be, if they ſhould be vanquiſhed againe. This exhortation was not long nor pleaſing: for the legions drew neere in battell array; the townesmen wanting diſcipline, and ignorant of ſeruice, did neither ſee nor heare

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heare what was best for them. *Silius* on the contrary side, although his hope had
" taken away all occasions of encouraging them, yet cried; That it was a shame for
" them being conquerors ouer the Germans, to bee brought against the Galli, as a-
" gainst enemies: and that of late one cohort had vanquished the rebellious Turo-
" nians; one wing the Treueri: a few troupes of horsemen of this same armie, had
" put to flight the Sequans. By how much the richer the Aedui are in money, and
" abounding in pleasures, the lesser courage they had. Breake then in vpon them, and
" binde them, and flee to those which run away. At that all of them giuing an out-
" cry, the horsemen compassed them in: the footemen set on the point; and the
wings made small resistance. Those in complet yron harnes, stucke somewhat to it;
their plates resisting, and beating backe the darts and swords: but the souldier snat-
ching his hatchets and axes, as though hee were to breake through a wall, hewed
their couering and carcasses. Some with poles or forks ouerthrew this sluggish
lump: leauing them for halfe dead lying on the ground, not once going about to
rise. *Sacrouir* goeth first to Augustodunum; then for feare least it should be yeel-
ded, to the next village, with a few of his trustiest friends; where he slew himselfe
with his owne hands, and the rest one another: and the village beeing set on fire o-
uer them, they were all burnt together. Then at last *Tiberius* wrote to the Senate,
that the warre was begun and ended, neither adding nor taking away from the
truth. And that the Lieutenants had behaued themselues faithfully and valorously;
and himselfe directed them with counsell. And withall yeelded the reasons, why
neither he nor *Drusus* went to the war; magnifying the greatnes of the Empire, and
that it was not meete that Princes, if some one or other towne rebell, should for-
sake Rome; from whence all other gouernment was deriued. Now because there
was no cause of feare, he would goe see and settle the present estate of things. The
Lords of the Senate decreed vowes and processions for his returne, with other con-
uenient ceremonies. *Delabella Cornelius* only whilst he went about to exceed others,
falling into absurd flattery, thought it meete that he should from Campania enter
into the citie ouant. Whereupon *Cæsar* wrote, that he was not so needy of renowne
that hauing vanquished most stout and proud nations; and receiued or refused in
his youth so many triumphes; he would in his old age hunt after a vaine reward of a
voiage neere the Citie.

X. Lepidus *maketh an oration in defence of* C. Lutorius. *accused of treason.*

ABout the same time, he made request vnto the Senate that *Sulpitius Quirinius*
death, might be solemnised with publicke funerals. *Quirinius* was not of the
auncient patritian familie of the *Sulpitians*; but borne at Lanuuium a free
towne, a valiant warrior; and forwards in all his charges: was Consull vnder *Au-
gustus* of famous memory. Then hauing woon by assault the fortresse of the Homo-
nadensians in Cilicia; the markes of triumph were awarded him; then giuen as a
guide to *C. Cæsar* in the regiment of Armenia, and when *Tiberius* was at Rhodes,
shewed him all duties of loue; which *Tiberius* did open in Senate, praising his duti-
fulnes towards him; and accused *M. Lollius*, to haue perswaded *C. Cæsar* to seditions
and lewdnesse. But vnto the rest, the memory of *Quirinius* was nothing pleasing, by
reason as I haue said, of the danger he brought *Lepida* into, and miserable niggish-
nes, and powerable old age. In the end of the yere a carrie-tale, accused *C. Lutorius
Priscus* a Gentleman of Rome; who had composed notable funerall verses vpon

Germa-

Germanicus death, and receiued money of *Cæsar* for them: obiecting that he had made them in honour of *Druſus* being ſicke: to the end that if he had died, they ſhould haue beene publiſhed for greater reward. Thoſe verſes *Lutorius*, vpon vaine glorie had read in *P. Petronius* houſe, in the preſence of *Vitellia*, his mother in lawe, and many other noble women. As ſoone as the pickthanke had ſhewed himſelfe; the reſt forced by feare to giue witneſſe onely *Vitellia* ſtood to it, that ſhe had heard nothing. But more credit being giuen to ſuch as teſtified to his ouerthrow: ſentence of death was pronounced againſt him, by *Haterius Agrippa* Conſull elect. Againſt whom *M. Lepidus* began to ſpeake in this manner. If we conſider, Lords of the Senat, with what a wicked toong *Lutorius Priſcus* hath polluted his minde, and mens eares: neither priſon, nor halter, nor any ſeruile torments, could ſuffice to puniſh him. But if lewd and heinous facts be without meane: yet the moderation of a Prince; your owne and your auncestors examples do mollifie the puniſhments and remedies of them: vaine things doe differ from wicked; and words from villanous deedes. And therefore iudgement may be giuen; by which neither this mans offence goe ſcot-free; & we not repent vs, either of our clemencie or ſeuerity. I haue often heard our Prince complaine, if any by killing himſelfe hath preuented his clemency; *Lutorius* life is yet in ſafety: who being kept aliue, will neither breed danger to the common-wealth; nor put to death, ſerue for example to others. As his ſtudies were ful of follie and without ſenſe, ſo they are likewiſe vaine, and quickly at an end. Neither is there any cauſe to feare any great or ſerious matter in him; who bewraying his owne imperfections; doth creepe not into mens, but womens breaſts. Yet let him be expulſed the citie. Which I iudge to be all one as if he had been conuicted of treaſon. Among all the Conſuls only *Rubellius Blandus* agreed with *Lepidus*: the reſt following *Agrippaes* opinion: *Priſcus* was lead to priſon; and immediately depriued of his life. The fact *Tiberius* with his accuſtomed ambiguitie of words, blamed in Senate: extolling the zealous affection of ſeuere puniſhments of princes iniuries, though ſmall: yet intreated them that they would not ſo raſhlie puniſh words: praiſed *Lepidus*, and rebuked not *Agrippa*. Whereupon a decree of Senate was made; that their orders ſhould not be caried to the treaſurie before ten daies were expired: and that ſo long the condemneds life ſhould be prolonged. But the Senators had no licence to repent, and reuoke their ſentence; and *Tiberius* not to be pacified by tract of time.

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XI. Tiberius *letter touching reformation of abuſes.*

cap. 52. An. 770.

THe yeere following, *C. Sulpitius*, and *D. Haterius*, were created Conſuls: all being quiet from forrein troubles: but ſeueritie againſt ſuperfluities ſuſpected at home: which was growen to exceeding exceſſe in all things, wherein money is lauiſhly ſpent. Some of their expences, although more vnreaſonable; yet were cloaked, by diſſembling their prices: but gluttony and belli-cheere, euerie man commonly ſpeaking of, put them in feare, leaſt the prince ſhould rigorouſly proceed according to the ancient prouident frugality. For *C. Bibulus* beginning; the other Ædiles ſhewed alſo, that the law concerning exceſſe of expences, was nought ſet by; and the ſumptuouſnes of moueables which was forbidden, daily increaſed, & that it could not bee redreſſed by any reaſonable meanes. And the Lords of the Senate being demanded their aduiſe, referred the whole matter to the prince. But *Tiberius* often pondered with himſelfe, whether ſuch exorbitant luſts could bee brideled or not; whether the brideling of them would not bring more hurt, then benefit

nefit to the common-wealth: how vnseemely and dishonorable it would be, to vndertake that which could not be effected; or if it could, with the ignominie or infamie of noble men: and in the end he sent letters to the Senate to this purpose.

An. 93. "It would be peraduenture conuenient, Lords of the Senate, that in other matters, I "should be demaunded by opinion in your presence: and speake what I thought to "be behoueful for the common wealth; but in this relation it was better to withdraw "mine eies; least that you noting the countenance, & the feare of euery one of such, "which should be deprehended of this shamefull lauishing; I should also see them, "and take them as it were in the fault. If the Ædiles vigilant and carefull men, had "before hand asked my aduise; I know not whether I should rather haue perswaded "them, to let passe strong and rooted vices, than go so far; that it should be knowne "how vnable we be to redresse some kinde of abuses. But they truely haue done their "dutie, and I wish that other magistrates would also fulfill theirs. To me it is neither "honest to hold my tongue; nor easie to speake: because I haue neither the office of "an Ædile, Prætor, nor Consull. Some greater matter is required of a Prince, and of "greater importance; and when as euerie man attributeth to himselfe the praise of "things well done: the faults of all men in generall redounde to the dislike of the "Prince alone. What shall I begin first to forbid, and reduce to the auncient cu-"stome? your huge and spacious countrie houses? the number of your seruitors of "diuers nations? the quantitie of siluer and gold? your painted tables, and brasen "images of maruellous and exquisite workemanship? superfluousnes of apparell both "in men and women? and those things which are proper vnto women, as pretious An. 94. "stones, for which our money is transported to forren nations, or enemies? I am not "ignorant that these things are blamed in bankets and meetings, and a meane wished "for. But if any would make a law, or lay downe a punishment for them; those them-"selues which complaine, will exclaime that the citie is ouerthrowen; that the ruine "of the nobilitie is sought for: and that there is none free from this crime. But we see "that old inueterate diseases of the body cannot be cured, but by sharp and rough re-"medies: the corruptor and the corrupted; the weake and burning desire, is to be "quenched with no lighter remedies; then the disordinate appetites were, which "kindled the minde. So many lawes inuented by our auncestors; so many made by "*Augustus*; those by obliuion, these (which is a greater offence) abolished by con-"tempt, haue caused all superfluities to be more bold, and practised. For if thou "wouldest doe that which is not yet forbidden, feare least thou be forbidden it. But if "thou hast without punishment transgressed things forbidden, there is neither fur-"ther shame nor feare left. Why then in times past was prouident sparing vsed? be-"cause euery man did moderate himselfe: because we were citizens of one citie: and "our dominions not reaching out of Italie, we had not the same prouocations: by "victories had against strangers, we haue learned to consume other mens goods; "by ciuill warres our owne. How small a matter is that whereof the Ædiles do admo-"nish vs? how little to be reckoned of, if we regard other things? But truly no man "doth put vs in minde, that Italie doth want the aide of forren nations; that the life "of the people of Rome, is tossed with the incertaintie of sea and tempest: and if the "strength of the prouinces should not aide and succour the Lords, slaues, and posses-"sions; our woods forsooth, and our farmes, would they maintaine vs? This burden, "Lords of the Senate, the Prince doth sustaine: which being omitted, the common-"wealth should fall to the ground. In other things, euery man must giue himselfe a "lawe; let shame amend vs; necessity the poore; saciety the rich. Or if there be any "of the magistrates, which doth promise vs so much industrie, and seuerity; that hee

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can preuent and redreſſe theſe things: I do both praiſe him, and confeſſe that I ſhall „
be vnburdened in part of my labor. But if they will accuſe faults; and hauing gotten „
glory thereby, raiſe priuie hatred, and leaue it on me: beleeue me, Lords of the Se- „
nate, I am not deſirous of diſpleaſures: which although I runne into, and that very „
greatly, and for the moſt part vniuſtly, for the common-wealth: yet by good rea- „
ſon, I refuſe them, and intreat that thoſe be not thruſt on me, which will be neither „
profitable for me, nor you. „

XII. *Examples doe more then lawes in reformation of abuſes: the Flamines are hindered for being gouernors of Prouinces.*

Cæſars letters being heard, the Aediles were diſcharged of that care: and cap. 55
the ſumptuouſnes of their tables, which from the end of the warre at Actium, vntill the wars in which *S. Galba* got the ſoueraigntie for an hundred yeeres, lauiſhingly vſed, began by little and little to be left off. The cauſes of this change it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſeeke out. In times paſt, rich and great houſes of noble men fell to decay through their magnificence; being then lawfull to winne the fauour of the people, of confederates, and Kings, to court and bee courted. And as euery man was moſt ſumptuous in his houſe, furniture, and prouiſion: ſo he was accounted moſt honourable, and followed with a greater traine. But after they began to murder one another, for priuate quarrels, proceeding of this pompe; and that their greatneſſe was their ruine; the reſt tooke a wiſer courſe. And withall, new men which were often taken out of free townes, colonies, and Prouinces, and choſen to be Senators; brought in with them the frugality, which they had vſed before in their owne houſes. And albeit, many of them either by fortune, or their owne induſtrie; grew to wealth in their age: yet they kept the ſame mind and cuſtome they brought with them. But *Veſpaſian* was the chiefeſt author of this ſtrict kinde of life; himſelfe obſeruing the auncient manner of liuing: for then a deſire of pleaſing and imitating the Prince, wrought more, then either puniſhment of lawes or feare. Vnleſſe peraduenture, wee thinke that there is in all things a certaine change: and as there is an intercourſe and change of time; ſo alſo an alteration of cuſtomes and manners. Neither were all things in auncient times better then ours; but our age hath left vnto poſterity many things worthy of praiſe and imitation. But let ſuch honeſt contentions betweene vs and our predeceſſors, ſtill continue amongſt vs. *Ti-* cap. 56.
berius hauing gotten the fame of moderation, by repreſſing the accuſers: ſent letters to the Senate, requeſting the Tribuniciall authority for *Druſus*. That terme of higheſt dignitie *Auguſtus* inuented, to auoid the name of King or Dictator: and yet vnder another title ſignified a ſoueraignty aboue other magiſtrates. After this hee choſe *M. Agrippa*, as an aſſociate of that dignitie: and after his death *Tiberius Ne-* *ro*, leſt the ſucceſſor ſhould be vnknown; thinking thereby to cut off others vnlawfull hopes: truſting to *Neroes* modeſty, and his owne greatnes. By which example, *Tiberius* did then aſſure the ſoueraigntie to *Druſus*, when as whileſt *Germanicus* liued, he held his iudgement indifferent betweene them both, not preferring the one before the other. But in the beginning of his letters, hauing humblie praied vnto the gods, that they would proſper his counſels to the good of the common-wealth: he ſpake ſome few words, and thoſe truly of the yoong mans behauiour; as that hee had a wife and three children; and was of the age that hee himſelfe was called by *Auguſtus* of famous memory, to vndertake the ſame charge. Neither could it be

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saide that hastily, but after eight yeeres triall; hauing suppressed seditions, and setled the wars, and triumphed, and beene twise Consull: he was taken to be an associat of a knowen labour. cap. 57. The Lords of the Senate conceiued the drift of his oration; whereby their flattery toward him was the more artificiall. Yet notwithstanding there was nothing newly inuented: but ordained only, that the images of the Princes; the altars of the gods; Temples and arches; and such vsuall honours should be erected for him. Sauing that *M. Silanus* demaunded and opined that in publicke and priuate monuments, the Consuls names should not be prefixed; but theirs who had Tribuniciall authority: a thing greatly dishonouring and debasing the Consulary dignity. *Q. Haterius*, who had counselled that the decrees made that day in Senate, should be written in letters of gold, was mocked for his labour: that an olde man should vse to his infamy such filthie flattery. cap. 58. Whilest these things were a doing, the gouernment of Affrica was continued in *Iunius Blæsus*. *Seruius Maluginesis* a Flamen Dial, or *Iupiters Priest*; sued that he might draw lots for the gouernmēt
"of Asia: saying, That it was vainely spred abroad, that it was not lawfull for *Iupiters*
"Priests to go out of Italy. And that they had no other law then the Priests of *Mars*
"and *Quirinus*. And if these had gouerned the Prouinces, why was it vnlawfull for
"the Diales? that there was no law of the people, touching that matter, found in the
"bookes of ceremonies. The high Priest had often celebrated *Iupiters* sacrifices: if
"the Flamen had beene hindered by sickneſſe or publike affaires. Seuenty and two
"yeeres, after that *Cornelius Merula* was murdered, no man was put to supplie the
"place; and yet the ceremonies neuer ceased. And if his creation could be omitted
"for so many yeeres, without any hinderance to the sacrifices: how much easlier
"might a man be absent, with the Proconsulary dignity for a yeere? In times past
"they were forbidden to go out of the Prouinces, through the priuate grudges of the
"high Priest: now through the fauour of the gods; the high Priest was the soueraigne
"aboue all men: not subiect vnto emulation, malice, or priuate affection. cap. 59. Against
which when *Lentulus* the Augur, and others had diuersly spoken; in the end they resolued to expect the censure of the high Priest. *Tiberius* hauing deferred the hearing of the Flamins right, moderated the ceremonies, which were decreed in honor of *Drusus* Tribuniciall dignity: rebuking by name the insolency of that sentence, which would haue had the decree written in letters of gold, against the custome of the countrey. *Drusus* letters were also read: which although they seemed to tend to
"modesty, yet were reputed most proud. They complained that things were growen
"to that passe; that the yoong man hauing receiued so great honour, yet vouchsafed
"not to visit the gods of the citie: nor shew himselfe in Senate; or begin at least his
"authoritie in his owne countrey. But forsooth, hee is let by warre, or hindered in
"some strange countrey: when indeed he solaceth himselfe at his pleasure, in the
"shores and lakes of Campania. This lesson had the ruler of the world taught him;
"this did hee first learne of his fathers Counsels. Although the olde Emperour
"should disdaine, to come and shew himselfe to the citizens: and pretend his
"yeeres, and trauell for an excuse: yet what impediment hath *Drusus*, but only his
"arrogancie?

XIII. *A reformation of Sanctuaries.*

cap. 60. BVt *Tiberius* strengthening in himselfe the soueraigntie: left the Lords of the Senate a shadow of their auncient estate, by sending the requests of the prouinces to their examination. The licence and impunitie of ordaining Sanctuaries,

aries, and priuiledged places increaſed throughout the cities of Greece. The temples were filled with moſt lewd bondſlaues: in the ſame refuges, were receiued debtors againſt their creditors; and ſuſpected of capitall crimes. Neither was there any authority able to bridle the ſedition of the people; protecting all villanies, no leſſe then the ceremonies of the gods. Whereupon it was concluded, that the cities ſhould ſend their Embaſſadors with their priuiledges, which ſome left off of their owne accord as falſly vſurped: many truſted to olde ſuperſtitions or pleaſures done to the people of Rome. The pomp of that day was great in ſhew: in which the Senators conſidered of the prerogatiues of their predeceſſors; the agreements of confederates; the decrees of kings, which had been before the Romanes had gotten ſuch great power and authority: and the religions of the gods themſelues, beeing yet in the diſpoſition of the Senate, to confirme or alter all; as in times paſt they could haue done. The firſt which ſhewed themſelues in Senate, were the Epheſians; declaring that *Diana* and *Apolle*, were not born in the Iland Delos, as the common people did beleeue: and there was in their countrey a riuer called Cenchrius: and a wood called Ortegia, where *Latona* being great with child; and leaning againſt an oliue tree which is yet in the place, brought foorth theſe two gods: and that by the commaundement of the gods that wood was made ſacred. And that *Apollo* himſelfe did in that place flee from *Iupiters* anger, after hee had ſlaine the Cyclopians. After that *Bacchus* the conquerer in warre, pardoned the Amazones, which humbling themſelues there, caught hold on the altar. And that the ceremony of that temple increaſed by *Hercules* permiſſion, when he enioyed Lydia: which was not diminiſhed when the Perſians had dominion ouer it. After that the Macedonians; then we had maintained the ſame priuiledges. Next vnto thoſe came in the Magneſians, building their treaſons on *L. Scipio*, and *L. Sullaes* conſtitutions: the one driuing out *Antiochus*; and the other *Mithridates*: and extolled the loyaltie and vertue of the Magneſians; and commaunded that *Diana Leucophrynes* priuiledges ſhould not be violated. Then followed the Aphrodiſienſes, & Stratonicenſes, alleaging an order made by *Cæſar* the Dictator; and an other latter decree of *Auguſtus* of famous memory, for the pleaſures done them, in taking part with their ſide, during the time of their faction, praiſing them that they had ſuſtained the aſſaults of the Parthians; nothing at all changing their conſtancie towards the people of Rome. But the Aphrodiſienſes maintained the priuiledges of *Venus* temple: and the Stratonicenſes *Iupiter* and *Triuias* ceremonies. The Hierocæſarienſes fetcht their matter from a farder beginning, inducing their *Diana perſica*, and a temple dedicated by king *Cyrus*; and told a tale of *Perſerna*, of *Iſauricum*, and many other Emperours; which graunted that holineſſe not only to the temple, but to two miles compaſſe. Then followed the Cyprians, declaring that they had three temples: whereof the moſt auncient was builded by *Aerias*, and conſecrated to *Venus Paphia*, the ſecond by his ſonne *Amathus*, and dedicated to *Venus Amathuſia*: the third to *Iupiter Salaminius*, built by *Teuter*, when hee fled from his father *Telamon*. The Embaſſadors of other cities were heard likewiſe; with whoſe multitude the Lords of the Senate beeing wearied, ſome fauouring one ſide, ſome another, and becauſe they contended which had merited moſt, they referred the matter to the Conſuls; that looking into the right of the cauſe, if they contained any ſecret abuſe, they ſhould bring the whole cauſe againe to the Senate. The Conſuls beſides thoſe cities, which I haue aboue named, ſpake of another priuiledged place for malefactors, dedicated to *Aeſculapius* at Pergamum: affirming that the reſt were grounded vpon obſcure beginnings, in reſpect of their antiquity. The Smyrnæans

cap. 61.

cap. 62.

cap. 63.

alleaged

alleaged an oracle of *Apollo*, by which they were commanded to dedicate a temple to *Venus Stratonicis*: the Tenians a verse of the same *Apollo*, commanding them to offer an image and Temple to *Neptune*. The Sardians brought in matters of latter memory; that to bee *Alexander* the conquerers gift: and the Milesians did the like, vsing king *Darius* name for their franchise; but both of these did worship *Diana* and *Apollo*. The Cretensians made request that the image of *Augustus* might haue some priuiledge; and decrees of Senate were made, by which with great honour, yet moderation was prescribed vnto all; and commaundement giuen in those verie temples to erect altars for a sacred memorie: yet so, that vnder colour of religion, they should not fall into ambition.

XIIII. Iulia Augusta *falleth sicke*: Seianus *called into question.*

cap. 64. ABout the same time, a greeuous sicknes which *Iulia Augusta* fell into, caused the Prince (perfect amitie being yet betwixt the mother and the sonne, or else secret hatred) to hasten his returne to Rome. For not long before, when *Iulia* had dedicated an image to *Augustus* of famous memory, not farre from *Marcellus* theatre, she had set *Tiberius* name vnder her own: which he (as it was thoght) taking as an vnder-valuing of the maiesty of a Prince, smothered vp with a great, but a secret hartburning against her. But then the Senat had decreed, that there should be processions made to the gods, and the plaies called Magni, exhibited by the chiefe Priests, the Augurs, the fifteen together with the seuen, and those of the fellowship of *Augustus*, called Augustales. *L. Apronius* was of opinion, that the Heraulds should be ouerseers of those plaies: which *Cæsar* spake against, making a difference in the rights of the Priests, alleaging examples for it. For the Feciales or Heraulds neuer had such high authority; and that therefore the Augustales were put to them, because it was a peculiar Priesthood of that house, for which the cap. 65. vowes were made. My meaning is not to lay downe any other opinions; but such as are either notable for their honestie, or shamefull for their infamie: which I suppose, to be the chiefest point belonging to Histories; that vertues be not slightlie passed ouer with silence; and that men haue a feare of bad speaking and doing, least they become infamous with posterity. But those times were so corrupted with filthy flattery: that not only the chiefest of the city were forced in that seruile maner to keepe their reputation; but all such as had beene Counsuls; the greatest part of such as had bin Pretors: & also many pederay Senators rose vp & stroue, who should propound things most base and abiect. It is written, that as *Tiberius* went out of the Curia, he was woont to saie in Greeke. O men ready to seruitude: as though he, who could of all things least suffer publicke libertie; did yet abhorre such base and cap. 66. seruile submission: falling by little and little from vnseemely flatteries, to lewder practises. *C. Silanus* Proconsull of Asia, being accused for polling the Prouince; was also prosecuted by *Mamercus Scaurus*, who had beene Consull; by *Iunius Otho* Pretor; by *Brutidius Niger* Aedile: all of them laying to his charge, that he had violated *Augustus* diuinitie, and set nought by *Tiberius* maiestie. *Mamercus* alleaged old examples, how *L. Cotta* had bin accused by *Scipio Africanus*: *S. Galba* by *Cato* the Censor: and *P. Rutilius* by *M. Scaurus*, A matter verie vnlikelie, that *Scipio* and *Cato* should vse any such reuenge: or *Scaurus* great grandfather to this *Mamercus*, the dishonour and reproch of his auncestors, by so dishonorable and infamous a trade. *Iunius Othos* old occupation was to keepe a schoole: then made a Senator by

Seianus

Scianus authoritie, brought his obscure beginning, into obloquie by impudent enterprises. *Brutidius*, a man well qualified; and if he had taken a right course, likely to haue come to honourable preferment; ouer much hast pricked forwards: and at the first went about, to out goe his equals; then his superiours; and last of al to flee aboue his owne hopes, which hath beene the ouerthrow of good men; who contemning that which by a little patience, is had with securitie; hasten to that which gotten before his time, breedeth their ruine and destruction. *Gellius Poplicola*, and *M. Paconius*, increased the number of informers: the one being *Silanos* treasurer; the other his lieutenant. Little doubt but *Silanus* was blame woorthie for his cruelties, and rauenous dealing: but many other matters came together, daungerous euen to the innocent: for besides that, he had so many Senators against him; he was to answere alone, the eloquentest of all Asia: and for that cause chosen to accuse; being himselfe vnskilful, and appalled with his own danger: cause sufficient, to haue dasht the best practised out of matter. *Tiberius* himselfe not refraining to presse him with words and countenance, asked him many questions; not giuing liberty to refell or replie: yea oftentimes he must confesse, lest *Tiberius* should seeme to haue asked in vaine. And withall, the publicke actor had bought *Silanus* bondmen, to the end they should bee examined by torture. And because none of his kinsmen nor friends might helpe him in his danger, accusations of treason (a bond and necessitie to stop euery mans mouth) were thrust among. Whereupon certain daies of delay being demanded; he let fall his defence: and taking courage sent letters vnto *Cæsar*: interlaced with intreaty and odious termes. *Tiberius*, that the causes hee charged *Silanus* with, might haue an example of excuse; commaundeth *Augustus* records, touching *Volesus Messalla*, Proconsull of the same Asia, to be recited, and a decree of Senate made against him. Then demanded *L. Pisoes* opinion; who making a preamble of the princes clemency; was of aduise that he should be banished to the Iland Gyarus. The rest gaue the like verdit: sauing that *C. Lentulus* thought it meet, that the goods which came by *Silanus* mother (for he was by another mother) should be separated from the rest, and giuen the sonne: *Tiberius* according thereto. cap. 68.

But *Cornelius Dolabella*, hauing rebuked *Silanus* for his behauiour; followed the vain of his flattery further; and added. That none who liued a reprochfull and infamous life, should draw lots for the gouernment of any prouince; & that the prince should be iudge thereof. The lawes did punish crimes committed; but how much better would it be for vs, and our confederates, if we did prouide that no offences should be committed? Against which, *Cæsar* himselfe spake; and saide; That he was not ignorant what the speech had beene of *Silanus*; but that no iudgements ought to bee giuen at the rumor of the people. Many had behaued themselues in the prouinces, better then was hoped for; and others not so bad as it was feared: for some by managing of waighty matters, haue beene stirred vp to a better cariage and behauiour; and others haue become more slothfull and lasie. And that a prince could not comprehend all things in his owne knowledge; neither was it expedient that he should be drawne to this and that, by others ambition. That lawes were ordained against facts already committed, because future things are vncertaine. So it was ordained by our aunceſtors, that when the offences had gone before, punishment should follow; therefore they would not altar those things, which were inuented by wisedome, and alwaies obserued. That princes had charge sufficient, and power enough; if their power grew great, the lawes grew weake. That absolute authority was not to be vsed; as long as the lawes were open. By how much the seldomer *Tiberius* shewed any popular behauiour; by so much the more ioyfully it was cap. 69.

accepted. And being wise (if he were not caried away with anger) in moderating the rigorous censures of others: added that the Iland Gyarous was barbarous, and vnhabited: and therefore that they would shew so much fauour to the Iunian familie; and to one who had beene of the same colledge with them; that hee should rather be sent to the Iland Cythera: which was also the request of *Torquata*, *Silanus* sister, a virgin of good life: vnto which censure they all condescended.

XV. *More accusations prosecuted. A decree touching* Iupiters *Priests.* Tacfarinas *driuen by* Blæsus *out of Affrike.*

cap. 70. AFter this, the Cyrenenses were heard: and *Cæsius Cordus* condemned of polling the prouinces, at the suite of *Ancharius Priscus*. *L. Ennius* a Gentleman of Rome, accused of treason, because hee had conuerted the image of the Prince, to common vses in plate; *Cæsar* forbad to bee receiued amongst the criminall persons. *Ateius Capito* openly complaining, and by a kind of liberty saying: "That power of determining such a matter, ought not to be taken from the Senate, "nor so heinous a crime passe vnpunished. That the Emperour might be as slow as he "lusted, in punishing iniuries done to himselfe; yet that he ought not to pardon such "as were done to the common wealth. *Tiberius* vnderstood these things as they were indeed, rather then as they were spoken: and so persisted in opposing himselfe. *Capito* was so much the more noted; because that knowing what appertained to diuine & humane lawes; discredited the common good: and the commendable arts cap. 71. he had learned at home. Then there grew a scruple: in knowing, in what temple the gift should be placed, which the Gentlemen of Rome had vowed to fortune Equestris, for the health of *Augusta*. For although there were many temples in the Citie, of that goddesse: yet there was none which bare that surname. In the ende there was one so called found at Antium: and all the ceremonies in the townes of Italy, and temples, and images of gods, to be vnder the right, and Empire of Rome: and thereupon the gift was placed at Antium. And seeing the matter was debated touching the religions; *Cæsar* declared the answere: which not long before he had deferred, against *Seruius Maluginensis*: and recited the decree of the chiefe Priests; which was: That as oft as the Flamen, Dial, or Iupiters Priest, fell into any sickenes, "he might bee absent from the Citie; with licence of the chiefe Priest: so as it were "not aboue two nights; or in daies of publike sacrifice; nor oftner then twise in one "yeere. Which being ordained in *Augustus* time, did manifestly shew, that the absence for a yeere, or administration of Prouinces, was not graunted to the *Diales*. And the example of *L. Metellus* the high pontife, was alleaged, who in the like case had kept *Aulus Posthumus* the Flamen in the citie. And thereupon the lot of Asia cap. 72. was bestowed vpon him; who of the Consuls was next vnto *Maluginensis*. At the same time *Lepidus* made request vnto the Lords of the Senate, that he might at his owne charges, reedifie, and adorne *Paulus Aemilius* temple, the ornament of his memorie: for at that time publike munificence was in vse: neither did *Augustus* blame *Taurus*, *Philippus*, *Balbus*, for bestowing spoiles taken from enemies: or the ouerplus of their wealth to the ornament of the citie, and glory of posterity. By which examples, *Lepidus* although he had no great store of money, did renew the honor of his auncestors. *Pompeius* theatre, consumed by casuall fire; because there was none left of the familie, of abilitie to perform it; *Cæsar* promised to build at his owne charges, and leaue it still the old name. And withall he highly extolled *Seianus* as though through his labour and watchfulnes, the violence of that fire had beene staide;

ſtaied, from hurting any more then that one thing: and the Senate ordained an image to be erected in honour of *Seianus* in *Pompeius* theatre. And not long after when *Cæſar* had honored *Iunius Blæſus*, proconſul of Affrike, with the ornaments of triumph: he ſaid that he attributed that to *Seianus* honour, whoſe vncle he was. Yet *Blæſus* owne acts deſerued that honour. For although *Tacfarinas* had beene often put to the woorſt: yet renewing his aide in the middle of Affrike, hee grew to that arrogancie, as to ſend embaſſadors to *Tiberius*, and require a place for himſelfe, and his army to inhabite: or elſe threatned an endleſſe warre. It was reported that *Cæſar* neuer more grieued at any diſgrace done vnto himſelfe, or the people of Rome; then that a traitor, and theefe, ſhould deal like an enemie. There was neuer ſo much graunted *Spartacus*; after he had defeated ſo many armies of Conſuls; and burnt Italie vnreuenged; yea when the common-wealth was greatly weakned by *Sertorius* and *Mithridates* great warres: that he ſhould be receiued by couenant into ſafe conduct: and therefore much leſſe that *Tacfarinas* a theefe; the Romane Empire being in moſt flouriſhing ſtate, ſhould be hired with a peace and lands to inhabite. He committed the whole matter to *Blæſus*, with charge that he ſhould induce the reſt, to lay down their armes; with warrant that they ſhould ſuſtain no hurt; yet that he ſhould lay hold on the Captaine by all meanes poſſible: through which pardon many came in. Not long after they vſed the ſame maner of fight againſt *Tacfarinas*, as he had vſed againſt others: for becauſe he, inferior to the Romans in ſtrength, though better in theeuerie; made many inroades; by ſcattered companie deceiued his enemie: and laid many traines to intrap him. Their companies were therefore ſet in order, and marched againſt him: of which the Lieutenant *Cornelius Scipio* was the chiefe: who lay in waite in that coaſt where *Tacfarinas* did waſte and trouble the *Leptins*, and the Garamantes, places of refuge: On another ſide *Blæſus* ſonne lead his owne power; leaſt the Cirtenſian villages ſhould bee entiſed to take part with *Tacfarinas*. In the middle, placing fortreſſes and ſtrong holds, in conuenient places; with choice ſouldiers: the captaine himſelfe brought the enemie to a narrow ſtraight, and diſaduantage: becauſe that which way ſoeuer he ſhould bend; ſome of the Romane ſouldiers were in his face; ſome in his ſide; and often ſome in his backe, and ſo, many ſlaine and intrapped. Then diuideth the three armies againe into many other companies; with Centurions of known valour ouer them. Neither did he as the cuſtome was; retire his forces in the ende of ſommer; or put them in ſtanding campes of the old prouince: but as it had beene in the beginning of warre; his fortreſſes well manned, by light horſemen, and skilfull in thoſe deſerts; hee gaue *Tacfarinas* often changing his cabbins ſmall reſt: vntill his brother being taken, hee retired in the end with more ſpeede, then was for the allies profit: ſuch being left behinde by whom the warre might riſe againe. But *Tiberius* taking this to be an ende of this warre, gaue *Blæſus* that honour, that he ſhould be ſaluted Emperour by the legions: beeing an old cuſtome towards ſuch Captaines, as had ſhewen valour for the common-wealth, with ioy and acclamations to be ſaluted by that name by the conquering armies. There were many Emperours at one time; but none aboue another. *Auguſtus* had graunted that name to ſome; and *Tiberius* at that time to *Blæſus*. That yeere died two notable men, *Aſinius Salonius*, nephew to *M. Agrippa*; and *Pollio Aſinius*, and brother to *Druſus*: and deſtined to bee *Ceſars* neeces huſband; and *Capito Ateius* of whom we haue ſpoken before; by the ſtudies of the ciuill lawes riſen to the higheſt dignity in the citie: but his grandfather *Sullanus* was but a Centurion, and his father Pretor. *Auguſtus* haſtened the Conſulſhip vpon him; that by the dignity of that office, hee might bee preferred before *Labeo Antiſtius* vnlikefull

cap. 73

cap. 74

cap. 75

skilfull in the ſame ſtudie: for that age had at once two ornaments of peace. But *Labeo* was more deſirous of incorrupted liberty; and therefore held in greater eſtimation: and *Capitoes* pleaſing humor better accepted of Princes. To him, the iniury of not being higher then a Pretor, was a commendation: to this, becauſe hee gate the Conſulſhip, grew of enuie hatred. And *Iunia*, whoſe vncle was *Cato*, and was *C. Caſſius* wife, and *M. Brutus* ſiſter, died threeſcore and foure yeeres after the *Philippenſen* warre. Her Teſtament was much talked of among the people; becauſe that being very wealthie, when ſhe had named all the peeres and noblemen, and beſtowed ſome legacie vpon them, ſhe omitted *Cæſar*: which hee tooke in good part; not hindering but that her funerals ſhould bee ſolemniſed with an oration before the people aſſembled, with all other ceremonies. The images of twentie noble houſes, were caried before her; and the names of the Manlians, the Quinctians, and others of like nobilitie. But *Caſſius* and *Brutus* did ſhine aboue the reſt, becauſe their images were not ſeene.

THE

THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. *Of* Seianus *beginning; his qualities; and by what meanes he aspired to the Empire.*

Asinius, and *C. Antistius* beeing Consuls; *Tiberius* had nine yeeres managed the affaires; and aduanced his house to a flouri∫hing e∫tate: (for the death of *Germanicus* he reckoned amongst his pro∫perities) when as fortune began on a sudden to worke alteration: in him waxing cruell; or giuing authority to such as were. The beginning proceeded from *Aelius Seianus* Captaine of the guarde; of whose power and authoritie I haue before spoken. I will now lay downe his beginning, and qualities: and by what sinister meanes he went about to clime to the Soueraignty. He was borne at vul∫inium, sonne of *Seius Strabo*, Gentleman of Rome; and in his first youth followed *C. Cæsar*, *Augustus* nephew: not without a rumour, that for money he had suffered his body to be abused by *Apicius*, a rich man and a prodigall. Then by many sleights he had so wrought *Tiberius*, that beeing close and secret towards others: yet to himselfe had made him open and vncircum∫pect. Not so much by his cunning and fraud (for such deuises were his owne ouerthrow) as by the anger of the gods against the state of Rome; by whose ruine and ri∫ing it fell alike. He was of body able to endure labour; of mind bold; in his owne actions secret; an informer against others; as proud as flattering; in shew modest; but inwardly greedy of aspiring: for which cause he vsed sometime largesse and laui∫hing; but more oftner industrie and diligence; meanes dangerous alike, when they are dissemblingly vsed to winne a kingdome. His forces, which at the first were small, he augmented by reducing the cohorts into one campe, which before were scattered abroade in the cities; that they might receiue their charge together, and by their number & strength, and seeing one an other, breed a confidence to themselues; and a feare to others. He pretended that the souldiers liuing scattered, grew riotous: and if any sudden attempt should be enterpri∫ed, their strength would be greater vnited, then separated and that they would liue more seuerely, if their garri∫on were lodged farre from the wanton allurements of the citie. As soone as his trenches were fini∫hed, hee began to creepe into the souldiers mindes by going vnto them, and calling them by their names: withall, made choise himselfe of Centurions and the Tribunes. Neither did hee abstaine from ambitiously courting the Senators; aduaunc ing his followers with honours, and rule of Prouinces; *Tiberius* being so facile and prone to allow of his doings, that not onely in priuate speeches; but in Senate also and before the people, extolled him as an a∫sociate of his labours: and suffered his image to be set in the Theatres, and publike places of a∫semblies, and en∫ignes of the legions. But *Cæsars* houle being full; a yoong sonne; nephewes of full age; hindered his plots: And because it was not safe making away of so many at once by violence; his trechery required time to accompli∫h his wickednes. He resolued then to vse the couertest way; and begin with *Dru∫us*; against whom through fresh quarrels hee was greatly incensed. For *Dru∫us* being impatient of a concurrent, and therefore easily moued:

a contention rising by chance betweene them, bent his fist to strike *Seianus*; and he his to saue himselfe; *Drusus* dasht him on the mouth. Hereupon leauing nothing vntried, he thought it the readiest way to addresse himselfe to *Liuia Drusus* wife. She was *Germanicus* sister, in her youth of a hard fauour; but afterward excelled in beauty. Her *Seianus* counterfeiting an ardent and burning loue enticed to adulterie: and after he had obtained the first breach of honesty (for a woman hauing once lost her chastitie, what will she refuse to do?) put her in hope of mariage, and fellowship in the Empire; and perswadeth her to kill her husband. Thus she, who was *Augustus* neece, and *Tiberius* daughter in law; and had children by *Drusus*; defiled her selfe, her auncestors, and posterity with adulterie by a meane man; leauing an honest and present estate for the hope of a wicked and vncertaine. *Eudemus* a friend and Physitian of *Liuias*, was made priuie to these plots; who vnder colour of his arte was often vsed in secret conferences. Hee putteth away *Apicata* his wife, by whom he had three children, lest his lemmon should haue her in iealousie. But the greatnes of the enterprise droue them into a feare; bred prolongings; and sometimes diuers sorts of counsels. In the meane space in the beginning of the yere, *Drusus* one of *Germanicus* children was come to mans estate; and those things renewed vpon him, which the Senate had ordained for *Nero* his brother. *Tiberius* made an oration tending to the great commendation of his sonne; because hee tendered his brothers children with a fatherly affection. For *Drusus* (although it bee a hard matter for rule and concord to dwell together) shewed himselfe indifferent to the yoong men; or at the least, was not an enemy to them.

cap 4.

II. *A suruey of the legions and souldiers*: Drusus *poisoned by* Seianus.

Tiberius olde, but fained determination of going to the Prouinces, is put on foote againe: pretending that there were a great number of old souldiers; and that the armies were to be supplied with a new muster. For voluntarie men now wanted: or if there were any; they were not of so vertuous and modest a cariage: because that for the most part, they are needy and vagrant persons which voluntarily follow the warres. Withall, hee tooke a short view of the legions, and what Prouinces they defended: which giueth me occasion to declare, what strength the Romans had then in armes; what Kings their confederates; and how much lesse the Empire then was. Italie had in both seas two nauies; the one at Misenum, and the other at Rauenna; & certaine Gallies called rostratæ to defend the coast adioyning to Gallia: which *Augustus* had taken in the victory at Actium; & sent to Foroiulienſe, well appointed with sea men. But the principall strength consisted of eight legions neere vnto Rhene; a staie as well to the Germans, as Galli. Spaine newly subdued had three legions. King *Iuba* had the Mauritanians, as a gift giuen him by the people of Rome: the rest of Affrike had two legions: and Ægypt the like number. Then all from the beginning of Suria vnto the riuer Euphrates which containeth a great countrey, receiueth foure legions: *Hybero*, and *Albanus*, and other Kings being borderers, which by our greatnes are protected against forraine Kings. Thrace was vnder the gouernment of *Rhœmetalces*, & *Cotys* children: and the banke of Danubium, two legions garded in Pannonia; and two in Mœsia. The like number was in Dalmatia, which by the situation of the countrey lye behind them: that if on the sudden Italy should need aide, they were at hand. Albeit the citie had her proper souldiers; three citie cohorts, and nine Pretorian; almost all chosen out of

cap. 5.

Etruria;

Etruria, Vmbria, old Latium, and old Romans, sent thither to dwell. The Galleies of confederats lay in the most commodious places of the Prouinces; the companies of horsemen; and aides of cohorts; not much inferiour in strength, though not easilie laide downe, through their vncertaine flitting hither and thither; sometimes moe, sometimes lesse; as time and necessity required. I thinke it also expedient to describe the other parts of the common wealth, and how they had beene gouerned vntill that day: beeing the yeere, in which the state beganne to decline, by *Tiberius* growing woorse and woorse. In the beginning, publicke and priuate affaires of greatest importance, were handled before the Lords of the Senate: and the chiefest licenced to opine and debate matters. *Tiberius* himselfe rebuking them if they fell to flatterie. In bestowing of offices he had regard to their auncestors merite in seruice abroad, or lawdable acts at home: such onely preferred; due authority reserued vnto the Consuls and to the Pretor: the meaner officers, each one exercising his owne function: and the lawes, (matter of treason excepted) duely executed. But for prouision of corne, and leuying of tributes, and other publicke commodities; certaine societies of gentlemen of Rome had charge of. *Cæsar* committed his owne affaires to honest and tried persons: and to some vnknowne, if they were well spoken of: and such as were once chosen, continued still, and grew old in the same charge. The people were distressed with a great dearth of corne; yet no fault thereof in the Prince: but with as great care and diligence as he could, remedieth the sterilitie of the ground, and rough passages of the sea: and gaue order that the prouinces should not be oppressed with new taxations; and the old be borne, without couetousnes and cruelty of magistrates *Cæsar* had small possessions in Italie; and a reasonable nūmber of seruitors; and in his house a few freed men; and if he had a suite against any priuate person, he tried it by law in the place of iudgement: all which he maintained, not with any courteous and mild course, but sternely and feared; vntill by the death of *Drusus* all was turned vpside downe. For whilest he liued there was no alteration; because *Sejanus* beginning to rise, sought meanes to winne credit, and feared least *Drusus* would reuenge, who neuer dissembled his hartburning, but often complained: That „ his sonne being aliue, he had another coadiutor in the Empire: and what wanteth „ that he is not his companion? That the first steps to soueraignty are hard, but once „ entered into, there will want no fauourers, nor followers: forts he had built as hee li- „ ked best: charge giuen him ouer soldiers; his image was placed amongst *C. Pompeius* „ monuments, and that he should haue his nephewes common to the Drusian fami- „ lie: that hereafter Modesty must be prayed vnto, that he would be contented with „ his greatnes. He did not vtter these speeches seldome or to a few; and his wife be- „ ing corrupted, his secrets were bewraied. *Sejanus* therefore thinking it time to make hast, chooseth a slow working poison: the better to father his sickneſse vpon some casuall disease: which was giuen *Drusus* by *Lygdus* an Eunuch: as eight yeeres after it was knowne.

cap. 6.

cap. 7.

cap. 8.

III. Germanicus *children are in Senate recommended to the Lords by* Tiberius. Drusus *funerals and how hee was empoisoned.*

BVt *Tiberius* all the time of *Drusus* sickneſse, shewed no signe of feare; perhaps because he would shew his constancie: yea being dead, but not buried; hee entered into the Senate, and put the Consuls which sate on a low seate, as

a

a token of their sorrow, in minde of their honors and calling. And hauing mastered his owne griefe, comforted the Lords of the Senate, which powred downe teares with a continuall speech, saying: That he knew well he might be blamed, for shewing himselfe in Senate, in so fresh a griefe: when the communication of deerest "friends and kinsfolks was scarse seene, nor hardly the day, by many which lamented "and mourned. Neither were they to be condemned of weakneſſe; yet he for his part "had sought for stronger comforts, out of the bosome of the common-wealth. And "hauing compassion on the Empresse old age, and tender yeeres of her nephewes, and of his owne decaying age, intreated that *Germanicus* children, the onely comfort of present miseries, might be brought before them. The Consuls went out, and emboldning the yoong men in that which they should say, brought them before *Tiberius*, who taking hold of them, said. Lords of the Senate, I deliuered these fa- "therlesse children to their vncle; and besought him, although hee had issue of his "owne, that he would bring them vp and cherish them, as if they were his owne "bloud: and make them worthie for himselfe and posteritie. *Drusus* being taken from "among vs, I turne my praiers to you, and beseech you in presence of the gods, and "our countrey, that you would receiue, and gouerne *Augustus* nephewes sonnes, "descended of woorthy progenitors; and accomplish therein my dutie and your "owne. These *Nero* and *Drusus*, shall be in steed of fathers vnto you. You are so Cap. 9 "borne, that all your good and euill appertaine to the common wealth. With great "weeping were these words heard, and praiers made that the yong men might prosper: and if he had then ended his oration, he had filled the harts of the hearers with compassion towards himselfe, and glory. But being fallen into vaine discourses; as such as had beene often laughed at, of yeelding vp the gouernment: and that the Consuls or some other should take the care vpon him, hee discredited that which was both honest and true. The same solemnities which were ordained for *Germanicus*, were appointed for *Drusus*; and as the manner is of the last flatterie, somethings added. His funerals in pompe of images was very magnificent: hauing before him in a long procession *Aeneas*, the beginning of the Iulian familie: all the kings of the Albani: and *Romulus* the founder of the citie. After him followed the noblity of the Sabins, *Appius Clausus*, and the images of the rest of the Claudians. In deliuering *Drusus* death, I haue followed that which many true writers Cap. iii. haue vttered: but I will not omit a very strong report of those times, yet currant in euery mans mouth, which is, that *Liuia* being already corrupted to all dishonesty of body by *Seianus*: hee was said to haue abused *Lygdus* body likewise: in age and beautie highly pleasing his maister, and of all his seruitours of best credit; who being made priuie to the practise, the place and times agreed when the poison should be giuen, grew to that audaciousnes, that he turned all vpon *Drusus* head: and by secret aduertisement, accused him to haue gone about to poison his father; and gaue *Tiberius* warning, to take heed of the first drinke his sonne should offer him at the table. Whereupon by that fraud, the banket being begun, the olde man presented *Drusus* the cup which he had receiued; who ignorant of the practise, like a raw yoong man dranke it vp, increasing thereby the suspition, as though for feare and shame, hee had swallowed that death which hee had prepared for his father. Cap. ii. This was the common rumour, which wanting a ground, and certaine author, thou maiest easily refute: for who is he though but of meane wisedome, much lesse *Tiberius*, experienced and beaten in waighty affaires, not hearing his defence, would haue offered his sonne his death, and that with his owne hands; a thing remediles if he should repent it? Why had hee not rather tortured the minister of the poison?

sought

sought out the author, and vsed that delay; which vsually he did euen against strangers, towards his owne sonne; neuer before detected of any lewd fact? But because *Seianus* was thought to be the inuentor of all bad actions, through the great good will *Cæsar* bore him, and the hate which the rest bare to both; things were beleeued, although fabulous, and vncredible; report speaking alwaies the worst of Princes deaths. The order of this fact hath beene otherwise discouered by *Apicata*, *Seianus* wife, and by torturing of *Eudemus* and *Lygdus*: and no writer found so great an enemy to *Tiberius*, although all hath beene sought that may be said, and inforced against him, that hath obiected any such matter. The cause why I laid downe and blamed the common rumor, was, that vnder a manifest example, I might discredit false reports; and pray such into whose hands our labours shall come, that they would not esteeme more of common, vncredible tales, greedily receiued, then of trueth not falsified into miracles.

IIII. Seianus *practises to destroy* Agrippina, *and* Germanicus *children*: *stage-players expulsed Italy.*

BVt whilest *Tiberius* praised his sonne before the people assembled; the Senate and the people rather for a shew, then from the hart, put on a mourning countenance: yet in their mindes reioyced, that *Germanicus* house began to flourish againe; which beginning of fauour, and *Agrippina* their mother not well dissembling her hope, hastened their ouerthrow. For when *Seianus* perceiued that *Drusus* empoisoners escaped vnpunished; and no publicke mourning of the people for his death; emboldned in wicked actions, because his first attempts had good successe; began to cast with himselfe, by what meanes he might extinguish *Germanicus* children, the vndoubted successors to the Empire. For all three poison he could not, by reason of their keepers faithfulnes, and *Agrippinas* inuincible chastity. Hee began therefore to inueigh against her obstinacie, and stirre *Augusta* hating her of old, against her; and incensed *Liuia* with the memory of her late fact; suggesting that her pride; bearing it selfe vpon her fruitfulnesse in children, by the fauour of the people gaped after the soueraignty. This plot of his he prosecuted by the helpe of crafty accusers; amongst whom he had chosen *Iulius Posthumus*, a man noted of infamous life with *Mutilia Prisca*, a principall fauourite of the grandmother, and fit instrument for his practises, being highly in *Augustas* bookes: an old woman of her owne disposition desirous of rule, and therefore easily estranged from her daughter in law *Agrippina*. He had likewise inueigled *Agrippinas* neere kindred, to puffe vp her haughtie spirits; and vse hard speeches of *Augusta*. But *Tiberius* intermitting no care of publicke affaires; and embracing busines for solace; heard the causes of citizens, and the suites of confederates: and by his perswasion, decrees of Senate were made, that the citie of Cibyratica in Asia; and Aegiris in Achaia, damnified by an earth-quake, might be relieued by remitting them three yeeres tributes. And *Vibius Serenus* Proconsull of farther Spaine, being condemned for publicke violence, through the cruelty of the time, was banished into the Iland Amorgus. *Carsius Sacerdos* accused, as though he had helped the enimie *Tacfarinas* with corn, was quit: and *C. Gracchus* for the same crime. This *Gracchus* beeing verie yoong, was carried by his father *Sempronius* to the Iland Cercina, as a companion of his exile: where growing to mans estate amongst banished men, and ignorant of liberall artes, by turning and winding base merchandise in Affrica and Sicilia, he gayned his liuing: and yet he escaped not the dangers of greater fortune. And if *Ae-*

lius

lius Lamia, and *L. Apronius*, which gouerned Affrica, had not defended his innocencie: through the noblenes of his vnfortunate ſtocke, hee had taſted of his Fa-
cap 14. thers calamities. That yeere came Embaſſadors from cities of Greece: requeſting that the auncient right of priuiledged places, might bee confirmed at *Iunos* Temple at *Samium*, and *AEſculapius* Temple, at Cois. The Samians grounded themſelues on a decree of *Amphyctions*; to whome belonged the principall examination of all matters: when the Grecians building cities through Aſia, were Lords of the Sea coaſts. The antiquity of the Coi was not vnlike: hauing withall the merite of the place: for when by King *Mithridates* commandement, all the Romans were ſlaine throughout all the cities and Ilands of Aſia: they ſaued in the Temple of *AEſculapius* as many as they found. After this the Pretors hauing made many complaints, though in vaine, againſt the ſtage-players; at laſt *Cæſar* ſpake of their vnrulines and immodeſt behauiour; as hauing ſeditiouſly attempted many things in publicke, and many vndecently in priuate houſes. And the Oſcian play, a light ſport pleaſing the peoples humour, grew to ſuch inſolencie, that the Lords of the Senate were faine to interpoſe their authority; for the ſuppreſſing of
cap. 15. it: and thē the ſtage-plaiers were expulſed Italy. *Cæſar* had further griefe in the ſame yeere, partly by the death of one of *Druſus* children, and partly by the death of *Lucilius Longus* his friend, and partaker of all his fortunes, proſperous or aduerſe: and among the Senators, his onelie companion, when he withdrew himſelfe to Rhodes. In regard whereof, the Senate ordained, that although he were but of meane parentage, yet that he ſhould haue the funerals of a Cenſor, and an image in *Auguſtus* forum, at the charge of the common purſe. For at that time the Senate managed all the affaires; in ſo much, that *Lucillius Capito*, Procurator of Aſia; the Prouince accuſing him, was forced to purge himſelfe before them: the Prince aſſuredly auouching that he had giuen him no authority: but ouer ſlaues, and money matters between partie and partie. But if he had vſurped the authority of a Pretor, or vſed the ſtrength of ſouldiers, he had therein contemned his commandement & therefore that they ſhould heare the allies: and ſo the matter being heard, he was condemned. For which cauſe, and by reaſon that the yeere before *C. Silanus* was puniſhed: the cities of Aſia decreed that a Temple ſhould bee built in honour of *Tiberius*; his mother; and the Senate; which they performed after they had licence. And for the ſame cauſe *Nero* gaue thanks to the Lords of the Senate, and to his grandfather: with the ioyfull acceptance of the hearers; as repreſenting *Germanicus*, yet freſh in memory to their mindes: thinking that him they had both heard and ſeene. The yoong man was of great modeſty, and comelineſſe, woorthie of a Prince; the more grateſull, through the danger he was in; by *Seianus* knowen hatred againſt him.

V. *How* Iupiters *Prieſts were choſen*: Tiberius *ſmall affection to* Germanicus *children.*

cap. 16. ABout the ſame time of chuſing a Flamen Dial, in *Seruius Maluginenſis* place,
" who was dead; and of making a new law, *Cæſar* himſelfe ſpake. For the olde
" cuſtome was, that three patriciens ſhould be named togerther; bome of pa-
" rents which had been married with a ſolemnity called confarreation; of which one
" ſhould bee choſen for the Prieſt. And it fell out that that iuſt number could
" not bee found, the vſe of confarreation, or marriage with a cake of Wheate,
" either not vſed, or onely of a few: whereof he alleaged many reaſons, though the
chiefeſt

chiefest was, the carelesnesse of men and women: and with all the difficulties of the ceremonies, which were willingly let slip. And when should he go out of his fathers authoritie, which should obtaine that Priesthood, or shee who was married vnto him? therefore that was to be redressed by decree of Senate, or by a law, as *Augustus* himselfe had changed somewhat of that rude antiquitie, and reduced it to the present vse. Those things therefore being debated which touched the ceremonies it was determined that nothing should bee altered in the makings of those Priests: but a law was ordained, that she who was married vnto a Flamen, by reason of the sacrifices, should be vnder the power of hir husband: and that in other cases shee should bee as others were: And *Maluginensis* sonne was chosen in his Fathers place. And that the priestly dignitie should better be regarded, and they the readier to vndertake the ceremonies; it was ordained that *Cornelia* the virgine, who was chosen in *Scantius* place; should bee giuen * *L. L. S. x x.* sesterces: and that as oft as *Augusta* entered the theatre, she should sit among the Vestals. *Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Visellius Varro* being Consuls, when the Pontifes, and following their example, the other Priests, made certaine vowes for the health of the Prince, they commended *Nero* and *Drusus* to the same goddes: not so much for loue of the yoong men, as for flattery, which in corrupt times is dangerous alike; either not at all, or too much. For *Tiberius* neuer a friend to *Germanicus* house, grieued impatiently that the yoong men should then bee equalled vnto him in his olde age: and sending for the chiefe Priests, asked them whether they had done that at *Agrippinas* intreaties or threats; and although they denied it, yet were somewhat rebuked; the greatest part being his neerest friends, and kin, or chiefe gentlemen of the citie. Neuertheless in Senate he admonished them in an oration, that none should hereafter puffe vp the fickle minds of the yoong men to pride, by vntimelie and ouer-hastie dignities. *Silanus* vrged eagerly, that the citie was no lesse deuided into factions, then in time of ciuill warres; some terming themselues to be of *Agrippinas* side; and more would if they were not preuented: and no way to redresse a waxing diuision, but by cutting off some one or two of the forwardest. Hereupon he beginneth with *C. Silius*, and *Titus Sabinus*, *Germanicus* friendship beeing dangerous to both: to *Silius*, because that hauing had charge of a great annie seuen yeeres together, and vanquished *Sacrouir* in Germanie, and obtained the ornaments of triumph, the higher his fall, the greater the feare in others would bee. Many were of opinion that *Tiberius* was the more vehemently incensed by reason of his owne lauishing roong, ouermuch vaunting that his souldiers had alwaies continued dutifull, when as others had growne to mutinies: and that *Cæsars* state had beene shaken, if those legions had beene desirous of innouation: which *Cæsar* construed as an embasing to his greatnes, and disabling him of ability to require: for good turnes are no longer well taken, then they may bee recompensed: when they grow greater, then hope of requitall; in steed of thankfulnes they breed hatred and ill will. *Sosia Galla*, was *Silius* wife; badly thought of by the Prince, because she loued *Agrippina*. It was therefore thought conuenient to begin with these two; and not meddle with *Sabinus* for a time. The Consull *Varro* being thrust in, to accuse them, vnder colour of a quarrell betwixt his father and *Silius*, became an instrument to gratifie *Setanus* with his owne discredit. The defendants intreating some delay, vntill the accusers Consulship were expired, *Cæsar* denied it, affirming it to be a vsuall matter for magistrates to call priuate persons into question: and that the authoritie of the Consull was not to be infringed, through whose watchfulnes the common-wealth was kept without danger. That was a common tricke with *Tiberius*

* Three hundred pounds and fifteene shillings.

cap. 17. An. 772.

cap. 18.

cap. 19.

rius, alwaies to cloake new coyned miſchiefe with old words. Therefore with great proteſtation, as though he had proceeded with *Silius* by order of law; or the matter belonged to *Varro* as Conſull; or therin conſiſted the ſafety of the common wealth: the Senate was called, the partie accuſed not once opening his mouth; or if he began to purge himſelfe; ſtuck not to vtter by whoſe malice he was oppreſſed. He was accuſed to had intelligence with the beginners of the warre: that hee had diſcredited his victorie by his couetouſneſſe; and other things againſt *Soſia* his Wife, nothing a long time ſpoken of *Sacrouir*. And doubtleſſe the accuſation of polling the prouince, could not haue ſerued their turne, had they not proſecuted all vnder treaſon: but *Silius* preuented his imminent condemnation, by his owne voluntarie death. Neuertheleſſe that contented not, but were greedie his goods ſhould be confiſcate, not to pay the ſtipendaries; for none of them demaunded ought: but becauſe *Auguſtus* liberality was at an end, hee tooke a particular account of all that was due to a publicke treaſure: which was the firſt time that *Tiberius* ſhewed himſelfe greedy of other mens money. *Soſia* was driuen into baniſhment by *Aſinius Gallus* Conſull: who alſo aduiſed that part of the goods ſhould be confiſcate, and part left vnto his children. But *Lepidus* contrarily, that the fourth part of the goods ſhould be giuen to the informers, according to the law; and the reſidue to his children. I finde that this *Lepidus* was in thoſe daies a graue and wiſe man: who altered into the better many things; which others by cruell flatterie had ordained: which he did with ſuch moderation, that he kept in with *Caſar* in no leſſe fauour then authority. Which cauſeth me to doubt, whether it happen as in other things by fatal deſtinie and natiuitie, that Princes are fauourably enclined to ſome, and to others hardly bent; or whether any thing conſiſt in our counſels, to ſingle out a courſe free from ambition and danger, between ſelfe-will ſtubbornneſſe, and filthy flattery. But *Meſſalinus Cotta* being no leſſe nobly deſcended, differing from *Lepidus*, was of opinion, that by decree of Senate it ſhould be ordained, that gouernours of prouinces, though faultleſſe themſelues; yet ſhould be puniſhed for their wiues crimes, no leſſe then for their owne.

VI. Calphurnius Piſo *accuſed and condemned. The laſt warre with* Tacfarinas, *and his death.*

After this, they debated *Calphurnius Piſos* caſe, a noble man and of a fierce courage. He, as I haue ſaide, ſeeing what credit pickthanks were in, openly proteſted in Senate that he would depart the citie: and little regarding the authoritie of *Auguſta*, was ſo bolde as to ſummon *Vrgulania*, out of the princes houſe: which *Tiberius* for the preſent ſeemed not to take in euill part. But bearing it in minde although the heate of diſpleaſure was cooled, yet he forgat it not. *Granius* alſo accuſed *Piſo* of ſecret ſpeeches, vſed againſt the maieſtie of the Emperour: adding that he had poiſon in his houſe; and that he entered the Senate houſe with a weapon. This of the weapon was paſt ouer as not credible: but for other things aggrauated againſt him, he was arraigned, but not conuicted; becauſe he was preuented by death. Afterward *Caſſius Seuerus* cauſe was handled; a baniſhed man of baſe parentage and lewde life; but a great Orator. Who had raiſed ſo many enemies againſt him, that by the iudgement of the Senate ſworne, he was confined to *Creet*: where following the like practiſes, drew on his head old and new hatred: and at laſt being depriued of all his goods, and baniſhed; ſpent the reſt of his life in the Iland Seriphium. About the ſame time, *Plautius Siluanus* Pretor; the cauſe why, not

knowen

knowen; threwe his wife *Apronia* downe headlong from a high place. And being brought before *Cæsar* by *L. Apronius* his father in law, as a man troubled in minde, answered as though she had killed hir-selfe, when he was a sleepe, and wholy ignorant of the matter. *Tiberius* goeth foorthwith to his house, and searcheth the chamber; where he perceiued by the print of her feet, tokens of hir striuing against him, and the thrusting of her foreward: which he reported to the Senate: and Iudges appointed to examine the fact. *Vrgulania Siluanus* grandmother, sent hir nephew a poniard to dispatch himselfe: which some thought to haue beene done by the princes counsell; by reason of the league of friendship betwixt *Augusta* and *Vrgulania*. *Siluanus* hauing tried in vaine to kill himselfe with the poniard, in the end caused his veines to be cut. Not long after, *Numantina* his first wife accused, by charmes and witchcrafts to haue put her husband out of his wits, found innocent, is quit by the prince. That yeare the people of Rome was deliuered of a long warre against *Tacfarinas* the Numidian. For the captaines which till then had bene sent against him, hauing obtained the marks of triumph: sought no further how to extinguish the enemie. For there were now three images in the citie crowned with baies: and *Tacfarinas* still continued spoiling and forraging Affrica; and augmented his forces by the aide of the Moores: which vnder *Ptolomy*, *Iubaes* sonne, a careleſſe youth changed their seruile state, and gouernment of freed men, into war. The king of the Garamantes was a receiuer and partaker of his booties, and pillages: not that hee marched with an armie, but onely by sending light horsemen, which a farre off were thought to be more then indeed they were. And in the prouince it selfe; some for need; and som of a turbulent humor ioyned with him: becauſe *Cæsar* considering how well *Blæsus* had bestirred himselfe, called home the ninth legion; as though there had beene no enemies left at all in Affrica. And *Dolabella* Proconsull for that yere, durst not stay them; fearing more the commandement of the prince, then the incertaintie and danger of the warre. Vpon this, *Tacfarinas* gaue it out, that the Romans had their hands full; were distracted with other nations: and therefore purposed by little and little, to retire out of Affricke. And then that the rest might easily bee ouercome, if all which preferred liberty before seruitude, would ioyne and couragiouslie bend their forces against them: and gathering more strength, encampeth before *Thubuscum*, and laieth siege to it. But *Dolabella* drawing all the forces he could make into one: partly the name of the Romans striking a terror into their hearts; partly becauſe the Numidian is not able to endure the force of the foormen: at the first encounter, leuied the siege; fortified the most conuenient places, and withall, beheaded the chiefest of the Musulani, which began to reuolt. In the ende taught by experience of so many battels, that this fleeting enemy was not to bee pursued with a maine campe; *Dolabella* sent for King *Ptolomy* with his countrey men; and deuided his forces into foure companies; vnder the charge of seueral Lieutenants and Tribunes. The out-riders and forragers were conducted by certaine chosen Moores: himselfe at hand to giue direction to all. Not long after tydings came that *Tacfarinas* had encamped and erected cabins at an old ruinous fort, which himselfe had once burnt, called *Auzea*; trusting to the place being inuironed with mighty great woods. Then the light horsemen and wings; not knowing whither, were lead away with all speed. And at the dawning of the day, with the sound of trumpets, and a dreadful noise set on the enemies, halfe sleeping, halfe waking; their horses vnreadie, or dispersed abroade at pasture. The Romans footmen were close ranked; the troupes of horsemen in good order; all things in a readinesse for battel. The enemie on the other side in all things vnprouided;

cap. 23.

cap. 24

cap. 25

uided, had neither weapon, order, nor counsell among them: but were haled, taken, and slaine like beasts. And euery souldier irked with the remembrance of his labours; and how oft desirous to cope with the enemy he had beene deluded; fild himselfe with reuenge and blood. Aduertisement was brought from one companie to another, to pursue *Tacfarinas* well knowne to them all; and that there would be no end of that warre, if the Captaine were not slaine. But he with a chosen guard about him; seeing his sonne already taken, and the Romans on euery side of him, rushing in among their weapons, with the losse of his life, escaped captiuity. And
cap. 26. that was the end of that warre. *Dolabella* desiring the honour of triumph, *Tiberius* denied it him: and gaue it *Seianus*, lest his vncle *Blesus* commendation should be obscured. But *Blesus* was neuer the more esteemed; and the denying of the honour to *Dolabella*, augmented his honour: because that with a lesser armie he had taken many notable prisoners; slaine the Captaine, and carried away the fame of ending the warre. The Ambassadors of the Garamantes, a people seldome seene in the citie, came after the death of *Tacfarinas*, all astonied, as being of the conspiracy to satisfie the people of Rome. After this, *Tiberius* vnderstanding of *Ptolomæus* diligence in his warres, renuing the old custome, sent one of the Senators to him with an Iuorie staffe, and embrodered or wrought gowne; which were woont to be the auncient gifts of the Lords of the Senate; and to giue him the greater honor called him King, companion, and friend of the people of Rome.

VII. *A rebellion of bond-slaues suppressed*: Serenus *accused by his owne sonne.*

cap. 27. THe same sommer beginnings of warre attempted in Italy by bond-men; were suppressed by meere chaunce. The beginner of this tumult was *T. Curtisius*, sometimes a souldier of a Pretorian band; who at the first in secret conuenticles, in Brundusium and townes adioyning; then by writings publikly spred abroad, tolled to libertie, the rude and fierce bond-slaues dispersed in the woods: when by the fauour of the gods, there arriued three Galleies for the vse of passengers in that sea. And *Curtius Lapius* rent gatherer in those countries; vnto whom by lot fell the Prouince Cales, according to the auncient custome, hauing in a readines a power of sea souldiers; discomfited the conspirators, who then did but begin their enterprise. *Cæsar* sent out of hand *Statius* a Tribune, with a strong Power; who brought the Captaine himselfe, and the ringleaders of this bold attempt to the citie; greatly afeard of the multitude of bond-men, which increased to a huge number; the free
cap. 28. borne decreasing daily more and more. The same men being Consuls, there happened a bloody example of calamitie and cruelty, the sonne accusing the Father: both called *Q. Vibius Serenus*; both brought before the Lords of the Senate: the father out of banishment deformed, poore and vnhandsome, bound in chaines; and his sonne pleading against him: who finelie and featelie attired with a cheerefull countenance; affirmed that secret practises had beene wrought against the Prince; and certaine firebrands of war sent into Gallia to raise a rebellion; himselfe being both accuser and witnes. He charged *Cæcilius Cornutus* once Pretor, to haue furnished them with money: who through the wearisomnes of trouble accounting the danger his bane, hastened his owne death. But contrarily the defendant, stoutly turning towards his sonne; shaking his irons, called the gods to reuenge; praying that they would send him to exile againe; to lead his life farre from such customs; and inflict condigne punishment vpon his sonne. And affirmed constantlie

that

that *Cornutus* was innocent, and frighted with a falſe accuſation; which ſhould eaſily bee perceiued if ſome others were appeached alſo: for himſelfe could not practiſe the death of the Prince, and an innouation with one onely companion. Then the accuſer named *Gn. Lentulus*, and *Seius Tubero*: *Cæſar* himſelfe being aſhamed to heare the chiefe of the city, and his deereſt friends, *Lentulus* very aged, and *Tubero* of a weake body, accuſed of raiſing a rebellion, and diſturbing the common-wealth: and therefore both were incontinently acquitted. The fathers bondmen were put to the rack, which made againſt the accuſer: who through the wickednes of his fact, growing halfe frantick, and terrified with the ſpeech of the people, which threatned either to caſt him headlong from the Robur*, or draw him in peeces; or puniſh him as a parricide, departed the citie: but brought back from Rauenna, was forced to end his accuſation; *Tiberius* nothing at all diſſembling the old grudge hee bare *Serenus* the baniſhed. For after *Libos* condemnation, by letters hee vpbraided *Cæſar*, that his ſeruice onely was vnrecompenſed; with ſome other things, more peremptorily, then ſafely, to proud eares, and ready to take offence. Eight yeeres after, *Cæſar* caſt this in his diſh, many waies carping his actions in the meane ſpace: although contrary to his expectation, through the conſtancy of his bondmen, the rack could extort nothing againſt him. When all had giuen ſentence that *Serenus* ſhould be puniſhed, according to the auncient cuſtome; *Tiberius* to bleare their eies, and diſſemble his grudge, would not allow of the ſentence. *Callus Aſinius* was of opinion, that he ſhould be cõfined in Gyarum or Donuſa; which he miſliked alſo, ſaying that both thoſe Ilands wanted water: and that to whome life was graunted, things neceſſary for life ought to be graunted: Whereupon *Serenus* was carried back to Amorgum: And becauſe *Cornutus* had ſlaine himſelfe, it was propounded in Senate whether the informers ſhould looſe their rewards; if any arraigned onely of treaſon and not condemned, ſlew himſelf. Which they had all followed, if *Cæſar* had not ſharply and openly, contrary to his accuſtomed manner, complained in defence of the informers, ſaying: that by that meanes the lawes would be brought to nothing, and the common-wealth run to ruine; and that it were more tolerable to aboliſh the lawes themſelues, then take away the keepers of them. By this meanes the promooters, a race of men found out for a common ouerthrow and deſtruction and neuer duely puniſhed, were allured with rewards. Theſe continuall cauſes of ſorrow, were ſauced with ſome ſmall contentment: for *C. Cominius* a gentleman of Rome, conuicted of ſcandalous verſes againſt *Tiberius*, was pardoned at the intreaty of his brother a Senator. A ſtrange caſe, that knowing what was beſt (for fortuith or ſenſeles he was not) and what fame followed clemency; yet he deſired rather cauſe of heauines and ſorrow. Neither is it a matter of deepe inſight to know the peoples affection, when they extoll Princes actions from the heart; and when from the teeth outward. And *Tiberius* himſelfe at other times, cunningly premeditating his words, and with ſtaggering and ſtammering deliuering his minde: yet when hee meaneth good indeed vnto any, findeth his toong ready and looſe. But when *P. Suilius* ſomtimes rent gatherer to *Germanicus*, was cõuict for taking of money for giuing iudgement, & therfore expulſed Italy: his opinion was that he ſhould be baniſhed into ſome Iland, and that with ſuch vehemency, that hee bound it with an oath to be profitable for the common-wealth. Which for the preſent time was taken for a rigorous ſentence; but after *Suilius* returne, turned to his commendation; whom ſubſequent times ſaw mightie, but a ſlaue to money; a long time as he luſted, but neuer as he ought vſing Prince *Claudius* friendſhip. The ſame puniſhment was ordained againſt *Catus Firmius* a Senator, as falſely accuſing his ſiſter of treaſon.

cap. 29.

* A place in the priſon from whence malefactors were throwne headlong. *Feſtus.*

cap. 30.

cap. 31.

treason. *Catus* as I haue already said, had inueighled *Libo*; then betraied him and brought him to destruction. Which seruice *Tiberius* not forgetting, though pretending other causes, intreated that he might not be banished; but that hee should
cap. 32. be deposed from the Senate, he hindered not. I am not ignorant that many of those things which I haue rehearsed, and which I shall rehearse hereafter, will seeme of small moment, and not worthy the writing. But I wish not that any should compare our Annales with the writings of the auncient historiographers of the people of Rome: for they reported with a free discourse, of mighty great warres, winning of townes, of Kings taken and slaine: or if they came to domesticall affaires, they recorded the discords betwixt the Consuls and the Tribunes; lawes concerning distribution of lands among the common people; and iarres betweene the communalty and nobility. But the scope of our discourse is streight, and our labour inglorious: the times I write of beeing peaceable and quiet, or no great warres: the state of the citie dolefull; and the Prince careless in dilating the Empire. Yet it shall not bee lost labour to looke into those things, which at the first seeme
cap. 33. light; oft yeelding instruction of great matters. For all nations and Cities are gouerned by the people; or Peers; or alone. A forme of common-wealth constituted of one of these, may better be praised, then found: or if it chance to be found, it cannot long continue. Therefore as in times past the people bearing swaie, or the Lords of the Senate; the humour of the communalty was to bee knowne: and the meanes how with greatest discretion they were to bee dealt withall: and they iudged most wise and experienced; who had deepliest entered into the disposition of the Senators and nobility: so the state being now changed; and the regiment consisting in one alone; it shall be conuenient to note those things, which vnto that forme of gouernment doth best apperraine. For there are but few, which by wisedome, distinguish honest things from dishonest; and profitable from hurtfull; but most men are taught by others euents. And my writings bring more profit then delight; for situation of countries; varietie of battels; the death of famous Captaines doe feede and recreate the readers mindes. But we heape vp bloody commaundements; continuall accusations; deceitfull friendships; the ouerthrow of innocent persons; and causes bringing the like end; matters tedious for want of variety. The old writers had also this aduantage, that they had no detractors of their writing, or fewe: not being materiall to any, whether he had praised Affrican or Romane armies. But many are yet aliue, whose predecessors suffered punishment or infamie vnder *Tiberius* gouernment. And although their familie be extinguished; yet thou shalt find many, which for conformitie of manners, thinke that others misdeeds are obiected against themselues. Glory and vertue haue enemies likewise, according to the disposition of euerie mans minde; framing reasons contrary to that which his own inclination is neerest vnto. But I will returne to my first purpose.

VIII. *An oration of* Cremutius *in defence of his Annales*: Tiberius *would not suffer the Spaniards to build a Temple in his honour.*

cap. 34. An°. 773. CORnelius Cossus, Asinius Agrippa being Consuls; *Cremutius Cordus* was accused of a new crime neuer before heard of, that in certaine Annales by him published, he had praised *M. Brutus*, and saide that *C. Cassius* was the last of the Romans. His accusers were *Satrius Secundus*, and *Pinarius Natta*, *Seianus* clients,

ents, which was his ouerthrow. *Cæsar* with a sterne looke hearing his purgation; which *Cremutius* being assured to lose his life, began in this manner. I am accused for words (Lords of the Senate) because in deedes I am innocent. But they were neither against the Prince, nor his father, whom the lawe of treason doth comprehend. I am saide to haue commended *Brutus* and *Cassius*; whose acts manie haue written, and all in honorable termes. *T. Liuius* an excellent writer, as well for eloquence as trueth; did so much extoll *Gn. Pompeius*, that *Augustus* called him a Pompeian; yet that no breach of friendship at all. *Scipio Africanus*, did neuer call this selfe same *Cassius*, this *Brutus*, theeues and patricides, as now adaies they are termed, but often worthy & famous men. *Asinius Pollioes* writings do deliuer an honorable memory of them: *Messalla Coruinus* extolleth *Cassius* as his Captaine: and both flourished in wealth and honour. When *M. Cicero* had in a booke extolled *Cato* to the heauens; what did *Cæsar* the Dictator, but answer him in an oration as if he had beene before the iudges? *Antonies* epistles, *Brutus* orations, haue, I confesse, many vntrue and bitter speeches against *Augustus*. Men read *Bibaculus* and *Catullus* verses, which are stuffed with reproches against the *Cæsars*. But yet *Iulius* and *Augustus* of famous memory winked thereat: whether with greater moderation or wisedome, I know not: for things of that quality neglected vanish of themselues; but repined and grieued at, argue a guilty conscience. The Grecians, whose not onely liberty, but vnrestrained licence escaped vnpunished, I speake not of; or if any felt himselfe grieued, he reuenged words with other words. It hath bin alwaies a matter of free liberty, and least subiect vnto detraction, to speake of those whom death had exempted from hatred and fauor. Do I incense the people by orations to ciuill warre, with *Cassius* and *Brutus* already in armes, and masters of the Philippian fields? Do not they (who ended their life aboue seuentie yeares agone) as they are knowen by their images which the Conquerer himselfe hath not pulled downe, so retaine some remembrance of them by writings? Posteritie doth render vnto euery man the commendation he hath deserued. Neither will there want some if I be condemned, which will make mention, not onely of *Cassius* and *Brutus*, but of mee also. Hauing thus said, he went out of the Senate, & ended his life by abstinence. Order was giuen by the Senators; that the Ædiles should burne his bookes, which notwithstanding were still extant; some secretly; some publickely: which maketh me the willinglier to laugh at the witlesse vncircumspection of such as thinke with the power and authority they haue in their own time, they can also extinguish the memory of future times. But it falleth out contrary, that when good wits are punished, their credit groweth greater: neither haue forren Kings, or such as haue vsed the like cruelty purchased any other thing, then discredit to themselues, and to such wits, glorie. This yeere accusations were so hotly pursued, that euen on the festiuall daies of the Latines, *Calphurnius Saluianus* went to accuse *Marius* before *Drusus*, Prouost of the citie; as he was entering into the Tribunall to begin his charge: for which cause *Saluianus* being publikely blamed by *Tiberius*, was sent into banishment. Great negligence was openlie laid to the Cyzicenians charge, in not solemnising *Augustus* sacrifices; and that they had vsed violence against the citizens of Rome. For which cause they lost the freedome which they had gotten in the warre when they were besieged by *Mithridates*, chasing away the King, no lesse by their owne manhood, then *Lucullus* aide. But *Fonteius Capito* who had beene Proconsull of Asia, was quit of the accusation falsly forged against him by *Vibius Serenus*. And yet *Serenus* escaped vnpunished, being odious generally to all, and therfore in greater safety. For the more bitter an accuser he was, the lesse touched, and as it were

cap. 35.

cap. 36.

cap. 37. were a ſacred perſon; but the light and baſe were puniſhed. At the ſame time farther Spaine ſent Ambaſſadors to the Senate, requeſting that by the example of Aſia they might build a Temple in honour of *Tiberius* and his mother. *Tiberius* taking hold of this occaſion, though otherwiſe not greedy of honors, thought it conuenient to anſwer thoſe who had rumored abroad that hee was carried away with "ambition, as followeth. I know (Lords of the Senat) that many will accuſe me of vn-"conſtancy, for not denying the ſame requeſt vnto the cities of Aſia. I will therefore "now declare vnto you the defence of my former ſilence, & what I would haue done "hereafter. Seeing that *Auguſtus* of famous memory did not hinder thoſe of Per-"gamum to erect a Temple in honour of himſelfe, and the city of Rome: I who ob-"ſerue all his deeds and words in ſtead of a law, did the willinglier follow that ap-"prooued precident; becauſe the honour done vnto mee, redounded likewiſe to "the Senate. But as it deſerueth pardon, once to haue accepted that honour: ſo "throughout all the Prouinces with images like vnto gods to be reuerenced, ſauoreth cap. 38. "of ambition and pride: and *Auguſtus* honor would come to nought, if it ſhould by "flatterie vſed euery where be made common. I for my part (Lords of the Senat) pro-"teſt before you all, and deſire that poſteritie know, that I am mortall and do like vn-"to men; and take it for honour enough to be Prince. And they ſhall attribute e-"nough to my memory, which wil beleeue that I haue not degenerated from my an-"ceſtors; that I haue beene carefull in your affaires; conſtant in dangers; not fearefull "of diſpleaſure for the profit of the common-wealth. Theſe things ſhall be for mee, "temples in your minds; theſe beautifull and laſting images: for thoſe which are "built of ſtone, if in iudgement of poſteritie they become odious: are contemned for "ſepulchers. Therefore I pray your allies, citizens, gods and goddeſſes; theſe, that they "would giue me vntill the end of my life, a quiet minde with the vnderſtanding of "diuine and humane lawes; thoſe, that whenſoeuer I ſhall depart out of this life, they "would haue me in remembrance with an honorable memory of my deeds, and re-"nowne of my name. And in priuate places afterward diſliked ſuch adoration, which ſome interpreted to proceed of modeſty; many of diſtruſt; and ſome for baſenes of mind and want of courage; becauſe of mortall men the beſt aſpire higheſt: ſo *Hercules* and *Bacchus* among the Grecians; *Quirinius* among vs, were added to the number of the gods. *Auguſtus* had done better in hoping to be one. Princes haue all other things at will: one thing they ſhould inſatiably ſeeke for, which is to leaue a happy memory after them: for by contemning of fame, they contemne the vertues which engender it.

IX. Scianus *requeſteth of* Tiberius *that he might marry* Liuia, Druſus *widow. And perſwadeth* Tiberius *to withdraw himſelfe from the Citie.*

cap. 39. BVt *Scianus* ſottiſhly mad with ouer great fortune, and enflamed with a burning deſire of *Liuia*: importunately demaunding a performance of a promiſed marriage, inditeth and ſendeth letters to *Cæſar*: becauſe the cuſtome was, that although the Prince were preſent, yet to preſent their petitions by writing: "the contents were as followeth. That the good will of his Father *Auguſtus* was "ſuch towards him, and *Tiberius* alſo, by diuers ſignes did ſhew him ſuch fauour, "that he would not ſooner offer his hopes and vowes vnto the gods, then vnto the "cares of Princes. That he neuer thirſted after high and eminent dignities; but choſe "rather to watch and trauell like a common ſouldier for the ſafetie of the Emperour:

notwith-

notwithstanding that hee had obtained that which seemed to bee of all other the greatest honour: that is, that he should be thought worthie of *Cæsars* alliance; from whence sprang the beginning of his hope. And because hee had heard that when *Augustus* in the bestowing his daughter, had thought euen of gentlemen of Rome; so he besought him, if a husband were thought vpon for *Liuia*, that hee would haue him as a friend in minde, who would be content with the glory only to be allied to him, neuer purposing thereby to giue vp the charge impoſed vpon him, nor relinquish his vsuall care: but would hold himselfe satisfied, if his house might be assured against *Agrippinas* wicked malice, and that in regard of his children: and as for himselfe he desired to liue no longer then he could employ himselfe in the seruice of his Prince. *Tiberius* hauing praised *Seianus* great loue and zeale, & chiefly runne ouer the benefits he had receiued of him, demanding time as it had been fully to deliberate on the matter, added; That other men consulted of that onely which was for their profit: but the conditions of Princes was of a different qualitie, whose speciall drift was to direct their actions to fame: and therefore would not fall into that which was easie for him to haue written. That *Liuia* could determine with her selfe whether she would marry againe or not, or remaine in the same familie: that she had a mother and grandmother as neerer counsellers: he therefore would deale more simply, and speake first of *Agrippinaes* enmities, which would be farre more incensed, if *Liuiaes* marriage should diuide *Cæsars* house as it were into parts, and breede emulation betweene the women; and consequently the ouerthrow of his nephewes. What if any variance arise in that marriage? Thou art deceiued *Seianus*, if thou thinkest to continue in the state thou art now in, if thou marrie *Liuia*, who hath beene wife vnto *C. Cæsar*, and afterward to *Drusus*; and imagine that she beareth the minde to passe the rest of her life with a Gentleman of Rome. And if I should agree vnto it, dost thou thinke that they would suffer it, who haue seene hir brother, her father, our auncestors in greatest dignities? Thou wilt continue in the calling thou art now in; but those magistrates and noble men which maugre thy teeth mount to authority, and determine of all matters, do report it, and that not in hugger mugger, that a long time since thou hast climed higher then the degree of a gentleman, and gone beyond my fathers friendship; and for the hatred they beare vnto thee, blame me. But *Augustus* thought once to marry his daughter to a gentleman of Rome. Truely it was to be maruelled, that being distracted with so many cares, and foreseeing that he who should match in that place, should by that alliance rise to great aduancement, hee would in familiar conference thinke vpon *Proculeius* and some others, which liued a notable quiet life, not medling at all with matters of estate. But if we be moued because *Augustus* did doubt, only whether he should bestow her vpon a gentleman, how much more ought we to consider that he gaue her to *M. Agrippa*; and then after vnto me. These things I would not hide from thee for the friendship which is betwixt vs: but I will not bee against thine nor *Liuiaes* deseignments: and will forbeare at this time to speake what I had cast in minde, and how neerely I purposed to linke thee vnto me. I will only say, that there is nothing so excellent, but thy vertues and good will towards mee doth deserue it; and when opportunity shall serue, I will vtter it either in Senate, or before the people. *Seianus* hearing this answere was nothing pleased, nor so much in regard of the marriage, as because hee feared *Tiberius* secret suspitions; the rumour of the people; and enuie which grew fast vpon him. Yet fearing if he should cast off those great troupes which daily came to court him, he should weaken his authoritie; and by entertaining them, minister matter of crime: the marke hee shot at was to per-

cap. 40.

cap. 41.

swade

swade *Tiberius* to leade his life in some pleasant place far from Rome; wherein hee foresaw many things, as that there could bee no accesse to the Prince but by him; that all letters beeing conueied by souldiers which were at his deuotion, should passe through his hands: that *Cæsar* declining now to age, and growen slothfull and effeminat through the quietnes of the place, would disburden himselfe of cares of state, and commit them to another: and that the enuie borne to himselfe should be diminished, accesse to the Prince being lesser: and by that meanes all vaine shadowes remooued, he should grow mighty in true power and authority. Therefore by little & by little he findeth fault with the busines of the citie, the concourse of people, the flocking together of multitudes; extolleth highly a quiet and solitarie life; a life without anguish of mind, and free from enuie: most fit to thinke on
cap. 42. important and waighty affaires. And falling out by chance that *Votienus Montanus* cause was to bee heard, a man of a ready witte; *Seianus* perceiuing *Tiberius* not resolued to leaue the citie, perswaded him to be a very inconuenient matter to be present at the assemblies of the Senate; least hee should heare railing and reprochfull speeches, but yet true, vttered of himselfe in his owne hearing. For *Votienus* being accused of contumelious words against *Cæsar*, whilest *Aemylius* a witnes and a souldier laboured earnestly to proque his assertion, rehearsed from point to point, though the hearers buzzed and made a noise about him, all *Votienus* words: in which *Tiberius* heard many spitefull and reprochfull speeches backbitingly vttered in secret against himselfe: which so moued him, that he cried he would either presently, or when the cause was heard, purge himselfe; and was hardly pacified either with intreaty of his neerest friends, or flatterie of all; and so *Votienus* was punished as for treason. *Cæsar* persisting stifly & vsing hard and rough dealing, though that was one of the crimes obiected against him, condemned to exile *Aquilia*, for adulterie with *Varius Ligur*: although *Lentulus Getulicus* Consull elect, had already condemned her by the Iulian law: and put *Apidius Merula* from his Senators roome, because he had not sworne to obserue *Augustus* actes.

X. *A controuersie betwixt the Lacedæmonians, and Messenians touching the rights of the Temple of* Diana: Piso, *Pretor of Spaine, slaine by a villagois.*

cap. 43. After that were heard the Embasies of the Lacædemonians and Messenians concerning the right of the Temple of *Diana Limenetidis*; which the Lacedæmonians auowed by the records of their Annales, and proficies to haue beene dedicated by their predecessors in their countrey: but taken from them by *Philip* of Macedon, with whom they warred; and afterward restored vnto them by the sentence of *C. Cæsar*, and *M. Antonius*. The Messenians on the contrary side alleaged an old diuision of *Peloponesus* betweene *Hercules* successors: and that that territorie Dentheliate wherein the Temple was, fell to their King; whereof there remained auncient monuments engrauen in stones and brasse. And if it were necessary to produce the testimonie of Poets and Chronicles, they had more then they of good credit: neither had *Philip* so done by force, but according to equitie. King *Antigonus*, and the Captaine *Mummius* gaue the like iudgement. So the Milesians being publikely made arbitrators of the cause; and last of all, *Atidius Gemmus* Pretor of Achaia determined the same. Wherupon iudgment was giuen on the Messenians side. The Segestani likewise demaunded that *Venus* Temple built on the hill Eryce, and fallen downe with age might be reedified: calling to remembrance

many

many things of her beginning pleasing vnto *Tiberius* eares, which mooued him to vndertake willingly the charge, as being of her blood. After that the Massiliens requests were heard, and the example of *L. Rutilius* allowed, who, hauing by law been expulsed Rome, the Smyrnæans receiued and made a citizen in their citie. by which right also, the Massiliens receiued *Vulcatius Moschus* a banished man, who left all his goods to their commen-wealth, as to his countrey. Two noble men *Gn. Lentulus* and *L. Domitius* died the same yeere. It was to *Lentulus* a great honour, ouer and besides that he was a Consull, & triumphed ouer the Getuli, that he endured his pouerty patiently; then that hauing gotten great riches without iniurying of any, he vsed them temperately. *Domitius* credit grew by his father, who was lord of the sea in the ciuill wars; vntill he thrust him selfe into *Antonies* faction; and after that into *Cæsars*. His grandfather was slaine in the Pharsalian battell, taking part with the nobilitie: and himselfe chosen to marry *Antonia*, *Octauius* yongest daughter. After that he passed ouer the riuer Albis with his host, and entered farther into Germanie, than any other before him; for which cause he obtained the honour of triumphe. *L. Antonius* of great, but vnfortunat nobility died likewise; for his father *Iulius Antonius* being put to death for committing adulterie with *Iulia*: *Augustus* sent him beeing very yoong, and his sisters nephew, to Marsilles, where he cloked the name of banishment with the pretence of studie. Notwithstanding he had great honor done him at his funerals, and his bones buried in the tombe of the Octauians by decree of the Senate. The same men being Consuls, a bloody fact was committed in hither Spaine by a pesant of Temerstine, who assayling vpon the way *L. Piso* Pretor of the Prouince, at vnawares and vnprouided, as being careles by reason of peace, killed him with one stroke; then fled in post to the woods; and forsaking his horse, stealing by dangerous bie-waies; beguiled his followers, though not long: for his horse being taken and brought to the next villages, it was knowen whose he was. And being found and put to the racke to bewray his complices, cried alowd in his countrey language, that that was a vaine question to aske him; and that his companions might boldly come, and behold him on the torture; for no torment or griefe should be able to draw the trueth from him. And beeing the next day brought againe to the torture, by violent force breaking from his keepers, so dasht his head against a stone, that immediately hee yeelded vp the ghost. Some were of opinion that *Piso* was slaine by the treachery of the Termestines, by reason he exacted more of those barbarous people, then they were able to beare.

cap. 44.

cap. 45.

XI. Poppæus Sabinus *defeateth the Thracians and their obstinacie.*

cap. 46. An. 774.

Lentulus Getulicus and *C. Caluisius* being Consuls, triumphall ornaments were awarded *Poppæus Sabinus* for defeating certaine Thracians, which wildly liued in high mountaines; & therfore more sauage & fierce. The cause of their rebellion, besides their natural dispositions, was, because they would not that any muster should be made of their strongest and ablest men for seruice: neuer accustomed to obey their Kings farther then themselues listed; or if they did send any aide, they appointed the conductor of them; and would make no warre but against the borderers. There was also a rumor then spred, that they should be dispersed and brought into other nations and mingled with them. But before they began to beare armes, they sent Ambassadors to *Sabinus* declaring their amitie and obedience to the people of Rome; and that they would so continue if they were not oppressed with

new

new taxations: but if like vanquished men they should liue in seruitude, they had both weapons and youth, and a resolute courage either to dye or liue in libertie. And therewithall, shewed their fortresses built on rocks, whither they had conueied their parents and wiues, and threatned an intricate, hard and bloody warre. But cap. 47. *Sabinus* giuing milde answeres, vntill he had gathered his forces together; and when *Pomponius Labeo* was come with a legion out of Mœsia, king *Rhœmetalces* with the aide of his countrimen, which continued still in their allegeance; with the forces he had at hand, he marched toward the enemie possessed of the streights of the woods; some of the forwardest shewing themselues in open place; which, the Romane captaine hauing stole vpon, were easily put to flight, with small bloudshed of the barbarians, by reason of their refuges at hand. Then fortifying in the same place, seateth on the mountaine, which was narrow and euen ridged vnto the next fort: garded with great, but vnorderly and confuse strength; and immediately sendeth before of his choise archers against the fiercest of them before the trench, as the manner of the countrey is, singing ditties and verses. They wounded many with shot a farre off, and drawing neere, by a sudden irruption of the enemie had beene driuen to the worst; if the Sugambrien cohort which lay not far off, in dangers venturous, & no lesse fierce and dreadfull in noise of songs & clattering of arms, had not cap. 48. receiued them at a pinch. After this, *Sabinus* encamped neerer the enemy, leauing the Thracians, which (as I haue already said) came to our side at the first fort, with warrant to wast, burne, carry away booties, so as they took no longer time then the day, and returne at night to set a sure watch and a vigilant ouer the camp. Which at the first was obserued, but afterward through riot, wantonnes, and desire of riches, neglecting their wards, hunting after belli cheere, and ouertaken with wine, fell heauily all to sleepe. The enemie vnderstanding their retchles negligence, diuided his men into two squadrons; the one to set on the forragers; and the other to assaile the Romane camp; not with hope of any surprise, but by their clamors, and clashing of weapons, euery man intentiue to his owne danger, they should not heare the noise of the other skirmish: choosing the night withall to make the fear the greater. But those which assaied the trench of the legion were easily repulsed: the aid of the Thracians in the other fort terrified with a sudden assault; part of them lying asleepe within the trenches; and part seeking prouision and stouer abroad, were so much the more cruelly slaine, because they were reckoned to bee as fugitiues and traitors, which bare armes to bring themselues and their countrey into seruitude. cap. 49. The next day *Sabinus* sheweth himselfe in a place without aduantage to either side to see whether the barbarians, glad of the nights successe, durst venter a battell. But seeing they went not out of their fortresses or hils adioyning, hee began to lay siege to them with a strong company, casting a trench, & a parapet foure miles compasse about them: after that by little and little, to barre them of water and forrage, streightened his enclosure, the first enuironing the last; and raised vp a bulwarke so neer the enemie, that from thence they might throw stones, darts, and fires into the enemies camp. But nothing annoyed the enemie more then thirst, a huge multitude of raw fighting souldiers, hauing but one fountaine left them for their vse: withall, their cattell (as the custome is among barbarous people) shut vp with them, died for want of stouer: dead carcasses of men lay along, as well with wounds as thirst; all corrupted with putrefaction stench, and infection. And to make their troubled estate more miserable, they fell at discord among themselues; of all calamities, the full measure: some ready to yeeld, some to die, some to strike and kill one another: some perswading couragiously to sallie out, and not perish without reuenge;

uenge; and these not of the baseſt alloy, though deuided in opinions. But among the captaines: *Vinis*, a man ſtroken in yeeres; and who by long experience had tried as well the ſtrength as clemencie of the Romans; counſelled them to laie downe their armes, as the only remedie in their diſtreſſe: and was the firſt which yeelded himſelfe, with his wife and children, to the conquerers; the reſt which were weake, either through age, or ſexe, and deſired rather life then renowne, did the like. But the youth betweene *Tarſa* and *Tureſis*, both reſolued to die with liberty, were doubtfully diſtracted; but *Tarſa* crying that death was to be haſtened, and hope & feare to be cut off at once; and giuing example vnto others, thruſt himſelfe through the breaſt, many following the ſame death. *Tureſis* with his companie expected the night: our captaine not being ignorant thereof, and thereupon reenforced the watch. The night being ſtormie and tempeſtuous, the enemie now making a fierce outcrie, and on the ſudden vſing a maruellous ſilence; droue the beſiegers into vncertainties; when as *Sabinus* went about from one place to another, exhorting them not to lay chance open to ſuch as by their doubtfull clamors, and fained ſilence, laide traines to intrap them; but that euery man ſhould keepe his ſtanding, and take heed he threw no dart in vaine. In the meane ſpace the barbarians cluſtering together by troups, now threw handſtones againſt the rampire, iauelins burnt at the end, and troncheons of oake, now filled vp the ditches with ſhrubs, hurdles, and dead carcaſſes. Some of them hauing before made bridges, and ladders, planted them before the bulwarks, catched hold of them, laboured to pull down the defence, grapled, fought hand to hand with ſuch as reſiſted: contrarily the Romaine ſouldier beate them downe with ſpeares, thruſt them backe with the pikes of their bucklers, lanced darts, and rowled heapes of ſtones from the wall vpon them. The hope of victory already gotten, and that if they ſhould now faint and be ouercome, ſhame and reproch put life and courage into our, in them deſperate hope of life; many hauing their mothers and wiues bewailing and lamenting about them. The night animated ſome to boldnes; droue ſome into feare: blowes flew on all hands; wounds giuen and taken vnlooked for; no man knowing his fellow from the enemy and the ſound of the voices as if it were an eccho rebounding behinde them in the turning and winding of the mountaine, brought ſuch a confuſion, that the Romaines abandoned their ſtandings and holds, as though they had beene battered and broken downe: howbeit, a ſmall number of the enemies eſcaped aliue; the reſidue (the moſt couragious either ſlaine or wounded) at the opening of the daie, were chaſed to their fortreſſes, and at length forced to yeeld; willing to accept the firſt conditions the winter would offer: to the reſt, a cruell and timely winter by reaſon of the hill Hæmus was a ſafegard, that they could neither be ſubdued by force, nor ſiege.

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XII. *The ſharpe words which* Agrippina *vſed to* Tiberius *for accuſing* Claudia Pulchra *her coſen: what good will was borne the Smyrnæans aboue the other townes of Aſia, and the cauſe.*

cap. 52

BVt at Rome, the Princes houſe beeing greatly troubled, to begin the courſe of *Agrippinas* future ruine; *Claudia Pulchra* her coſen german was called into queſtion by *Domitius Afer*: who hauing beene lately Pretor, of ſmall reputation, and eger by what meanes ſoener to winne credit; laid to her charge that ſhe lead an vnhoneſt life with *Furnius*, and practiſed to poyſon, and vſed inchantments

ments against the Prince. *Agrippina* being of a fell and haughtie disposition, and then more then euer kindled through the danger of her neere cosen, hasteneth to *Tiberius*, whom by chance hee found sacrificing to his father: and taking holde of
" that occasion, told him: it was two mens office to offer sacrifice in memory of
" *Augustus*, and persecute his posterity: that the diuine spirit was not transfused in-
" to dumb statuaes and images: but the true image descended of celestiall bloud felt
" the smart of his posterity: and therefore she would take vpon her the person of the
" partie accused: that it was in vaine to take exceptions against *Pulchra*, whose onely
" ruine was, that vnconsiderately she had loued and reuerenced *Agrippina*: forget-
" ting what had fallen to *Sosia*, for the same cause. Those words prouoked *Tiberius*, although seldome vsing to open the secrets of his breast: and rebuking her in a Greeke verse, said, that therefore she was displeased, because she could not raigne. *Pulchra* and *Furnius* are condemned: and *After*, the excellency of his wit known; and *Cæsar* attributing vnto him praise of eloquence, held among the chiefe orators. After this practised in accusing and defending of parties; he was better knowen for eloquence, then honestie of life: sauing that when his eloquence in his later age
cap. 53. decaied, and his spirits failed; yet was neuer quiet when his toong walked not. But *Agrippina* frowardly persisting in anger, and incumbred with sicknes, when *Cæsar* went to visit her, powring downe in a long silence many teares, at last burst into enuie and intreatie; that he would redresse her solitarie life; and being yet but a yong woman, prouide her a husband: Marriage being the only comfort of minds honestly giuen; that there were some in the city which would vouchsafe to receiue *Germanicus* wife and his children. But *Cæsar* not ignorant of what importance this request was to the common-wealth; yet lest hee should openly seeme to displease or feare her, gaue her, though most earnestly demaunding, no answere at all. That I finde not in the writers of Annales, but in the Commentaries of *Agrippina* her daughter, who being *Neroes* mother, had deliuered to posterity her life and calamities
cap. 54. which fell to her friends. But *Scianus* in this dumpe, sent her a message vnlooked for, and vnder colour of friendship, which was, that there was poison prepared for her; and that she should auoide to eate or drinke with her father in law. But shee not knowing how to dissemble, sitting by him at table could not be woon to looke cheerefully, or speake a word, or touch any meate: vntill at last *Tiberius* marked it either by chance, or because he had had som inckling of it. And to trie that more certainely, praising certaine apples as they were serued in, gaue of them with his owne hand to his daughter in law; which augmented *Agrippinaes* suspition, and not once tasting of them, deliuered them to the waiters. Yet openly *Tiberius* spake not one word; but turning to his mother, said, that it was no maruell, if he had proceeded seuerely against her, seeing she had an opinion, he went about to poison her. Thereupon a rumor was spread, that her destruction was sought for; and that the Emperour durst not openly attempt it; and therefore sought secret meanes to com-
cap. 55. passe it. But *Cæsar* to stop that rumor shewed himselfe often in Senate, and gaue the Ambassadors of Asia audience manie daies together, when they doubted in what city they should erect a Temple in honor of him. A eleauen cities of different power stroue with like ambition for that honour, alleaging that there was not any great difference betwixt them; in antiquity of time; loue and affection to the people of Rome; in the warres against *Perseus* and *Aristonicus*, and other Kings. The Hypæpeni & Tralliani, together with the Laodiceni, & Magnetiens were sent away as not sufficiently grounded. No nor the Ilienses producing that Troy was the mother of Rome, had any foundation of their reason sauing onely antiquitie. But

some

some doubt was made of the Halicarnassi; because that for the space of a thousand and two hundred yeeres, their cities had neuer beene shaken with any earthquake; and that the foundation of their Temple was built vppon liuely strong stone. The Pergamini were answered that they had receiued honour enough, in that they had *Augustus* Temple amongst them; seeing that thereon they grounded their reason. It seemeth that the Ephesians and Milesians had their cities occupied, the one in the ceremonies of *Apollo*, and the other of *Diana*: In so much that all the contention rested betwixt the Sardinians & Smyrnæans. The Sardinians recited a decree of the Etrurians, as being of their blood: for *Tyrrhenus* and *Lydus* King *Atyes* sons, diuided the land betwixt them, by reason of the increase of the people. And *Lydus* remained in his countrie, and *Tyrrhenus* went to seeke new countries to inhabite; which were called by the names of their Captaines: they in Asia, and these in Italy: and in progresse of time the Lydians growing to farther wealth, sent people into Greece, which were afterward called Peloponesians. They told vs also of letters sent them by our Captaines, of treatise made with vs in the warre of Macedon; of the number of riuers; the temperature of their countrey; and what a rich territorie they had round about them. But the Smyrnæans fetching their antiquity a farre off; either that *Tantalus* from whence they came, was descended from *Iupiter*; or from *Theseus*, issued also from the stocke of the gods; or else that some one of the Amazons had founded them: alleaged further the seruice they had done to the people of Rome; in which they most of all relied, and that they had giuen them succour by sea; not only against forreine wars; but also the wars of Italy. And that they first of all had dedicated a Temple in honour of Rome, *M. Portius* being Consull. The people of Rome indeede then flourishing; but yet not lifted vp to the height of their greatnes: the citie of Carthage yet standing, and many strong Kings liuing in Asia. They brought in *L. Sulla* for a witnesse, whose armie being fallen into great danger through the roughnes of the winter, & want of apparell: when newes was brought thereof to the Smyrnæans as they were assembled vpon occasion; all which were present sent the apparell from their owne backes vnto our legions. Thereupon the Lords of the Senats opinion being demanded, they preferred the Smyrnæans. And *Vibius Marsus* counselled farther, that ouer and aboue his charge, *M. Lepidus*, vnto whom the gouernment of that Prouince fell, should haue a deputy appointed to take care of that Temple. And because *Lepidus* through modesty refused to accept it, *Valerius Naso* who had beene Pretor, was by lot chosen and sent. cap. 56.

XIII. *Why* Tiberius *absented himselfe from the Citie.*

WHilest these things thus passed, *Cæsar* hauing deepely thought vpon, and after protracted his determination, at last goeth into Campania, vnder colour of dedicating a Temple to *Iupiter* at Capua, and another to *Augustus* at Nola: but indeede resolued to leade his life farre from the citie. The occasion of his departure, although following some authors, I haue attributed vnto *Seianus* wiles, yet because that after *Seianus* death hee continued sixe yeeres in the like retired life, I am often induced to doubt, whether the cause be more truly to be referred to himselfe, as going about to cloake by the place, his cruelty and loose behauiour. Some were of opinion, that being through age, slender, tall, and crooked, bald headed, and his face spect with plaisters and ointments, was therefore ashamed to shew himselfe in publicke. And at Rhodes he was wont to shun company, liue cap. 57.

liue secretly, and hide his lasciuious dissolute life. Some gaue out that his mothers insupportable insolencie droue him away, whom as a companion in state hee could not indure; nor yet be rid of her, because the soueraignty it selfe was her gift. For *Augustus* was determined to leaue the Empire to *Germanicus* his sisters nephew, who had a good report of all men: but being ouercome by his wiues importunat intreatie, he adopted *Tiberius*; and *Tiberius*, *Germanicus*; which *Augusta* did vpbraid
cap. 58. vnto him, and demanded the Empire againe which she had bestowed vpon him. He departed with a small traine with him: one Senator who had beene Consull, which was *Cocceius Nerua*, skilfull in the lawes; one gentleman of Rome besides *Seianus*; and of noble men onely *Curtius Atticus*. The rest were men indued with liberal sciences, most of thē Grecians, with whose conference he purposed to passe the time. Some Astrologers gaue out that *Tiberius* departed Rome vnder such a constellation, that he should returne no more; which was cause of manies ouerthrow, which coniectured and diuulged that hee had not long to liue: for they could not foresee so incredible a matter, as that he should want his countrey willingly eleuen yeeres together. Wherein did appeare not long after how neere cosins their arte and falshood are; and how truth is disguised and hidden vnder obscuritie. For it was not spoken at a venture that he should not return againe, although they were ignorant of other things which should happen vnto him: or whether hee should quickly die, or not, which was not signified by those words of theirs; because hee ended his
cap. 59. latter yeeres in some village not farre off, or on the Sea-shore, or neere vnto the wals of the citie. At that time a doubtfull and dangerous perill, which by meere chance *Cæsar* fell into, augmented the vaine rumour already sowne; and gaue him occasion to put more trust in *Seianus* friendship and constancie, then euer hee had done before. For as they were eating in a country house called Spelunca, between the sea Amuclanum, and the hils of Fundani, in a naturall grot or caue, certaine stones falling suddenly from the mouth of it, slew some of his seruitors; which so affrighted the rest, that they fled all away. But *Seianus* with his knees, his face and hands leaning and hanging ouer *Cæsar*, set himselfe against the other stones which were falling, and in that plight was found by the souldiers which came to succour them. This made him greater then he was: and although he should haue giuen most pernicious counsell, yet should haue had fauorable audience, as one nothing caring for ought which might happen to himselfe. He tooke vpon him the office of a iudge against *Germanicus* issue, subborning some to play the parts of accusers, and inueigh especially against *Nero* next in succession; although a modest yong man, yet oftentimes forgetfull of that which was requisite for the present time, pricked forward by his freed men and followers, which thought it long till he were Emperour, to shew himselfe bould and stout of courage: perswading him that the people of Rome desired, the armie coueted, and that *Seianus* durst do nothing to the
cap. 60. contrary; though now he insulted alike ouer the patience of the olde man, and sloth and cowardlinesse of the yoong. *Nero* hearing these or the like speeches, yet dreampt of no bad practise: although some wilfull and vnconsiderate speeches slipt now and then from him: which when the spies set ouer him had augmented and carried to *Cæsar*, and *Nero* not suffered to purge himselfe; droue many into sundry doubts. Some shunned to meete him; some hauing saluted him, turned presently from him; many brake off abruptly their talke. *Seianus* fauourers on the other side laughed in their sleeues to see it. *Tiberius*, whether the yoong man spake vnto him, or held his toong, cast a malicious eye, or smiled dissemblingly vpon him: and whether he spake or helde his toong, it was alwaies a

crime

crime in him. Neither was he secure from treason in the night; his wife bewraying his watchings; his dreames; his sighes to *Lwia* her mother, and she to *Sejanus*: who drew *Drusus Neroes* brother, to his side with a hope of the Empire, if he could remoove his elder brother which was already downe and out of credit. *Drusus* was of a cruell and fell disposition; and besides the desire of rule, and hatred which vsually raigneth betwixt brothers: he was incensed with enuy to see *Agrippina* their mother readier bent to doe *Nero* good, then himselfe. And yet *Sejanus* did not so much tender *Drusus*, but that he projected in his minde some meanes of his ruine: knowing well that he was very fierce and headstrong; and therefore easily intrapped. In the end of this yeere two famous men died, *Asinius Agrippa*, rather of a renowned then auncient stocke, himselfe not degenerating from them; and *Q. Haterius* descended from Senators, whileſt he liued greatly esteemed for eloquence: but monuments of his wit there are none, because hee was esteemed rather for vehemencie and quicke deliuerie, then diligence and premeditation. And as others industries and labours are had in estimation after their dates; so *Haterius* fluent vaine was extinguished with him.

XIIII. *The falling of an Amphitheatre, and the hurt which ensued*: Tiberius *reedifieth certaine houses burnt in the hill Caelius.*

WHen *M. Licinius*, and *L. Calpharnius* were Consuls, a sudden and vnlooked for mischance as soone ended as begun, might haue beene compared to the calamity of mighty wars. For an Amphitheatre begun at Fidena, one *Atilius* a freed man to set foorth a play of fencers; as one hauing neither abundance of wealth, nor ambitious in winning fauour of the people; but by niggardly sparing to make a base gaine in the workmens hire; did neither lay a sound foundation, nor fasten the timber frame erected vpon the same. Thither flocked many, very desirous of such shewes, both men and women of all ages; partly by reason it was so neere vnto them; and partly because that, during *Tiberius* Empire, they were barred from such pastimes; whereby the mischiefe was the greater. For the pile being great, and filled full with a throng of people, then falling asunder, whether it fell inwards, or spred outwards, it carried downe headlong, and ouerwhelmed a huge multitude of people, intentiue on the shew within, or gazing round about. Those which at the beginning were crusht to death by that hap, escaped languishing torment. They most of all were to be pitied, which being bruised and broken, yet liued, and in the day knew their wiues and children by sight, and in the night by lamentable howling and crying. Those which were absent moued with this report, one lamented his brother; another his neere kinsman, another his parents: yea they were afraide if their friends and cosens were out of the way, although for other occasion; doubting still they had beene there; and because it was not certainely knowne whom that violent ruine had beaten downe, the vncertainty spread the feare the farther. As soone as they began to remoue the frame, they flocked about the dead bodies, some kissing, some imbracing them; and fell often at debate, in mistaking one for another, by reason they were disfigured, through some resemblance of countenance, and likenesse of yeeres. Fifty thousand persons were slaine or maimed by that mischance: and a decree laide downe by the Senate, that from thence forward no man should exhibite the play of Fencers, who was lesse worth then * foure hundred thousand sesterces: nor that any Amphitheatre should bee built but in a firme and sound place:

* *Anno 3150 fere.*

place: and *Atilius* was baniſhed. After that freſh calamitie, the houſes of the chiefe Gentlemen were open; medicines and Phyſitians appointed for the bruſed and mangled: and the Citizens, although heauy and ſad, yet then were like their aunceſtors, which after great battels, did relieue and comfort the wounded with all
cap. 64. care and liberality. That misfortune was ſcarſe paſt, but the rage and violence of a fire conſumed the Citie more then euer, and burnt the hill Cælius. That was reported to bee an vnlucky yeere, and that the Princes abſence was begun in a diſmall houre; as the manner of the people is, to draw caſuall miſhaps to blame, if *Cæſar* had not preuented them, by beſtowing of money to euery man according to his loſſe. For which liberality, thanks in Senate were giuen him by the noble men: and the people gaue him a good report, becauſe that without ambition or intreaty of friends, he had of his own motion helped and called ſtrangers vnto him. And diuers were of opinion, that the mount Cęlius ſhould after that be called mount *Auguſtus*: becauſe that when all was waſted with fire round about; onely the image of *Tiberius* which was in *Iunius* a Senators houſe, remained vntouched. The ſame happened in times paſt to *Claudia Quinctia*; and therefore her image twice eſcaping violent rage of fires, our aunceſtors did conſecrate in the Temple to the mother of the gods: an argument, that the Claudians are accounted ſacred, and receiued among the number of the gods: and therefore the ceremony ought to be augmented in the place, where the gods haue ſhewen ſo great fauour towards
cap. 65. ſo mighty a Prince. It ſhall not be amiſſe to ſhew, how that hill was in olde time called Querquetulan, becauſe it was fertill and abundant with oakes: then *Cælius* of Cæle Vibenna, who being Captaine of the Etrurian nation, and ſuccoured the Romans, obtained that ſeat of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, or of ſõme other King; for in that point writers doe varry. As for the reſt, it is without controuerſie, that thoſe great companies of ſouldiers did inhabite alſo the plaines, and places adioyning to the place of aſſemblies: and thereupon that was called the Thuſcian ſtreet, of the name
cap. 66. of the ſtrangers which came thither to inhabite. But as the beneuolence of noble men, and largeſſe of the Prince, was a great comfort in their aduerſity; ſo the credit and authority of informers more and more increaſing, wrought the ouerthrow of many. *Domitius Afer* accuſed *Varo Quinctilius*, a wealthie man and neere kinne to *Cæſar*, hauing before condemned *Claudia Pulchra* his mother: no man maruelling that being long a needy companion, & hauing waſtfully conſumed his late recompence, ſhould arme himſelfe to farther miſchiefe. But that *P. Dolabella* was his fellow pickthank, iſſued of noble kinred, and allied to *Varus*, was a miracle ouerthrowing by that action himſelfe, and diſtained his nobility and blood. Yet the Lords of the Senat would not agree therto, but thought it conuenient to expect the Emperours comming: which for the time was the onely ſhift againſt imminent miſ-
cap. 67. chiefes. But *Cæſar* hauing dedicated his temples in Campania, albeit he had giuen warning by edict, that no man ſhould diſturb his quietnes; & hindred the concourſe of townſmen by placing of ſouldiers in the way: yet being a wearie of townes & colonies, and all places ſituated in the continent, withdrew himſelfe to the Iland Capreas, three miles diſtant by ſea from the fartheſt part of the promontorie of Surrentum. I eaſily beleeue that that Iland did fit his humor, hauing neither hauen nor cõmodities, & thoſe conueied in very little veſſels: no man landing but the watch was preſently acquainted with it. The temperature of the aire is in winter milde, by reaſon that a hill oppoſite vnto it, beateth backe the force of the winds. In the ſommer ſeaſon it is open to the Weſternwinde, and hath very pleaſantly the ſea on euery ſide, and a goodly proſpect towards the hill Veſuuius, vntill by fire the face of the

place

place was chãged. The report goeth that the Grecks did posſeſſe that place,& that the Theleboians inhabited the Iland Capreas. But at that time *Tiberius* occupied the place,and ſeated himſelfe in twelue countrey houſes of pleaſure:and how much more in former times he was earneſtly bent vpon the publicke good, ſo much the more,now ſecretly he abandoned himſelfe to looſe life & naughty idlenes. He was neuer more ſuſpitious and credulous then now: a qualitie which *Seianus* whileſt he was abiding in the citie whetted on; and which did now more then euer diſquiet him: and no longer vſing ſecret treacherie to intrap *Agrippina* and *Nero*, put ouer then ſouldiers as it were to record in Chronicles what meſſages they receiued:who reſorted to them; what they did either ſecretly or openly. Farther there were others ſubborned to counſell them, to flie to the armie of Germanie; or when the place of aſſemblies was beſt repleniſhed with people,catch hold of *Auguſtus* image,and cry for ſuccour of the people and Senate.And albeit, they gaue no eare to thoſe deuiſes;yet they were laid to their charge,as though they had intended them.

XV. *A treacherous practiſe of three Senators to intrap* Sabinus *a Gentleman of Rome,and* Agrippaes *friend. the death of* Iulia,Auguſtus *neece.*

Iunius Silanus,and *Silius Nerua* beeing Conſuls, the yeere had a foule beginning; by reaſon *Titus Sabinus* an honourable gentleman of Rome was drawn to priſon, onely becauſe he was a friend to *Germanicus*: neuer omitting to ſhew all tokens of dutie to his wife and his children; and of all *Germanicus* followers the onely man which viſited them at her houſe,and accompanied them abroad:and therfore commended by the good, and diſliked by the bad.Againſt him *Latinius Latiaris*; *Porcius Cato*, *Petitius Ruſus*,and *M.Opſius*, who had beene ſometimes Conſuls, bent their malice,through a greedines of the Conſulſhip; which they could not obtaine but by *Seianus* meanes; and *Seianus* liking could not be purchaſed, but by ſome notable peece of villanie. They had ſo compleotted betweene them,that *Latiaris*,who was ſomwhat allied to *Sabinus*,ſhould lay the ſnare; and the reſt be preſent as witneſſes; and then begin the accuſation. Hereupon *Latiaris*, at the firſt began to caſt out ſpeeches at randon; then to extoll his conſtancie, that hee did not as others did, fawne in proſperitie,and ſhrinke from a houſe in aduerſitie; with other honourable ſpeech of *Germanicus*; and bewailing and pitying *Agrippinaes* eſtate. And ſeeing *Sabinus* (as mens minds are ſoft and render in calamitie) to powre downe teares and complaints; *Latiaris* began more boldly to touch *Seianus* cruelty,pride,and the hope he gaped after: not forbearing vnreuerent ſpeeches againſt *Tiberius*. Theſe ſpeeches as though they had beene ſauced with ſomewhat which durſt not be a-touched, made ſhew of ſtreight friendſhip between them:ſo far that *Sabinus* often times ſought out *Latiaris*; frequented his houſe; vttered his griefes vnto him,as to a moſt truſty and faithfull friend.Thoſe whom I ſpake of before, conſulted of ſome meanes how theſe ſpeeches might bee heard of many; for the place of their two meeting muſt be priuate: and if they ſhould ſtand behind the doore, they were afraide of being ſeene, or of a noiſe; or leaſt ſome ſuſpition ſhould grow by ſome chance. Betweene the roofe and the ſeeling, the three Senators(the place no leſſe vnſeemely then the treaſon deteſtable) hid themſelues, and laid their eares cloſe to holes and chinkes to liſten what was ſaide. In the meane ſpace *Latiaris* hauing found *Sabinus* in the market place,as if he had ſome new matter to tel him,draweth him home,and into his chamber;beginneth to rip vp things paſt and preſent,which

cap. 68. An. 776.

cap. 69.

yeelded

yeelded store of matter, and inforceth new occasions of feare. *Sabinus* doth as much, and more at large: the nature of griefes being such, that when we once enter into thē hardly can we find an end. This done, they began immediately their accusation, and sent letters vnto *Cæsar*, declaring the order of their owne lewde practise, and shamefull act. The citie was neuer in greater perplexitie and fear, then at that time: euery man estranging himselfe euen from his neerest kindred & acquaintance: they auoyded all meetings, conferences, eschuing as well knowen friends, as strangers: yea they haue an eye to mute and senceleſſe things, and searched the roofes & wals
cap. 70. of their houses. But *Tiberius* requesting by writing that the solemnities of the new yeere might be celebrated in the Kalends of Ianuarie; turned his talke to *Sabinus*, charging him that he had corrupted some of his freed men, to attempt somewhat against his person; and therefore boldly demaundeth a reuenge, which without delay was graunted; and being condemned, he was drawne and haled with his
" garment, turned ouer his head, and almost throtled, cried alowd. Is this the begin-
" ning of the new yere? be these the sacrifices which are slain in *Setanus* honor? which
" way soeuer he did cast his eies, or vnto whomsoeuer he directed his speech, they all
" fled: the place of assemblies & the streets were empty; some came backe & shewed
" themselues againe, afeard for that they were seene to be afeard. For what day was
" past free from executions, if betwixt the sacrifices and the vowes, at what time the
" custome was to abstaine from prophane speeches, letters and cordes are spoken of?
" And it was saide that *Tiberius* could not through ignorance incur this hatred; but
" contrary, that he sought to haue it knowne, that without any let, new magistrates
" might as well open the prisons, as Temples and altars. After that hee sent letters of thanksgiuing, that they had punished an enemy to the state; adding withall, that he stoode in feare of his life, and was ielous of his enemies practises, though naming
cap. 71. none: yet no man doubted but he aimed at *Nero* and *Agrippina*. If I had not purposed to declare the occurrents of the yeeres as they fell out, I could willingly in this place haue set downe before his time, what ends *Latinius*, and *Opsius*, and the other contriuers of that lewd practise had come vnto; not onely after that *C. Cæsar* was come to the Empire, but whilest *Tiberius* was yet aliue: who, as hee would not suffer the ministers of his wickednes to bee punished by others; so oftentimes hauing had of their seruice his fill, and fresh offered to continue the trade; he sought all meanes to extinguish the old, as persons odious vnto him. But what punishment these and others of the like conditions endured, shall be declared in his place and time. Then *Asinius Gallus* whose children *Agrippina* was aunt vnto, thought it conuenient that *Tiberius* should vtter vnto the Senators of whom he stood in feare, and suffered them to be remooued. But as it was thought *Tiberius* of all his vertues was fond of none so much as of his dissimulation; and therefore disliked much that he should be vrged to disclose that which he went about to conceale. But *Setanus* tempered the matter; not for any loue he bare *Gallus*; but because he would haue the Princes lingring delaies come to light; knowing well that he was slow in his deliberations: but if he had once set them abroach, that his bad speeches were ioyned with cruel deeds. The same time *Iulia* died, whom *Augustus* hauing conuicted of adultery, had exiled into the Iland Trimerus, not farre from the Apulian shores: where she indured twenty yeeres exile, sustained by *Augusta*; whose manner was by secret practises to subuert her sonnes in law when they were in prosperitie, and openly shew them pitie when they were in misery.

XVI. The

XVI. *The Frisians rebell against the Romans*: Agrippina, Germanicus *daughter is married to* C. Domitius.

THe same yeere the Frisians beyond Rhene forsooke their obedience, rather through our couetousnesse, then impatiencie of liuing vnder our subiection. *Drusus* in regard of their small abilitie, had imposed a small tribute on them which was a certaine of oxe hides for the war, no man respecting what strength or largenes they were of: vntill *Olennius* a Captaine of a principall ensigne and gouernor of the Frisians, made choise of the skins of the beast called Vrus, and of that bignes. As that had beene a heauy burden for other nations; so the Germans could least of all others endure it: whose woods although full of huge sauage beasts; yet at their houses haue but small heards; first therefore they deliuered these oxen; then their possessions; and lastly the bodies of their wiues and children into bondage. From hence grew their griefe and complaints: and seeing that no man relieued them, they sought a redresse by warre; laid hands on such souldiers as receiued the tribute and hanged them vp. *Olennius* escaped the furie of the enemy by flying to a Castle called Fleuus, strengthened with no small power of citizens & confederates; which held the coasts of the Ocean in subiection. Which when *L. Apronius* Propretor of lowe Germany vnderstood, he sent for the chiefest ensignes of the legions of higher Germany, & aides as wel of the horsmen as footmen, & brought both the armies ouer Rhene, into the Frisian land: the rebels forsaking the siege of the Castle to defend their own. Then *Apronius* maketh causeies & bankes, & strong bridges ouer the next arme of the sea, for the huge army to passe ouer. And in the mean time hauing found some foords, commãdeth the wing of the Caninefates, & such footmen as serued vnder vs, to hem in the enemy behind. Who raunged into battle aray to fight, droue backe the confederates, & ligionary horsmen sent as an aide. After that were sent three cohorts lightly armed; then two more: & a little after a strong company of horsmen. Strength sufficient, if they had charged couragiously together; but comming some after some, & dropping in by companies; they neither gaue courage to the fearfull, but carried away themselues with like fear, ran al away for company. The residue of the aides hee committed vnto *Cethegus Labeo*, Lieutenant of the fift legion: who perceiuing things to goe doubtfull on his side, sent to demand more aide of the legions. The fift legion couragiously issuing first out with a hot skirmish, put the enemy to flight; receiued into them the wounded & wearied cohorts. The Romane Captaine sought neither to reuenge, nor burie the dead bodies; although there had beene slaine many Tribunes, Prefects, and diuers Centurions of marke & fame. It was after knowne by the fugitiues, that the fight held on vntill the next day, and that there were nine hundred Romans slaine in a wood called Baduhenna: and that another power of 400. which had taken the village of Cruptorix, (which sometime had receiued pay of the Romains) fearing treason, slew one another. This got the Frisians great renowne among the the Germains: *Tiberius* dissembling his losses, least hee should commit the charge to some other: and the Senate, being possessed with domesticall feare, regarded not much whether the remote part of the Empire went dishonorably to wracke or not: but stroken (as I haue saide) into a feare, sought a remedy by flatterie. And albeit they had propounded many matters to deliberate on, yet they decreed, that all laide aside, there should be two Altars erected, one vnto Clemencie, and another vnto Friendship: and that *Cæsars* and *Seianus* images should be set about

cap. 72. cap. 73. cap. 74.

about them: and intreated most earnestly they would vouchsafe them so much fauour as that they might see him. Neuertheless they went neither to Rome, nor any place thereabout, but thought it sufficient if they went out of the Iland, and bee seene in Campania next adioyning vnto it. Thither resorted the Lords of the Senate, Gentlemen, and many of the common people, heauie for *Seianus*; vnto whom accesse was hardliest obtained; and that with great crouching, by approouing and participating his designments. It well appeared his arrogancy grew greater, seeing he blushed not to see such open, base, and filthy seruilitie vsed. For at Rome it was a vsuall matter for men to walke the streets, and by reason the citie is great, no man knew anothers businesse: but there some lying night and day in the field, some on the sea shore, without any difference, endured either the pride of the porters, or had fauour as pleased them; vntill that that was also denied them. Then they returned to citie with discontented feare, and *Cæsar* not hauing vouchsafed either to looke, or speake vnto them: and some, whose vnfortunate friendship with *Seianus* portended their imminent death, were glad in an ill time. *Tiberius* hauing publickely giuen his neece *Agrippina*, *Germanicus* daughter vnto *Gn. Domitius*: commaunded that the marriage should be solemnised in the citie. He made choise of *Domitius*, as well for the antiquitie of his stocke, as neerenesse in bloud to the *Cæsars*: for *Octauia* was his grandmother, and by her, *Augustus* his vncle.

cap. 75.

THE

THE FIFT BOOKE OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. *The death of* Iulia. Tiberius *crueltie increaseth: his practises to make away* Nero, *and* Agrippina.

WHen *Rubellius* and *Fusius*, both of them surnamed *Geminus*, were Consuls, *Iulia Augusta* died; being very aged, and of the noble familie of the *Claudians*; and besides, into the house of the *Liuians* and *Iulians* adopted. Shee was first married vnto *Tiberius Nero*, and had children by him: who being driuen out of his countrey in the warre of Perusium, and a peace after confirmed betwixt *Sext. Pompeius* and the Triumuiri, returned to the Citie againe. After that *Augustus* rauished with her beauty (whether against her will or not it is vncertaine) tooke her from her husband, shewing himselfe so lustfull of her, that not giuing her time to be deliuered of his first husbands childe, brought her great as she was to his owne house. After that she had no issue, but being vnited to *Augustus* bloud, by the marriage of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, they had nephewes children common to them both. Her behauiour was, according to the carriage of auncient times; yet more courteous then women of former ages could well allow; an vntolerable mother, a tractable wife, with the subtletie of her husband, and dissimulation of her sonne, well medled and composed. Her funerals were not sumptuous, her testament long voide. She was praised in a funerall oration before the Rostra, by *C. Cæsar* her nephewes sonne, who not long after succeeded in soueraignty. But *Tiberius* omitting no part of his pleasures, excused by letters his absence from his mothers obsequies, as though he had been hindered by important affaires; and vnder colour of modestie, cut off many honorable ceremonies, which the Lords of the Senate had decreed should be done in memory of her; and especially that no diuine ceremony should be ordained for her, because (said he) such was her will. And in part of the same letters he found fault with such as went about to win womens fauor & good will: therein couertly carping the Consull *Fusius*, a man highly in *Augustus* grace, & his crafts-master in winning of womens fauour, a iesting mate, & oft accustomed bitterly to skoffe at *Tiberius*; a thing which great potentates kept long in memory. But now *Tiberius* began to grow worse & worse, and his rule tyrannous: for whilest his mother liued, there was some refuge left, because he had a long time accustomed to shew himselfe dutifull vnto her; and *Seianus* durst not crosse her: but then hauing as it were the bridle in their own hands, they brake loose at once, and letters were sent against *Agrippina* and *Nero*; which the common people iudged to haue beene sent before, but kept backe by *Augusta*: for not long after her death they were read in Senate, containing bitter and sharp words; yet neuer obiected that he had borne armes, or stirred any rebellion against him, but only vnnaturall loues to yong men, and incontinent life. But against his daughter in Law he durst not obiect so much, but onely her arrogant and prowd speeches, and obstinate minde. The Senators were stroken into a feare and silence, vntil some few whose hopes depended not on honest meanes, but made publike calamities occasion of priuate benefits; demaunded that the matter might be referred to voices:

cap. 1 Anno 777

cap. 2

cap. 3

Cotta

Cotta Messalinus shewing himselfe most forward with a cruell sentence. But the other chiefe Gentlemen, and especially the magistrates were afraide; for although *Tiberius* had angerly inueighed against them, yet hee left other things in doubt.

cap. 4 There was in the Senate one *Iunius Rusticus*, chosen by *Cæsar* to set downe the acts of the Senators (and therefore was thought to know best his intent and purpose) who either by fatall destinie (for before hee had giuen no token of his constancie) or subtle deuise, forgetting imminent perils, whilest he feareth vncertainties, thrusteth himselfe among the Consuls yet wauering and doubting what to doe; and aduiseth them not to put the matter to deliberation, saying: that greatest matters might be turned in a moment: and that some space of time ought to be giuen the old man to repent himselfe: and the people withall carying *Agrippinaes* and *Neroes* images with them, enuiron the Senate house, and wishing all prosperous fortune to *Cæsar*, crie, that those letters were false; and that the ouerthrow of the Princes house was intended against the Princes will: and so there was nothing concluded that day in preiudice of the parties. Certaine counterfeit iudgements were spread abroad against *Seianus* vnder the Consuls names. Some men secretly, and therefore the more saucily practising their wits as their fancie lead them, which yeelded *Seianus* farther matter of calumniation, and kindled his anger: saying, that the Princes displeasure was nothing regarded: that the commons were at iarre with the Senate: that new orations and new decrees of Senate were heard & read now adaies. What remaineth but tō take armes in hand? and choose those of their Captaines and Emperours, whose images they had followed for their ensignes? Whereupon

cap. 5 *Cæsar* reiterating his iniurious speeches against his nephew and daughter in lawe, and rebuking the people by edict; complained to the Senate, that the imperiall maiesty had beene openly deluded and skorned through the fraude of one of the Senators: and therefore required that the hearing of the cause might be reserued wholy vnto himselfe. They consulted no farther on the matter, but condemned the parties, but not to death, because they were forbidden: and protested they were ready to execute reuenge, if the Prince had not hindered them*.

* *There wanteth very much of the story in this place, which hath perished through time.*

cap. 6

II. *The death of* Seianus; *of his friends and children. One faineth himselfe to be* Drusus Germanicus *sonne.*

"WHether it be a more lamentable case to bee accused for breach of friend-
" shipp, or to accuse his friend, I cannot well iudge: * no mans cruelty or
" clemencie will I trie *: but free and bearing my selfe on my owne con-
" science, I will preuent danger. I beseech you, that you would not haue mee in re-
" membrance rather in mourning and sad then ioyfull manner and cheerefull, recko-
" ning me in the number of those which haue escaped publicke calamities by an ho-
cap. 7 " norable end. Then talking now with one, now another, as by chance they were neer vnto him, he spent a great part of the day either in entertaining, or taking leaue of them. And hauing many about him, which noted how resolute & assured he was in countenance, no man dreaming any such matter, with a sword which he had hidde vnder his garments, slew himselfe: and after hee was dead, *Cæsar* vsed no such re-

prochfull

prochfull and iniurious speeches, nor obiected any such heinous matter against him, as he did against *Blæsus*. After this, *P. Vitellius*, and *Pomponius Secundus* cause was heard. *Vitellius* they accused, that he had offered the coffers of the publicke treasurie whereof he had charge, and the money which was in them for souldiers pay, to stirrers vp of new broiles. The other *Considius*, who had beene once Pretor, accused for hauing had great friendship and amitie with *Velius Gallus*, who after that *Seianus* was punished, fled to *Pomponius* gardens, as to a place of safe refuge: both of them in their distresse hauing no other comfort left but the constancie of their brothers; who became baile for their life. Shortly after, *Vitellius* through many delaies betwixt hope & feare wearied out, vnder colour of vsing it in his studie, asking for a penknife, lightly prickt a veine; and ended his life with griefe and anguish of mind. But *Pomponius* being a Gentleman of a gallant carriage and excellent wit, bearing aduerse fortune patiently, ouerliued *Tiberius*. Then was there order taken though the peoples anger were mitigated, and many others pacified with the former punishment, that the rest of *Seianus* children should bee punished. Whereupon they were carried to prison, the son hauing some feeling of the danger which hung ouer his head; but the daughter was so simple, that shee often asked, whither they would lead her, and for what? that shee would doe no more so; and that it was sufficient to chastice her with the rodde like a childe. The writers of that time affirme, that because it was neuer heard of before, that a virgin should be put to death according to the custome of the Triumuiri: that she was deflowred by the executioner immediatly before the haltar was put about her neck: and both strangled. The bodies of these yong and tender children were cast into the Gemonies, a place where condemned persons were throwne downe headlong. About the same time, Asia and Achaia were put into a very great fright, though it continued not long, with a rumor that *Drusus*, *Germanicus* sonne, had beene seene first in the Ilands Cyclades, and afterward in the continent. But it was a yong man of like age, whom some of *Cæsars* freed men by a subtile practise followed, bearing men in hand, they knew it to be him. Such as knew him not, were drawne by the fame of his name, and the Greekes especially, prone to all new and strange wonders. It was reported he had escaped out of prison and fled to his fathers armie, some both fayning and beleeuing withall that hee would inuade Ægypt or Syria. Youth flocked already to him very cheerefully; many signes of loue publikely shewen him, feeding themselues with the present vaine hope of what might happen. When as *Poppæus Sabinus* had tidings thereof, who was then occupied in the affaires of Macedonia, had charge also ouer Achaia: hee therefore, were the report true or false, to preuent all things, hastening ouer the Toronæan and Thermean cut, and passing by Eubœa, an Iland of the Aegean sea, and Piræum a coast of Attique, the Corinthian shore, and the streights of Isthmum; by another sea came to Nicopolis, a colonie of the Romaines: and there after a carefull examination vnderstandeth who he should be. He said he was *M. Silanus* sonne, and that many of his followers hauing forsaken him, hee embarked himselfe, as though hee meant to trauell into Italie. These things he signified to *Tiberius* by writing: neither haue we found any thing more of the beginning or end of this matter. Towards the end of the yeere a quarrell of certaine Consuls burst forth, which had beene a long time a breeding. For *Trio* little regarding what enemies hee procured, and well practised at the barre, vnderhand carped *Regulus*, as being careless in oppressing *Seianus* ministers. *Regulus*, vnlesse greatly prouoked, of a temperate

cap. 8.

cap. 9.

cap. 10.

cap. 11.

and

and cold humor, did not only answere and quaile his fellow Consull, but brought him in within the compasse of conspiracie, and to be examined for it. And although manie of the Lords of the Senate intreated them that they would surcease their quarrell, which would grow to their owne ouerthrow; yet they continued their grudge and menaces one against the other, vntill they went both out of office.

The end of the fift Booke.

THE

THE SIXT BOOKE OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. *Of* Tiberius *Lasciuious life. Pursuing of* Liuia *and* Scianus. Cotta *accused.*

N. Domitius and *Camillus Scribonianus* entered the Consulship, when *Cæsar* hauing passed the streight betwixt Capreas and Surrentum, coasted Campania, doubtfull whether hee should enter into the Citie or not: perhaps because he had otherwise resolued in his minde, though making shew hee would come: oftentimes approaching neer the citie, and to the gardens along Tiber, and returning backe againe to the rocks, and deserts of the sea, to couer the shame of his lasciuious life: which so vnstayedly he wallowed in, that, as the manner of the Kings was, hee defiled and abused noble mens sonnes vnder age; and not only the welfauored and comliest, but the modest and well nurtured, and whose modest behauiour shewed the stocke from whence they grew, serued him for prouocation of filth. Then first of all were those vnknowen words of Sellaries and Spintries found out of the filthines of the place, and sundry sorts of sufferance of abuse. Some of his slaues had charge to seeke them out, and bring them to him; alluring such by gifts as shewed themselues willing and readie; and threatning such as refused: and if either their neere friends or parents went about to detaine them, and vsed violence, and carried them away perforce; and exercised their wils on them as if they had beene captiues. But at Rome in the beginning of the yeere seuere iudgements were giuen against *Liuia*, and against her images, and other memories conseerated in her honour; as if her lewdnes had then first come to light, and had not beene already punished. The *Senatoes* gaue their opinion, that *Sejanus* goods should be taken from the publicke treasurie, and put in the Princes priuate cofers. The Silanians and Cassians were of the same opinion, and vrged it with the same termes, or not greatly changed: when on the sudden and vnlooked for, *Togonius Gallus* among those noble men, thrusting himselfe forward, being but of base and low calling, had the hearing giuen him, as a matter to laugh at: for hee desired the Prince to choose twenty by lot out of a certaine number of Senators, to gard and defend his person with weapon, as oft as hee went to the Senate. He beleeued peraduenture that *Tiberius* had meant good earnest when hee required that one of the Consuls might conduct and aide him from Caprea to the Citie. *Tiberius* neuerthelesse accustomed sometimes to interlace serious matters with sportes, thanked the Lords for their good will: yet demaunded whom hee might omit? or whom he might choose? whether alwaies the same, or sometimes others in their steede? such as had borne office, or young men: priuate persons or magistrates? what a goodly sight it would be to see them take a sword in hand at the entrie of the counsell house? neither would he make such accompt of his life, if hee were to maintaine it by armes. This he answered to *Togonius*, tempering his words, and perswaded no farther the disallowing of that opinion. But hee rebuked *Iunius Gallio* very bitterly, who propounded that the souldiers of the guard after their seruice was ended, might haue a roome in the fortieth ranke of seates: and asked him

" him as it had beene in their presence, what he had to doe with souldiers? for whom
" it was not lawfull either to receiue commandement or gift, but of the Emperour:
" or whether he had found out that which *Augustus* of famous memory could not
" prouide for? It was rather a matter of discord and sedition, sought for by one of
" *Seianus* followers, to stirre vp rude mindes vnder title of honour to corrupt the cus-
" tome of seruice. This was the reward which *Gallio* receiued for his artificiall flat-
tery; and anon after was driuen out of the Councell-house, and then out of Italy.
And because it was obiected that he could easily indure exile, hauing made choise
of the famous and noble Ile of Lesbos, he was recalled to the City, and kept in the
Magistrates houses. In the same letters, to the great contentment of the Lords of
the Senate, *Cæsar* touched *Sectius Pagonianus*, who had beene sometimes Pretor, to
the quicke: audacious, malignant, and prying into all mens secrets; beloued of *Se-
ianus*, and by him employed to lay snares to intrap *C. Cæsar*: which being once laid
open, all the hatred a long time hatched against him burst foorth; and sentence of
cap. 4. death decreed against him, if he had not promised to bewray the complices. But
when *Acreus* had accused *Latinius Latiaris* hated both alike, it was a most gratefull
spectacle vnto all. *Latiaris*, as I haue rehearsed before, was the principall agent of
circumuenting *Titius Sabinus*; and then the first that receiued punishment for it.
Among these accusations *Haterius Agrippa* setteth vpon the Consuls of the last
yeere, asking them why they are now so still, and cease from the accusations begun
the one against the other? it was feare, and guilt of conscience which made them
friends; but the Lords of the Senate would not so put vp that which they had
heard. *Regulus* said, hee would stay for a time of reuenge, and that he would pro-
secute the matter before the Prince. *Trio* answered, that emulation and enuie be-
twixt collegues were better forgotten, and iniurious words, if any had passed. *Agrip-
pa* vrging on still, *Sanquinius Maximus* one of the Consuls, desired the Senators
that they would not increase the Emperours cares by hunting after matter of dis-
like, and that he himselfe was able to redresse these things; and so *Regulus* life was
saued, and *Trices* ruine deferred. *Haterius* was so much the more odious, because
that withered & vnlustie with sleepe, or lasciuious watchings, and through his dull
drousie disposition, nothing fearing the Prince, though cruell, euen in his brothell
houses, and loosest lasciuiousnes, dreampt of nothing but how to subuert the nobili-
cap. 5. tie. After that, *Cotta Messalinus*, the author of euery cruell sentence, and hated of
old, as soone as occasion was offered, was accused to haue vttered certaine things
against *Cæsar*; and among others, that he was in his secret parts both man and wo-
man, and after a banket on the birth day of *Augusta* among the Priests, he rearmed
that a Nouendinall supper, or belonging to a mortuary: & that repining at *M. Lepi-
dus*, and *L. Aruntius* power and authoritie, hauing a suite depending against them
for a money matter, he should say, that them the Senate would defend, but mee my
little *Tiberius* will support. The chiefe of the city conuicted him without any delay,
and pursuing him eagerly, he appealed to the Emperour. And not long after letters
were brought from *Tiberius*, in which in manner of a defence, calling to mind the
beginning of friendship betweene him and *Cotta*, and his many good turnes and
seruices, requested that words might not be hardly wrested, & that the simplicity of
cap. 6. table talke might not be imputed to him as a crime. The beginning of these letters
" of *Cæsars* was worth the noting, which was this: What I shall write vnto you Lords
" of the Senate, or how I shall write, and what I shall not write at all, at this time the
" gods & the goddesses confound me worse then I feel and know my selfe dayly to pe-
" rish, if I know. So far his villanous demeanor turned to his own scourge and punish-
ment.

ment. And therefore that most deepe wise man did not say without cause, that if Tyrants mindes were laid open, a man should see them torne and rent in sunder: for as the body is rent with stripes; so the minde is tormented with cruelty, wanton affections, and euill counsels. For neither his great fortune, nor solitary places could defend *Tiberius*, but that himselfe confessed the torments and punishment which lay hidden in his breast. Then the Senators hauing receiued authority to determine of *Cæcilianus* according to their wils, who had vttered many things against *Cotta*: their iudgement was that he should receiue the same punishment, that *Aruscius* and *Sanquinius* had, who were *L. Arruntius* accusers. Then the which nothing euer hapned more honorable to *Cotta*: who being indeed of noble birth, but through riot needy, and infamous for his vices, in honorable punishment is made equall to *Arruntius*, a man of sincere and honest life. cap. 7

II. Terentius *defences, why he should not be punished like vnto other of* Seianus *friends.*

Quintus Seruæus after this, and *Minutius Thermus* were brought in. *Seruæus* had beene Pretor and *Germanicus* companion. *Minutius* a Gentleman, and who in *Seianus* friendship had carried himselfe modestly; and therefore both the more pitied. But *Tiberius* contrariwise blaming them as principall agents, commanded *C. Cæstius* an old Senator, to report vnto the Senators what he had written vnto him: whereupon *Cæstius* vndertooke the accusation: a miserable calamity of those times that the chiefest of the Senators, some openly, some secretly, plaied the part of base promooters: and further, no man able to know the stranger from the kinsman; nor friends from such as he neuer saw before; nor things lately committed from such as through continuance of time were almost forgotten. They were accused of all they had spoken wheresoeuer, either in the place of assemblies, or at their table; euery man making haste to preuent and be before another in carrying of tales; some of them to saue themselues; other some infected as it were with a disease gotten by conuersing with others. But *Minutius* and *Seruæus* were condemned, and their goods giuen the accusers. *Iulius Africanus* borne at Santon a towne in Gallia, and *Seius Quadratus* were drawen into the like mishap; but the occasion why, I haue not found. I am not ignorant that the dangers and punishment of many haue beene omitted by writers being ouer-wearied with multitude; or fearing least those things should be tedious to the Readers, which seemed superfluous and lamentable to themselues in rehearsing. There haue come many things to our eares woorthy the knowledge: although other haue not once touched them. For at the selfe-same time that the rest colourably seemed to shake off the amity they had with *Seianus*, *M. Terentius* a Gentleman of Rome, although arraigned for his labour, durst auouch it, beginning his speech for his defence before the Lords of the Senate in this manner. It would be peraduenture lesse behouefull for my estate to „ acknowledge, then deny the crime I am charged with: but hap what hap may, I will „ confesse that I haue beene *Seianus* friend, and that I desired so to be; and that after „ I had obtained his friendship I was glad of it. I had seene him ioynt Officer with my „ father in the gouernment of the Prætorian Cohort, and not long after in managing „ of City affaires and matters of warre. His kinsmen and allies were aduanced to ho- „ nor: as euery man was inward with *Seianus*, so was he graced by *Cæsar*. And con- „ trariwise, such as were not in his fauour, liued in feare and distressed with pouerty. „ Neither doe I alleage any man for an example of this: all of vs who were not priuy „ to his last attempts, with the danger of my onely estate I will defend. Not *Sei-* „ cap. 8

nus

" *nus* the Vulsinienſis; but a part of the Claudian and Iulian family, which by alliance
" he had entered into; thy ſonne in law *Cæſar*, thy companion in the Conſulſhip, and
" him who tooke vpon him thy charge of adminiſtring the common-wealth, we did
" reuerence and honour. It is not our parts to iudge of him whom thou doſt exalt a-
" boue the reſt, nor for what conſiderations. To thee the higheſt iudgement of things
" the gods haue giuen; and vnto vs the glory of obedience is left. Wee looke vnto
" th ſe things which wee ſee before our eies; whom thou doſt inrich; whom thou
" doſt aduance to honours; who haue greateſt power of hurting or helping; which
" *Seianus* to haue had no man will denie. The Princes hidden thoughts, or if he goe
" about any ſecret drift, it is not lawfull to ſound, and dangerous: neither ſhalt thou in
" the end reach vnto them. Thinke not onely (Lords of the Senate) of *Seianus* laſt day
" but of ſixteene yeeres; in which we did likewiſe fawne vpon and court *Satrius* and
" *Pomponius*; and to be knowen to his freed men and partners, was reckoned as a high
" fauour. What then? Shall this defence be generall, and not diſtinguiſhed, but a con-
" fuſion made of times paſt, and his later actions? No: but let it, by iuſt bounds and
" termes be diuided. Let the treaſons againſt the common-wealth; the intentions of
" murdering the Emperor be puniſhed: but as for the friendſhip, duties, pleaſures and
" good turnes; the ſame end ſhall diſcharge and quite thee (O *Cæſar*) and vs. The con-
Cap. 9. " ſtancy of his oration, one being found to deliuer that, which they all thought in their
minds: preuailed ſo much, that his accuſers by ripping vp their old faults, were puni-
ſhed, either with exile, or death.

III. *The cauſe of making a Prefect at Rome: an examen of ſome of the Sibyls bookes.*

AFter that *Tiberius* ſent letters againſt *Sext. Veſtilius* ſometime Pretor, and welbeloued of *Druſus* his brother, and choſen to be one of his gard. The cauſe of diſpleaſure againſt *Veſtilius*; was either becauſe he had compoſed certaine writings againſt *Cæſars* vncleane life, or falſly fathered vpon him, gaue credit to the reporters: & thereupon being baniſhed the Princes court & familiarity, hauing firſt gone about with his owne old feeble hand to ſlay himſelfe bound vp his veines: and in the meane ſpace hauing entreated the Princes fauour, and receiued a rigorous anſwere, did at laſt open them. Then at once were accuſed of treaſon, *Annius Pollio*, *Appius Silanus*, *Scaurus Mamercus*, *Sabinus Caluiſius*, and *Vienianus* alſo brought in with his father for companie, all of them well deſcended and ſome in authoritie. The Lords of the Senate quaked for feare; for how many was there which was not either allied, or a friend of one of thoſe noble men? But *Calſus* Tribune of the citie cohort, and then an informer deliuered *Appius* and *Caluiſius* from danger. *Cæſar* deferred *Pollioes*, *Vicirianus* and *Scaurus* cauſe, that himſelfe might haue the hearing of it with the Senators: hauing giuen out already tokens of heauy diſpleaſure againſt
Cap. 10. *Scaurus*. Not ſo much as women but were partakers of danger: and if not attainted for attempting to aſpire to the Empire; yet brought in queſtion for their teares: & *Vitia* an old woman *Fuſius Geminus* mother was put to death, becauſe ſhe bewailed the death of her ſonne. Theſe things were done in Senate. And where the Prince was, the like was practiſed: *Veſcularius Atticus*, and *Iulius Marinus* two of his moſt familiar friends, which accompanied him to Rhodes, and at Capreas neuer departed from him, were put to death. *Veſcularius* was the meſſenger to and fro when the treacherie was wrought againſt *Libo*. *Marinus* was of *Seianus* counſell when he put *Curtius Atticus* to death; moſt men being glad to ſee them taken in the ſnare they laid

laid for others. About the same time *L. Piso* high Priest died a naturall death, which was a rare matter in those times in a man of so great nobility: He neuer of himselfe propounded any matter which smelled of flattery or base mindes; and if he were forced thereto, he vsed great moderation in doing it. His father, as I haue already said, had beene Censor; he liued to the age of fourescore; hauing in Thrace deserued the triumphall ornaments. But his greatest credit rose in that, that being newly created Prouost of the City, he did gouerne exceeding moderately all the time of his continuall rule: irkesome through vnwontednesse of obedience. For in times past when cap. 11.
the Kings or Consuls went out of the Citie, lest she should be left without gouernment, there was one chosen for a time able to giue euery man right, and prouide for all sudden accidents. And it is said that *Dentres Romulus*, had the same charge giuen him by *Romulus*; after that *Numa Marcius* by *Tullus Hostilius*, and *Spurius Lucretus* by *Tarquinius Superbus*. Then that the Consuls had the charge of committing this office; and a shadow of it continueth vnto this day; as oft as the Latine feastes are solemnised, one is appointed ouer the rest to exercise the roome of a Consull. But *Augustus* in the time of ciuill warres, made *Cilnius Macenas* a Gentleman, Prouost ouer Rome and al Italy. Then being Lord and master of the Empire by reason of the greatnesse of the people, and slow aide which the Lawes afforded; he chose out one, of such as had beene Consuls, to bridle the bond men and such Citizens as through audaciousnesse would grow troublesome, vnlesse they stood in awe. The first that receiued that authority, but kept it but a while, was *Messalla Coruinus*, as vnable to discharge it. Then *Taurus Statilius*, although he were very aged, went through it with great commendation. After that *Piso* was well liked for the space of twenty yeeres; and by order of the Senat honoured with publike funerals. It was afcap 12.
terward propounded before the Lords of the Senat by *Quinctilianus* Tribune of the people, concerning the Sibyls booke, which *Caninius Gallus* one of the fifteene, requested might be receiued among other books of the same propheteſſe; and demanded it might be so established by decree of Senate: which being giuen by common consent, *Cæsar* sent letters somewhat reprehending the Tribune, as ignorant of the old custome by reason of his youth; and vpbraided *Gallus* that being old and practised in the science and ceremonies; neuertheless had demanded the opinion of the Senators not fully assembled; the author being vncertaine and before the Colledge had yeelded their iudgement; neither as the custome was, the verses hauing beene read and waighed by the Masters. Withall he aduertised them, because that many vaine things were published vnder the name of famous men, that *Augustus* had vnder penalty set downe a day, within which such bookes should be brought to the city-Pretor; and that it was not lawfull for any to haue them in their priuate possession. The like decree was established by our predecessors also; and after that the Capitoll was burnt in the ciuill war, their verses were sought in Samum, in Ilium, Erythrum; through Affricke also, Sicily, and the Colonies of Italy, whether they were one or many: the businesse being committed to the Priests to distinguish the true Prophecies from the false, as neere as might be by the iudgement of man. And then also the booke was referred to the examination of the fifteene. When the same men cap. 13.
were Consuls, through a dearth of corne and other prouisions, they grew almost to a commotion: and many things for many daies together were in the Theatre more licenciously demanded with greater eagernesse, then the manner had beene to demand things of the Emperours. Whereat being mooued, he blamed the Magistrats and Senators that they had not by publike authority brideled the insolency of the people: and added withall, how far greater quantity of Corne he had caused to be

brought then *Augustus*, and out of what Prouinces. Whereupon a decree of Senate was enacted, to restraine the people, according to the ancient seuerity, the Consuls being no lesse forward to publish it: his owne silence in the cause was not construed to be a point of ciuility as he looked it should be, but was imputed to his pride. In the end of that yeere, *Geminius Celsus*, *Pompeius*, Gentlemen of Rome, were put to death for conspiracies; among which, *Geminius* through prodigality and looseneſſe of life, and a friend to *Seianus*, was a man of nothing. And *Iulius Celsus* a Tribune, loosing the chaine he was bound with at large; then winding it about and forcing himselfe a contrary way, brake his owne necke. But *Rubrius Fabatus* despairing of the Roman affaires, and fleeting to the Parthians, and brought backe safe from the straights of Sicily by a Centurion, had keepers appointed him, not able to alleadge any probable causes of his long voiages; yet he escaped vnpunished rather through forgetfulneſſe then clemency.

cap. 14.

IIII. Tiberius *marrieth his neeces. Vsurers accused, and the inconuenience that ensued.*

cap. 15. An° 781.

SEr. *Galba*, and *L. Sulla* being Consuls, *Tiberius* hauing a long time bethought himselfe what husbands he should prouide his Neeces, whose age now came on, made choise of *L. Cassius*, and *M. Vinicius*. *Vinicius* kindred came out of a small towne, himselfe borne at Calles: but his father and grand-father were Consuls: the rest of his kindred were Gentlemen: he was of a milde disposition, and very eloquent. *L. Cassius* was descended of one of the common people at Rome, but ancient and noble, and brought vp vnder the seuere discipline of his father; and oftner commended for his courtesie then industry. To him he giueth *Drusilla*; to *Vinicius Iulia*, both *Germanicus* children: and writeth to the Senate touching that matter, with a light commendation of the yoong-men. Then hauing yeelded some causes of his absence, but very extrauagant, came to matters of greater moment, and the displeasures and dislikes he had incurred for the Common-wealth: and requested that *Macro* the Prouost, and some few of the Tribunes and Centurions, might as oft as he came to the Senate, enter into the Curia with him. And albeit the Senate made a decree very generall, without prescribing any number, or quality of persons, he was so farre from comming to any priuate Counsell, that he neuer came so much as to the City; coasting about it, and for the most part in by-waies, and still auoiding his Country as much as he could. In the meane season, a great rabble of informers rose vp against such Vsurers as tooke more for consideration of their mony, then they might by the law made by *Cæsar* the Dictator concerning the manner of lending, and holding possession within Italy; long neglected heretofore, because the publicke good is lesse set by, then priuate commodity. Vsury in very deede hath beene an old disease in the City: and often a cause of seditions and discords; and for that cause hath beene restrained in ancient and lesse corrupt times. For first it was ordained by the law of the twelue tables, that no man should take aboue one in the hundred; when as before that time, it was as pleased the monied men. After that, by a Tribunitian law it was brought vnto halfe one in the hundred; and in the end Vsury was wholy forbidden: and many lawes made by the people to cut off all fraud; which often represſed, reuiued againe by strange sleights and deuises. But then *Gracchus* being Pretor, vnto whom the examining of that question fell, constrained by the multitude of such as were indangered thereby; propounded the matter before the Lords of the Senate: who

cap. 16.

daunted

daunted thereat (for there was not one of them free from that fault) craued respite of the Prince: he graunted them a yeere and sixe moneths: within which time, euery man according to the prescript of law should settle his estate, and make vp his domesticall accompts. Hereupon euery man calling in his debts, on a sudden ensued a great want and scarcitie of money; and by reason so many were condemned, and their goods sold, all the money ready coyned went either to the Princes, or publicke treasurie. Besides this, the Senate ordained that two parts of the Vsury money should be bestowed vpon lands in Italie: but the creditors disliked that, and vrged the paiment of the whole, as a matter impairing the credit of the parties couented, to goe from their word. So at the first there was great running hither and thither, and entreaties: then they flocked about the Pretors tribunall: and those things which were found for a remedy, as selling and buyng of such mens goods, turned to a contrary effect, because the Vsurers had hoorded vp all their money to buie land. And because the multitude of sellers, was cause that the value of lands was rated at a very low and vile price: how much the more a man was indebted, the loather he was to sell. And many were thrust out of all they had: and the decay of their wealth carried their credit and fame headlong after; vntill *Tiberius* relieued them by putting a * hundred million sesterces in bancke, and lent it for three yeeres space without consideration or interest; if the debtor could giue security to the people of Rome in lands double the value of the debt. By that meanes their credit was restored, and other particular creditors by little and little found: neither was the buying of lands practised according to the forme of the decree of Senate, hotly at the beginning pursued, as almost all such things are; but in the ende carelesly neglected. cap. 17.

* *Aboue* 781250. *pound.*

V. C. Cæsar *marieth* Claudia, *daughter vnto* M. Silanus: *what proofe* Tiberius *made of* Trasullus *skill.*

After that, the olde feares returne againe, *Considius Proculus* being accused of treason: who celebrating his birth day not doubting any thing, was drawen to the Curia, and at the same time condemned and put to death; and his sister *Sancia* banished, *Q. Pomponius* being accuser; who being of an vnquiet and busie disposition, pretented he had done this and that, and all to curry fauour with the Prince, thereby to steede his brother *Pomponius Secundus*, who was then in danger. Banishment is likewise decreed against *Pompeia Macrina*, whose husband and father in law, the one of Argos, and the other of Lacedæmon; men of marke & reputation among the Achæans, *Cæsar* had already afflicted and brought to ruine. Her father likewise a famous Gentleman of Rome, and her brother, who had beene Pretor, seeing that their condemnation was at hand, slew themselues. It was imputed vnto them for a fault, that *Gn. Magnus* made reckoning as of a speciall friend of *Theophanes Mytilenæus* their great grandfather: and that the Grecian flatterie after his death had giuen him diuine honour. After these *Sext. Marius* the richest man of all Spaine, was accused to haue committed incest with his daughter, and was cast headlong from the Tarpeian rocke. And little doubt but his exceeding wealth was his ouerthrow: for although his gold mines were confiscated; yet *Tiberius* reserued them for himselfe; & by much blood shedding growing more bloody, commanded all those to be executed which were in prison, and accused of confederacie with *Sejanus*. The butcherie was great in all sexes, and all ages, noblemen, common people, scattered heere and there, or gatheted into heapes. Neither was it lawfull for neere cap. 18. cap. 19.

kinsmen

kinſmen and friends to be preſent, to bewaile their caſe; nor yet to come oft to ſee them: but there were watches and ſpies on euery ſide, intentiue to prie what lamentation euery man made; which followed the putrified bodies, vntill they were throwen into the riuer of Tiber. And if any of them were found floting on the water, or driuen to the bankes, no man durſt burne them nor touch them: all familiar ſociety and intercourſe of humanity was loſt through feare and violence; and how much cruelty increaſed; ſo farre pitie was baniſhed. cap. 20. About the ſame time *C. Caſar* bearing his grandfather company from Capreas, tooke to wife *Claudia* daughter of *M. Silanus*, cloaking his cruell and bloody diſpoſition with a counterfeit modeſty; not once vttering ſo much as a word of the condemning of his mother; the baniſhing of his brothers: but whatſoeuer minde *Tiberius* had put on, of the like habit hee ſhewed himſelfe; and not much differing from him in words. Whereupon a witty ſaying of the orator *Paßienus* was commonly applied to him: That there was neuer better ſeruant then he, nor woorſer maſter. I will not omit *Tiberius* propheſie of *Sergius Galba* then Conſull: who hauing ſent for him, and ſounded him of ſet purpoſe with diuers ſpeeches; at laſt in Greeke vttered vnto him this ſentence: And thou *Galba* at ſometime ſhalt taſte of the Empire. Signifying that his rule ſhould be long a comming, and dure but a ſhort time; as learning that skill of the Chaldæans Art; for attaining of which he had idle time at Rhodes, and *Traſullus* cap. 21. for his maſter; whoſe cunning he tried by this meanes. As oft as hee would conſult with them touching any matter, he went vp to the higheſt part of the houſe with onely one freed man in his company, vnlearned, but of a ſtrong and able bodie; whom he cauſed to leade him the way ouer hard and difficult paſſages and broken rockes (for his houſe did hang ouer the rockes) whoſe cunning and arte *Tiberius* did purpoſe to trie: that in returning backe, if any ielouſie of vanity or trecherie had entered into his minde, he ſhould throw him headlong into the ſea which was vnder him, leaſt he ſhould bewray his ſecrets. *Traſullus* beeing then brought into thoſe rocks, & mooving *Tiberius* which moued him many queſtions, and foretelling him very skilfully future things, and that hee ſhould be Emperour; *Tiberius* asked him farther, whether he had found out the houre of his owne natiuity; and what ſhould happen to himſelfe that yeere, and that ſame day. Who hauing conſidered the aſpects of the ſtarres, and meaſured their diſtances, began firſt to doubt; and then to feare: and the more he viewed them; ſo more and more he was ſurpriſed with admiration and feare; and at laſt cried out, that he was ready to fall into moſt doubtfull and imminent danger. Then *Tiberius* embracing him, reioyced that he had forſeene his owne dangers, and promiſed he ſhould eſcape them; and taking thoſe things which he had ſaid for oracles, held him afterward among the number cap. 22. of his deereſt friends. When I heare of theſe and the like things, I can giue no certaine iudgement, whether the affaires of mortall men are gouerned by fate and immutable neceſſity; or haue their courſe and change by chance and fortune. For thou ſhalt finde, that as well thoſe which were accounted wiſe in ancient times, as ſuch as were imitators of their ſect, doe varie and diſagree therein: ſome doe reſolutely beleeue that the gods haue no care of mans beginning or ending; no, not of man at all. Where of it proceedeth that the vertuous are toſſed and afflicted with ſo many miſeries; and the vitious and bad triumph with ſo great proſperities. Contrarily others are of opinion, that fate and deſtinie may well ſtand with the courſe of our actions; yet nothing at all depend of the planets or ſtarres, but proceede from a connexion of naturall cauſes as from their beginning. And theſe graunt withall, that we haue free choiſe & election what courſe of life to follow; which being once

choſen

choſen, we are guided after, by a certaine order of cauſes vnto our end. Neither do they eſteeme thoſe things to bee good or bad which the vulgar ſort doe ſo call; for many which ſeeme to be oppreſſed with miſerie, are happy if they endure their aduerſitie with conſtancie: and many which flow in wealth, in moſt miſerable eſtate, if they vſe their proſperity vnaduiſedly. And yet of ſome it may be ſaid, that their deſtinies are knowen at their birth: and if they fall out otherwiſe then hath beene foretolde, it proceedeth of the ignorance of the deceitfull reporter; and ſo the art is diſcredited; whoſe cleere and euident proofes, former and preſent times haue tried: for by the ſonne of the ſame *Traſullus*, *Neroes* Empire was foretold, as in conuenient time it ſhall be declared, becauſe I will not now digreſſe from my purpoſe.

VI. Tiberius *cruelty againſt* Druſus: *the death of* Agrippina *and others*: Iulia, *daughter vnto* Druſus, *is married vnto* Rubellius Blandus.

THe ſame men being Conſuls, *Aſinius Gallus* died; and no man doubting, but for want of taking ſuſtenance; but whether willingly or of neceſſity, that is vncertaine. And *Cæſar* being asked, whether he would ſuffer him to be buried, was not aſhamed to permit it; and further to accuſe chance and fortune, that had taken away the criminall perſon before he had beene openly conuinced; as though that in three yeeres ſpace there wanted time of proceeding to iudgement againſt an old Conſull, and father of ſo many Conſuls. After that, *Druſus* was made away, hauing ſuſtained himſelfe the ſpace of nine daies with a miſerable foode, by eating the flockes of his bed. Some haue written, that *Macro* had order ſent him, that if *Setanus* ſhould attempt to take armes, the yoong man ſhould be fetcht out of priſon (for he was kept in the Pallace) and made Captaine ouer the people: but becauſe it was incontinently rumored that *Cæſar* would be reconciled to his daughter in law, and nephew, he ſhewed that he deſired rather cruelty, then be ſory for that he had done: yea and hauing inueighed againſt him after he was dead, obiected, he was looſe of life, hurtfull and dangerous to his, and euilly affected toward the Common-wealth: and withall commanded all that to be recited, which he had cauſed day by day to be put in writing, both of his words and deedes: a thing ſo cruell that nothing more, that he ſhould ſo many yeeres haue appointed ſpies to obſerue his countenance, his lamentation, yea priuate murmurings: and ſcarce credible, that the grandfather could indure to heare it, read it, and publiſh it, were it not that the letters of *Actius* the Centurion, and *Didymus* his Freed-men did declare the names of ſuch bond ſlaues, which had either ſtroken *Druſus*, or put him in a fright, as he went out of his chamber. Yea the Centurion added his owne words, full of cruelty againſt *Druſus*, as a matter worthy praiſe; and *Druſus* anſwer againe as he fainted and drew towards his end: in which, faining as though he had bene diſtracted of his wits, wiſhed *Tiberius* all ill lucke and misfortune: and then ſeeing himſelfe paſt all hope of life, curſed him moſt deadly, praying the gods, that as he had ſlaine his daughter in law, his brothers ſon, and his nephews, and filled all his houſe with bloud; ſo they would reuenge and puniſh him for an example to his name, his ſtocke, predeceſſours, and poſterity. The Lords of the Senate were troubled with theſe ſpeeches, making ſhew of deteſting them, but they were ſtricken into a feare and admiration; that he, who had beene ſo cunning and crafty heretofore in cloaking his lewdneſſe, ſhould now become ſo confident, that (as though the walles were throwne downe) he durſt ſhew that his nephew beaten by his Centurion and ſtrooken by his ſlaues,

cap. 23

cap. 24.

cap. 25. slaues should aske for meate in vaine to saue his life. This griefe was scarce gone, but the next newes were of *Agrippina*, whom I thinke since *Seianus* death vntill now liued with hope; and seeing that cruelty was no whit remitted, willingly ended her life; vnlesse that famished for want of sustenance, it was falsely giuen out she died that death of her selfe. For *Tiberius* laid grieuous crimes to her charge, accusing her of vncleannes of life; and that *Asinius Gallus* was the adulterer; and that seeing him dead, she loathed any longer to liue. But in very deed *Agrippina* not contented with reason, and greedy of rule, taking vpon her cares fit rather for men then women, had shaken off all vices incident to her owne sexe. She died the selfe-same day that two yeeres before *Seianus* died; which *Cæsar* thought worthy of record; and vanted that she had neither been strangled, nor throwne headlong from the Gemonies For this he had thanks giuen him by the Senate; and order taken that the fifteene Kalends of Nouember, which was the day they both died, some gift should be offered vp to *Iupiter*. cap. 26. Not long after *Cocceius Nerua*, who was continually at the Princes elbow; a man very expert in diuine and humane lawes, being in perfect disposition of bodie, resolued with him selfe to die: which when *Tiberius* vnderstood, he went to visit him, sate by him, and inquired the causes of his intention, and intreated him; confessing at last that it would be a burden to his conscience, and a discredit, if the chiefest of his friends should without cause of death shew himselfe weary of life. But *Nerua* disliking his speech, would take no more sustenance. Those which best knew his meaning gaue out, that deepely seeing into what calamities the common wealth was like to fall into, moued with anger and feare, whilest his credit was vntouched, and his person vnattempted, wold end his life with that honest death. *Agrippinaes* ruine driuē with it (which is scarse credible) *Plancinaes* destruction. She had bin once wife vnto *Gn. Piso*, and reioyced openly at *Germanicus* death; and when *Piso* was slaine, she was saued no lesse by *Augustaes* prayers, then ill will she bare *Agrippina*. As soon as hatred and fauor failed, right tooke place; & being accused of known crimes with her owne hand receiued rather late then vndeserued punishment. cap. 27. Among other griefes in a dolefull and sad citie, this was one; that *Iulia*, daughter vnto *Drusus*, once *Neroes* wife, married againe into *Rubellius Blandus* familie, whose grandfather *Tiburtes* a gentleman of Rome most men knew. In the ende of this yeere, the death of *Aelius Lamia* was celebrated with funerals proper to a Censor, who at last beeing discharged of the gouernment of Syria which he had in shew onely, was made gouernor of the city. He was descended of a noble stocke, and was a strong liuely olde man; and the gouernment of the prouince denied him, augmented his worth. Then *Flaccus Pomponius* Propretor of Syria being dead, *Cæsars* letters were recited, in which he complained, that if there were any notable man, and fit to rule an army, he refused the charge: and therfore he was forced through that necessitie to intreat such as had bin Consuls, to take vpon them the rule of the prouinces; forgetting that *Arruntius* had bene hindered ten yeeres from going into Spaine. The same yeere died *M. Lepidus*, of whose moderation and wisedome I haue spoken sufficiently in other bookes; and his nobility needeth no farther proofe: for the *Aemilian* familie hath brought foorth many good citizens; and although some of them haue beene of corrupt manners, yet liued in good and honorable estate.

VII. *A Phœnix seene in AEgypt: how* Getulicus *escaped* Tiberius *cruelties.*

WHen *Paullus Fabius* and *L. Vitellius* were Consuls, after many ages were past, the birde Phœnix came into Ægypt, and ministred matter to the most learned of the countrey, and also Greekes, of disputing many things concerning that miracle. Of which it seemeth good vnto mee to lay downe such things as they agree of, and many which rest doubtfull; yet notwithstanding worthie the knowledge. That that bird is consecrated to the sunne; and that it differeth in the beake, and varieth of feathers from other birds; all do accord which haue described her shape and forme; but of the number of her yeeres there are diuers reports. The common opinion is that shee liueth fiue hundred yeeres; some affirme that shee liueth a thousand foure hundred three score and one yeere. And the first of these kindes of birds flew to the citie called Heliopolis, with a great multitude of other birds with her, wondering at her new shape in *Sesostris* time, after that in *Amasis* and *Ptolemeus* raigne, which of the Macedonians was the third King of Ægypt. But antiquity is darke and obscure. Betwixt *Ptolemæus* raigne and *Tiberius* there were scarse two hundred and fiftie yeeres. Whereupon some thought that this was no true Phœnix, nor come from the land of Arabia; and that it had nothing of that which antiquitie hath attributed and confirmed to be in that kind. For when they haue ended the number of their yeeres, and that their end approcheth, they build their nest in their countrey, and in it cast seed of generation; of which a yong one doth rise; whose first care is being growen to ripenesse to burie the olde. And that not at all aduentures, but hauing taken vp a certaine waight of the stone Murrha, and tried the carrying of it a long iourney: when she perceiueth her selfe able to indure and carrie such a burthen, and to accomplish the voyage, she lifteth vp her fathers body, and carrieth it to the altar of the sonne, and there doth burne and sacrifice it. These things are vncertaine, and fabulously augmented. But that that birde is seene sometimes in Ægypt is not doubted. But murders continuing at Rome, *Pomponius Labeo*, whom as I haue said, was gouernor of *Mœsia*, by cutting his veines, let out with his blood his life, and *Paxæa* his wife followed his example. The feare they had of dying by the hand of the hangman, did cause them thus so readily to kill themselues: because such as were contemned, lost their goods and wanted buriall: but their bodies which slew themselues were buried, and their testaments stood good; which was the gaine and reward of making haste. But *Cæsar* sent letters vnto the Senate, declaring it to be a custome among the auncients, that when they intended to breake off friendship with any, they forbad them their house, and that then the friendship ended, which he had done to *Labeo*: who blamed for euill gouernement in the prouince, and other matters, couered his fault by accusing others; vainely putting his wife in feare, who was out of danger though not without fault. After this *Mamercus Scaurus* was accused againe, of a noble house, and a great orator; yet of reprochfull life. His friendship had with *Seianus* did nothing hurt him, but the hatred which *Macro* bare him was his ouerthrow; who practised the same artes that *Seianus* had done, but more couertly. The accusation was an argument of a Tragedie written by *Scaurus*, containing verses which might be wrested against *Tiberius*. But *Seruilius* and *Cornelius* his accusers obiected against him, that he had abused his body with *Liuia*, and offered magicall sacrifices. *Scaurus* as a thing woorthy of the auncient *Aemilian* familie, preuenteth his condemnation

tion by killing himselfe at the incouragement of his wife *Sexitia*; who was both an
cap. 30 encourager and partaker of his death. Notwithstanding if occasion were giuen he punished the accusers likewise: as *Seruilius* and *Cornelius* famous by the death of *Scaurus*, because they had taken mony of *Varius Ligur*, to desist from the accusation, were perpetually banished into certaine Ilands. And *Abudius Ruso* once Ædile, whilest he went about to procure danger vnto *Lentulus Getulicus*, vnder whom he had charge of a Legion, because he had purposed to marry his daughter to *Seianus* sonne, was condemned without accusation, and driuen out of the City. *Getulicus* at that time had charge ouer the Legions of higher Germany, and had gotten exceeding loue for his clemency and small seuerity; and of the next Army well beloued by meanes of *L. Apronius* his father in law. Whereupon the constant report was
" that he was so bould as to write vnto *Cæsar*: That the affinity betwixt him and *Seia-*
" *nus* was begun, not of his owne motion and desire, but thorow *Tiberius* counsell;
" and that as well he as *Tiberius* might be deceiued; and that the selfe same errour
" could not be to him alone dangerlesse, and to others vtter ruine; for his part that his
" loyalty was trusty and sure, and so would continue; if snares had not beene laid to
" intrap him; that he would accept of a successor in his charge no otherwise than of a
" messenger of death; and therefore that they should strike as it were an agreement,
" by which the Prince should be master of the rest, and that he would keepe and hold
" the Prouince. Although these things seeme very strange; yet were they beleeued, because he alone of all *Seianus* liesmen escaped without danger, and continued in great fauour and grace. The reason why, was, because *Tiberius* thought with himselfe being now aged and hated of all men, that his estate would rather continue by fame, then force.

VIII. *The Parthians complained on* Artabanus; *in whose roome* Tiberius *placeth* Phrahates: Pharasmanes *gaineth a battell against* Orodes *King of Armenia.*

cap. 31 An°. 783 WHen *C. Cestius*, and *M. Seruilius* were Consuls, certain Noble-men of Parthia came to Rome, without the priuity of *Artabanus* their King. He for feare of *Germanicus* was faithfull to the Romans, and iust towards his subiects; but after *Germanicus* death became proud toward vs, and cruell towards his subiects; confident by reason of prosperous successe in warres had against his borderers; and despising *Tiberius* as weake, olde, and vnfit for warres, and greedy also of Armenia, into which after the death of King *Artaxia* he put his eldest sonne *Arsaces* as gouernor, iniuring them with contumelious speeches. Then sent to redemaund the treasurie and riches left in Syria and Cilicia by *Vonones*; and withall, vaine-gloriously bragged and threatned that he would inuade and conquer the ancient bounds and limits of the Persians and Macedonians, and recouer all that had beene possessed by *Syrus* and *Alexander*. But the principall author and perswader of sending secret messengers to Rome was *Sinnaces*, a man both noble and wealthie; and next vnto him *Abdus* an Eunuch: a matter of no disgrace among the Barbarians, nor barre to credit and authoritie. These two drawing the principall noble men of the countrey to them, because they could haue none of the blood of the Arsacides to be their King, most of them being slaine by *Artabanus*, or vnder yeeres; demaunded *Phrahates* King *Phrahates* sonne which was at Rome: for, said they, there needed no more but the name & consent of *Cæsar*, and one of the bloud
cap. 32 of *Arsacis* to shew himselfe vpon the bankes of *Euphrates*. That did *Cæsar* desire and

prouided

prouided for him accordingly with preperations and neceſſaries to ſeat him in his fathers kingdom, holding ſtill his ſecret drift by entertayning forraine countries, by ſleights and policie in warre, to keepe all quiet at home. In the meane ſpace *Artabanus* vnderſtanding what was wrought againſt him, at the firſt was ſlow, and lingered for feare; then boyled with deſire of reuenge. For barbarous people cannot temporizing and delay, as baſe and ſeruile; and to goe through preſently their deſeignments, a royall point. Yet profit tooke place, and thereupon ſending for *Abdus* vnder colour of amity to a banket, gaue him a lingring poſion; and entertained *Sinnaces* with fained friendſhip and gifts, & buſied him in other imployments. But *Phrahates* arriued in Syria, and laying aſide the Romans manner of liuing, in which he had beene ſo many yeeres nouriſhed, giuing himſelfe to the Parthian vſage and vnable to brooke it, fell ſicke, and died. Yet *Tiberius* held on his determination, and choſe *Tiridates* one of the ſame ſtocke, and an enemie to *Artabanus*; and incited *Mithridates Hiberius* to recouer Armenia, and reconciled him to his brother *Pharaſmanes*, which then poſſeſſed that Empire; and maketh *L. Vitellius* generall ouer all this preparation of the Orient. I am not ignorant what a ſiniſter report ran of him in the citie, & with what infamous matters he was touched: yet in gouerning of the Prouinces he demeaned himſelfe according to the vertue of auncient times. But returning frō thence, through the feare of *Caſar*, & familiarity of *Claudius* being changed into a baſe & abiect ſeruilitie, became a patterne vnto poſterity of ſhamefull flatteries; and ſo his firſt vertues gaue place to his latter vices; and the vertuous acts of his youth, his infamous old age defaced. Of theſe pettie Kings *Mithridates* firſt induced *Pharaſmanes* to further his endeuours by policie and force: and corrupters were found which for great ſums of gold entiſed *Arſaces* miniſters to kill him; and thorow *Hiberius* great power they entered Armenia, and tooke the City Artaxata. When *Artabanus* vnderſtood of theſe dealings, he furniſheth his ſonne *Orodes* with things neceſſary to reuenge, and giueth him the ſtrength of the Parthians; and diſpatcheth others to leuy hired ſouldiers to giue him aide. On the other ſide, *Pharaſmanes* drew the Albanians and Sarmates to his party, whoſe Princes (called Sceptruchi) hauing receiued gifts on both ſides according to the manner of their Country, gaue aide to both ſides. But the Hiberi being maſters of the paſſages, thruſt ſuddenly the Sarmatian forces on the Armenians by the Caſpian way. But thoſe which came from the Parthians were eaſily driuen backe, becauſe the enemy had ſhut vp all the other paſſages, one excepted; which was betwixt the ſea and the hils of the Albani, which could not ſerue their purpoſe by reaſon it was ſommer: for the Eaſterne windes fill vp the ſhallow foordes and the ſhore: the South winter winde keepes backe the flood, and leaues the ſhallow ſhore bare and naked. In the meane ſpace *Pharaſmanes* hauing reenforced his ſtrength, challengeth *Orodes* to fight, being deſtitute of allies and vnfurniſhed of men: & if he refuſed or ſhifted off, he braued him vnder his noſe; and hard by his Campe, waſted his flouer; and often compaſſed him about as if he had beſieged him: till the Parthians not accuſtomed to endure ſuch brauadoes, came about their King, and demanded battell. Their ſtrength conſiſted in their horſe-men, and *Pharaſmanes* in foote-men and horſemen both. For the Hiberi and Albani inhabiting mountanous places, were better accuſtomed to hardneſſe and trauell. They ſay they came out of Theſſalia at ſuch time as *Iaſon*, after he had carried away *Medea* and begotten children by her, returned to the empty court of *Aeeta*, and vnhabited Colchos: and report many woonders of his name, and the Oracle of *Phryxus*. Neither dare any man ſacrifice a Ram, becauſe it is thought that *Phryxus* was carried on one, be it, this Ram were a beaſt or a ſhip

cap. 33

cap. 34

which

which bare those armes. The battell pitched in order on both sides: the *Parthian* put his souldiers in minde of the Empire of the East; and the renowned nobilitie of the Arsacides: and contrariwise debated *Hiberius* as ignoble, and flying to mercenarie souldiers. *Pharasmanes* on the other side, declared that he was neuer yet subiect to the Parthian rule; and that the greater their enterprise, the greater their glorie if they were the conquerers: or if they turned their backs, the greater dishonour, infamie and danger: withall he shewed them his owne host dreadful, and the Medians painted with gold: on his owne side, men; on the other, bootie. Among the Sarmates the Captaine onely was not heard; but euerie man incouraged each other not to abide the shot, but preuent the enemy rushing in couragiously to andie stroakes. Diuers manners of fight were then seene in that battell: when as the Parthian accustomed with like skill to flie and follow, seuered his squadrons to make way for the arrowes to light. The Sarmates laying aside their bowes which steeded them but a short time, ran in to the enemy with their swords and launces; sometimes were in the front, sometimes in their backes, as if they had beene horsemen: somtimes close ranked with their bodies and weapons thrust backe, and bare down the enemie, and were borne downe againe. The Albini also and Hiberi behaued thēselues in like maner; now catching hold of the enemy; now thrusting him down; the battell growing doubtfull on their side; the horsemen and footemen pressing in and giuing them many wounds. Whilst this fight thus continued, *Pharasmanes* and *Orodes*, ech incouraging his stoutest, or comforting those which began to stagger and wauer, being in sight the one of the other: and therefore knowing the one the other, with a great clamour, armour and horses ranne one against another; but more fiercely *Pharasmanes*: for he wounded his enemy through the head peece: yet being carried away with his horse, was not able to redouble his stroke; the stoutest of his followers presently defending the wounded. Neuertheless, a rumour falsly beleeued that he was slaine, appalled the Parthians, and caused them to yeeld the victory.

Cap. 35.

IX. Sinnaces *rebelleth against* Artabanus *King of Parthia* Tiridates *is put in his place.*

Cap. 36.

IMmediately after, *Artabanus* gathering together his whole strength out of all parts of his Country, pursueth a reuenge on the Hiberi saying that they had the better of the battell, through skilfulnesse of place; and therefore would neuer desist; if *Vitellius* by assembling the Legions, had not giuen out that he meant to inuade Mesopotamia, thereby striking him into a feare of the Roman forces. Then *Artabanus* leauing Armenia, left all good fortune behinde him, *Vitellius* entising his subiects to abandon their King, as one in peace cruell, and in warres vnfortunate. *Sinnaces* whom as I haue said, was vtter enemy to *Artabanus*, had secret conference with *Abdageses* his father and others: and by continuall ouerthrowes and losses which they suffered, drew easily vnto him such as were most ready to reuolt: they also repairing to him by little and little, which were subiect vnto *Artabanus* rather for feare then good will: very glad they had found Captaines to follow, tooke courage vnto them. By this time *Artabanus* had no refuge left, saue onely a few strengers for the guard of his person, banished from their owne dwellings: a people not vnderstanding what is good, nor hauing a care of that which is naught; but hired for gaine, are instruments of what mischiefe soeuer. Accompanied with these, he hasteneth his flight to the frontiers of his Countrey, ioyning vpon Scythia; hoping for

for succour, because he was allied to the Hircanians and Carmanians; having a hope likewise, that the Parthians alwaies indifferently bent to the absent, and vnconstant and fickle to the present, would in the meane space change their minde, and receiue him againe. But *Vitellius* seeing *Artabanus* fled, and the minds of the countrey people enclined to a new King, incouraging *Tiridates* to take that which was offered; conducted the legions and allies to the banks of Euphrates. And as they were sacrificing and offering according vnto the custome of the Romanes, Suouetaurilia, a Boare, Ramme and Bull; the others made ready a Horse, to pacifie the god of that riuer: the inhabitants of Euphrates brought word, that without any great raine, of his owne accord the riuer was exceedingly risen; and withall that the white froth made circles as it were in forme of a diademe, which was a presage of a prosperous passage: but some did interpret them more subtilly, gathering thereby that the beginnings of their attempts should bee luckie; but haue small continuance, because that there was more credit to be giuen to those things which were portended by the earth and heauen; and that the quality and nature of riuers was vnconstant, and running away; and would no sooner shew a token of good luck, but take it away againe: but hauing made a bridge with vessels, and passed ouer his armie, the first which came to the campe was *Ornospades*, with many thousand of horsemen. This *Ornospades* once a banished man, brought no small ayde to *Tiberius* when he made warre in Dalmatia, and for that seruice was made citizen of Rome. After this, entering anew into the kings fauour, he made him ruler of all that countrey which lieth betweene two famous riuers, Euphrates, and Tigris; and thereof tooke the name of Mesopotamia. Not long after *Sinnaces* augmented his forces, and *Abdageses* the stay of that side ioyned vnto them the wealth and preparation of the king. *Vitellius* thinking it enough only to haue shewen the Romans power, aduertised *Tiridates* and the chiefe nobles of Parthia, but especially *Tiridates*; that hee would alwaies haue in minde as things worth remembrance, *Phrahates* his grandfather, *Cæsar* his bringer vp; the nobles to be dutifull to their King; shew a reuerence vnto vs; and euery man to haue a care of his credit, and fidelitie: and from thence turned backe with the legions into Syria. I haue ioyned together things done in two sommers, to recreate the minde of the reader, wearied with domesticall aduersities. But *Tiberius* although three yeeres were past and gone since the death of *Seianus*, could not be appeased neither by time, nor prayers, no nor by punishing his fill (things wont to mollifie other men) but would punish vncertaine and stale things gone and past, as manifest offences, and newly committed. Whereupon *Fulcinius Trio* fearing this dealing, and not able to indure the accusers which were now bruing matter against him; in his last will and Testament composed many cruell things against *Macro*, and certaine of the chiefe of *Cæsars* freedmen: obiecting against himselfe, that he had a fickle and vnconstant head through age, and that by his continual absence he differed little from a banished man. Which things being concealed by *Trios* heires, *Tiberius* commanded publickly to bee recited; shewing thereby patience in another mans libertie, and small regard of his owne infamie: or else because he was ignorant of *Seianus* villanies vntill that time; and content that all things howsoeuer they were spoken, should come to light, and haue the trueth knowen (which flattery often hindereth) rather to his owne shame and reproch, then not at all. The same time *Granius Martianus* a Senator, being accused of treason by *C. Gracchus*, slew him selfe. *Tatius Gratianus* likewise who had beene Pretor, and condemned to die by the same law. Not vnlike deaths vnto the former had *Trebellienus Rufus*, and *Sext. Paconianus*: for *Trebellienus* killed himselfe with his

cap. 37.

cap. 38.

cap. 39.

his owne hands; and *Faconianus* was strangled in prison, because he had there composed certaine verses against the Prince. *Tiberius* did not receiue these newes, diuided from Italy by sea, or by messengers a far off, as he was wont to doe; but neere vnto the City where he might the same day or the next morning, answer the Senators letters, as it were looking vpon the bloud of the Citizens, flowing in their houses; and the hand of the executioners. In the end of this yeere, *Poppæus Sabinus* gaue vp his ghost; a man of meane parentage, yet through the fauour of Princes had beene Consull and triumphed: and gouernour ouer the greatest Prouinces foure and twenty yeeres: not for any excellent skill that was in him, yet able to discharge the office, and no more.

X. *The Clites rebell against* Archelaus *King of Cappadocia.* Tiridates *King of Parthia his conquests.* Artabanus *being recalled, driueth out* Tiridates.

cap. 40. An° 784. QVintus Plautius, and *Sext. Papinius* were Consuls the yeere following. This yeere the people of Rome were so inured to calamities, that they thought it not hard dealing that *L. Arruseius* and others were put to death: but they were greatly dismaied to see *Vibulenus Agrippa* a gentleman of Rome immediatly after the accusers had ended their oration in the Curia, to draw poison out of his bosome, and drinke it: and being fallen downe and yeelding vp his ghost, yet to be in all haste carried by the sergeants to prison, & already halfe dead, incontinently to be strangled. No not *Tigranes*, who had been sometimes King of Armenia, but then arraigned, could with his royall title escape the same punishment that was inflicted vpon bare citizens. *C. Galba* sometime Consull, and two of the *Blasi* died of a voluntarie death. *Galba*; because by *Cæsars* hard & rigorous letters he was forbidden to cast lots for the gouernment of the Prouince: the *Blasi*, because that the priesthoods which were destined vnto their house whilest it was in prosperitie; and now beeing decayed deferred, and bestowed vpon others when they were vacant; which they construed as a prognosticate of death, and therefore did execute it themselues. *Aemilia Lepida*, whom as I haue before told you, was married vnto young *Drusus*, charging him with diuers crimes, although she were most lewde and wicked, yet escaped scotfree and vnpunished whilest *Lepidus* her father liued; but afterwards shee was conuinced of manifest adulterie with one of her bondmen: and therefore cap. 41. laying aside all defence, ended her life with her owne hands. At the same time the Clites, being a people of Cappadocia, and subiect to *Archelaus*, because they were according vnto our custome constrained to bring in the value of their yeerly reuenues, and pay tributes, fled to the hill Taurus; and there by the strong site of the place defended themselues against the weake forces of their King; vntill *M. Trebellius* Lieutenant sent thither by *Vitellius* Lord president of Syria, with foure thousand legionaries, and certaine choise ayd souldiers, had compassed and enuironed with engins and works two hils which the Barbarians possessed, the lesser called Cadra, the other Tauara; killing those which durst issue out with the sword, and forcing the rest to yeeld for want of water. But *Tiridates* ayded by the Parthians, recouered Nicephorium, and Anthemusias, and other townes, which lying in Macedonia, yet are called by Greeke names: and Halum, and Artemita, townes of Parthia; striuing who had best cause to reioyce. *Artabanus* being odious vnto them for his crueltie, as brought vp among the Scythians: and hoping that *Tiridates* would be courteous and gentle, as trained vp and fashioned after the Romaine behauiour,

hauiour and education. The Seleucians vſed great flattery: their City is very ſtrong, enuironed with wals, and not corrupted with barbarous faſhions, but retained ſuch as their founder *Seleucus* gaue them. Their maner is to chooſe three hundred either for wealth or wiſdome and of them make as it were a Senate. The people kept their part in gouernment, and as long as they agree among themſelues, the Parthian they feare not, but falling to iarres and contentions, whileſt each ſide calleth for aide againſt his aduerſary: he who is called by one of the parties, maſtereth both. That hapned of late vnder *Artabanus*, who for his owne commodity, made the people ſubiect to the chiefe Gentlemen: where the people beare the ſway, that gouernment approcheth neereſt vnto liberty: but the rule of a few is neareſt vnto the will and pleaſure of a King. When *Tiridates* was come among them, they honored him with all thoſe inuentions which Kings had beene honoured with in times paſt, and with ſuch as later ages haue more abundantly inuented. Withall, they powred out many reprochfull ſpeeches againſt *Artabanus*; confeſſing that he was indeed deſcended of the *Arſacides* on the mothers ſide, but in other points nothing ſutable. *Tiridates* committed the gouernment of the Seleucians to the diſcretion of the people; then conſulting what day he ſhould be crowned, receiued *Phrahates* and *Hieroes* letters, which had two the ſtrongeſt gouernments of that kingdome, intreating him that he would defer it for ſome ſmall time, which to ſatisfie thoſe great men he yeelded vnto. In the meane time he went to Cteſiphon the royall ſeat of the kingdome, and perceiuing that they prolonged from one day to another, *Surena* with the good liking of many, in a great aſſembly crowned *Tiridates*, according to the cuſtome of the Country. And if he had out of hand entered farther within the country, and other Nations, thoſe lingerers had beene put out of all doubt; and all yeelded obedience vnto one. But ſtaying too long at the Caſtell whither *Artabanus* had conueighed his mony and his Concubines, he gaue him time to leape backe from their agreements. For if *Phrahates* and *Hieros* and ſome others came not at the day appointed to the coronation, ſome for feare, and ſome for malice and hate to *Abdageſes*, who then poſſeſſed the new King, and was the onely fauorit in Court, turned to *Artabanus*, whom they found in Hyrcania meanely and ill-fauoredly attired, killing with his bow foode for his ſuſtenance. At the firſt he was greatly afraid, as though ſome traine had beene laide to intrap him, but when they had giuen him their credit and faith, that their comming was to reſtore him to his kingdome, his ſpirits were reuiued, and inquireth what ſudden change had hapned. Then *Hiero* finding fault with *Tiridates* ſaid, that he was but a child, and that the *Arſacides* gouerned not the kingdome, but the vaine name and title was in an vnwarlike perſon, ſoftly and tenderly brought vp among ſtrangers, and that *Abdageſes* was he which ruled and commanded all. *Artabanus* knowing of old what it was to rule, perceiued well that thoſe which found falſhood in friendſhip, diſſembled not: and therefore making no longer delay then he could aſſemble the Scythians forces and aide, ſetteth forward with all ſpeed to preuent the wiles of his enemies, and keepe his friends from ſlipping backe; yea, he did not ſo much as wipe off the filth and vncleanneſſe of his body, becauſe he would moue the common people to compaſſion. There was no ſubtlety, no prairie, nor ought elſe forgotten, whereby he might draw the doubtful to him; or confirme and aſſure the willing and ready. He came then with a ſtrong power vnto the places adioyning to Seleucia, when as *Tiridates* ſtroken into a feare with the fame and perſon of *Artarbanus*, was diſtracted in minde whether he ſhould encounter him, or draw out the war by lingering. Such as deſired battell and quicke worke, perſwaded that the enemy was diſperſed, and ſtragled, and wearied with their long iourney, and ſcarſe reſolued to obey *Artabanus* being ſo lately Traitours

cap. 42.

cap. 43.

cap. 44.

tors and enemies vnto him, though now his support and aid. But *Abdageſes* thought it beſt to returne into Meſopotamia, that hauing the riuer as a defence betweene him and the enemy; calling in the meane ſpace the Armenians and Elymæi & the reſidue which were behind them; & their forces augmented with allies and friends and ſuch as the Roman captain would ſend them, then to trie the chance of war. That aduice preuailed becauſe of *Abdageſes* authority and *Tiridates* rawnes in matters of danger: yet that retiring differed not much from fleeing: the Arabians firſt leading the dance the reſt drawing to their houſes or to *Artabanus* Campe; vntill *Tiridates* returning backe into Syria with a ſmall company, acquited them all of the infamy of treaſon.

XI. Tiberius *repaireth, with his owne charges, part of Rome which was burnt: how* Macro *wonne* C. Cæſars *fauour.*

cap. 45. THe ſame yeere Rome was greatly damnified with fire; that part of the Cirque which ioyned vnto the hill Auentine and all the buildings alſo vpon Auentine being waſted and conſumed to aſhes; which loſſe *Cæſar* conuerted to his glory by giuing the owners out of his purſe as much as the loſſe of their houſes & buildings came vnto, which munificence amounted to* a hundred millions of ſeſterces; which was ſo much the more acceptable to the people, becauſe that in his owne buildings he was alwaies moderate. Neither had he euer made aboue two publicke buildings the one a Temple to *Auguſtus*; the other the ſtage of *Pompeius* Theatre: which being finiſhed, yet he left vndedicated; either as deſpiſing ambition or by reaſon of his age. And to make an eſtimat of euery mans loſſe *Tiberius* foure ſons in law were choſen, *Gn. Domitius*, *Caſſius Longinus*, *M. Vinicius* & *Rubellius Blandus* and *P. Petronius* ioyned with them by the Conſuls appointment: euery man inuenting new honours for the Prince, as his wit and capacity would giue him leaue: which whether he accepted or refuſed was vncertain by reaſon of his death which followed ſhortly after.

* *Aboue 781250 pound.*

An° 785. For not long after the laſt Conſuls in *Tiberius* raigne, *G. Acerronius* & *C. Pontius* began their charge, when *Macrons* power and credit was growen ouer great, which he increaſed more & more with *C. Cæſar*, although before he was neuer negligent therin. And after *Claudiaes* death (who as I haue already ſaid was maried vnto that *Cæſar*) he egged and perſwaded his owne wife *Ennia*, to allure and draw the young-man to her loue, & intangle him vnder promiſe of mariage, as one which would do whatſoeuer to lay hold on the ſoueraignty. For although he were of a turbulent and hot ſpirit; notwithſtanding he had as it were ſucked out of his grandfathers boſome the arte

cap. 46. of cunning diſſembling. *Tiberius* knew this very well and therefore was not reſolued which of his nephewes he ſhould firſt make ſucceſſor to the ſtate. Of which the one was *Druſus* ſonne, neareſt vnto him in blood, and whom he tendered beſt; but was vnder age: and *Germanicus* ſon the other, in the flower of his youth, and of the people well beloued; and therefore the worſe liked of his grandfather. And bethirking himſelfe of *Claudius*, ſeeing he was of ſtaied and ſetled yeeres, and deſirous of learning; yet altered his deliberation becauſe he was weake and ſlender witted. And yet if he ſhould ſeeke for a ſucceſſor out of his houſe, he feared leaſt the memory of *Auguſtus*, and the name of *Cæſars* ſhould be had in reproch and contempt. For he was not ſo careful to win the fauour of the time preſent as ambitious of fame with poſterity. But in the end irreſolute what to conclude and growing weak and feeble of body, that which was out of the compaſſe of his power he committed to fate: hauing notwithſtanding caſt out ſpeeches, whereby he might be perceiued that he had a care of things to come; for not going about the buſh, but in plaine termes he vpbraided *Macro* that he turned his backe to the Weſt, and looked alwaies toward the ſunriſing. And hapning by chance that ſome ſpeech was had of *L. Sulla*, whom *C. Cæſar*

far was wont to scoffe and laugh at: *Tiberius* foretold him that he should haue al his vices but not so much as one of his vertues. And withal, imbracing the yongest of his nephewes with weeping teares; the other looking on with an enuious eye, sayd vnto him; thou shalt kill him, and another shall kill thee. Yet his sicknes growing more and more vpon him, he omitted not any part of his wanton & vncleane lusts, counterfeiting and putting on a face of courage euen in his weaknesse and infirmitie: and was wont to mocke at the Physitians skill, that after 30. yeeres space they wanted other mens counsell to know what is good or hurtfull for their owne bodies. In the meane time, at Rome there were certaine seedes of murders sowen, to take effect after *Tiberius* death. *Lælius Balbus* had accused *Acutia*, sometimes the wife of *P. Vitellius*, of treason, who being condemned; when a recompence was to bee ordained for the accuser, *Iunius Otho* Tribune of the people withstood it; whereupon they two growing to a iarre, *Otho* was sent into banishment. Then *Albucilla* infamous for loose loue with many, & once wife to *Satrius Secundus*, the detector of the conspiracie, was accused of certaine impieties & inchantments against the Prince: and with her as confederates, her adulterers *Gn. Domitius*, *Vibius Marsus*, *L. Arruntius*. Of *Domitius* nobility I haue spoken before. *Marsus* also was of an ancient stocke, and endued with many good vertues. But the memoriall sent vnto the Senate doth testifie that *Macro* had charge of the examination of the witnesses, and torture of the bondmen: and the Emperors letters gaue no token of suspition against them; either because he was weake & feeble; or because he knew nothing of it: and many crimes were forged by *Macro* knowen enemy to *Arruntius*. *Domitius* therefore premeditating his defence; and *Marsus* as though he had purposed to pine away by famishing himselfe, prolonged their liues. *Arruntius* whilest his friends perswaded him not to be to hastie, but linger on; answereth them; That the same things do not beseem all men alike: and that for his own part, he had liued long enough; & had no other thing to repent him of, but that he had among so many vaine mockeries and perils prolonged his heauy & carefull old age: hauing been long hated of *Seianus*; now of *Macro*; and alwaies of some one of the mightiest: not through any fault of his; but because he could not endure wickednes. True it is, he might linger out during the short time the Prince hath to liue: but how should he escape the yong Prince that is to come? If *Tiberius* after such long experience in affaires, by the force of rule and dominion hath changed and altered: is it to be hoped that *C. Cæsar*, who is yet scarce out of his childhood, vnexpert and vnacquainted with all things; or brought vp and trained in the lewdest, should follow a better course, hauing *Macro* for his guide: who beeing chosen to oppresse *Scianus* because hee was worse than he, afflicted the commonwealth with greater calamitie. I foresee (said he) a heauier seruitude; and therefore I will flie as well from that which is already past, as that which is at hand. Speaking these things as it had been in manner of a prophesie, he cut his veines. It shal appear by those things which insued, that *Arruntius* died in good time. *Albucilla* hauing wounded her selfe with a blow giuē without effect, was caried to prison. The minsters of her whoredom *Grasidius Sacerdos*, who had bin Pretor, was banished into an Iland, and *Pontius Fregellanus* condemned to be put from the Senate: the saide punishments were decreed against *Lælius Balbus*, by these themselues which were glad of it; because *Balbus* was thought to vse his eloquence cruelly, as one alwaies at hand and ready against the innocent.

cap. 45.

cap. 48.

XII. Tiberius *death.*

cap. 49.

ABout the same time, *Sext. Papinius* descended of a Consulatie familie chose a sudden and ill fauored death, by casting himselfe headlong from a high place.

The

The cause was attributed to his mother, who hauing bin long before put away from her husband, by flattering speeches & lasciuious wantonnes, induced the yong man vnto that villany; that to auoid the discredit with her hee could find no remedy but death. She being accused in Senat, albeit she prostrated her selfe at her Lords feet & long shewed her common griefe, & womens weaknes, in such desires, and other lamentable and pittifull monings, witnessing her dolour and griefe; yet was banished the city 10. yeeres, vntill her yoongest son was past the vnconstant slipperines of his
cap. 50. youth. Now *Tiberius* body & strength began to forsake him; but not yet his dissimulation. He had the same courage & vigour of mind; his countenance and voice was strong; & desiring sometimes to be pleasant, cloked his manifest decay of strength. And often changing, at last setled himselfe in a promontory of Misenum, in a house which somtime *Lucullus* had bin Lord of; where it was knowen that his death was at hand by this means. There was a Physition very skilful in his Art called *Charicles*; yet neuer accustomed to gouern the prince in his sicknes, but to assist him with his counsell. This Phy sitiō departing frō *Tiberius*, as it had bin about some busines of his own vnder color of duty taking him by the hād, felt the pulse of his veins: but yet he could not vse the matter so cunningly, but the Emperor perceiued him. Whether *Tiberius* were offended with him or not, it was vncertain; & if he were so much the more suppressing his anger, caused meat to be made ready, & otherwise than his custom had bin, sitteth down, as it had bin in honor of his frien ds farwell. *Charicles* neuertheless assured *Macro* that his spirits decayed, and that he could not liue aboue two daies. Wherupon great debating of matters passed among those which were present; and messengers posted away to the lieutenāts & armies. The 17. of the Kalends of April, his breath being stopped, he was thought to haue ended this mortal life. Thē *C. Cæsar* with a great multitude flocking about him, & congratulating his good fortune, went forth to take vpon him the Empire: when news came on the sudden that *Tiberius* was come to his speech & sight again, & that meat was called for to put him out of his swouning: vpon this they were all stroken into a great feare; & dispersed themselues some one way, some another; euery man counterfetting a sad cheere & ignorance of all this. And *C. Cæsar* stroken dumb in the top of his hope, expected his last doome. *Macro* resolute and stout, commanded the old man to be smoothered, by casting many clothes on him, & euery man to depart from the doore. And so *Tiberius*
cap. 51. ended his life, the 78. yeere of his age. He was *Neroes* sonne, and on both sides extracted from the Claudian familie; although his mother went by adoption into the *Livian* familie, and after that into the Iulian. Hee had doubtfull fortunes from his first infancie, for being a banished man, he followed his father, who was proscribed; and being broght into *Augustus* house as his son in law, was greatly maligned al the time that *Marcellus* & *Agrippa*, and afterward *Caius* & *Lucius Cæsar* liued. Yea his brother *Drusus* was better beloued then he, of the citizens; but after he had married *Iulia*, his slippery estate was tied to two great inconueniences, which was either to indure the incontinencie of his wife, or go frō her. After that, returning from Rhodes, he liued twelue yeers in the Princes house which had no children; then possessed the Empire almost 23. yeeres. He changed his manners diuersly according to the times. Whilest he was a priuate man, he was of good life and credit, and had commendations vnder *Augustus*. Hee was close and crafty in counterfeiting vertues whilest *Germanicus* and *Drusus* liued: and whilest his mother liued hee kept a meane; sometimes good and sometimes bad. For cruelty he was infamous; but lasciuious lusts, as long as he loued or feared *Seianus*, secret. In the end he burst into all wickednesse, dishonesty, and reproch; after that hauing cast away shame and feare, he gouerned himselfe wholy according vnto his owne disposition and nature.

THE

THE ELEVENTH BOOKE OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. *The death of* Asiaticus, *and* Poppæa.

¶ *The beginning of this Booke is wanting.*

FOr he beleeued, that *Valerius Asiaticus* who had beene twise Consull, had in times past committed adultery with *Poppæa* : withall, greedily gaped after those Gardens which he bought of *Lucullus*, and beawtified and trimmed most stately. *Suilius* was suborned to accuse them both : *Sosibius*, *Germanicus* bringer vp, was ioyned with him ; who vnder colour of friendship, counselleth *Claudius* to beware of such as were strong and rich, as men dangerous vnto the State : and that *Asiaticus* the principall author of murdering *Cæsar*, feared not to auouch it in a full assembly of the people of Rome, and challenge the glory of the fact vnto himselfe. He was famous in the City for it, and a rumour spred thorowout the Prouince, that he prepared a voyage toward *Germanicus* Army, because that being borne at Vienna, and strengthened with strong and great kindred, he thought it an easie matter to stirre vp his Country men. But *Claudius* making no farther inquiry, sent *Crispinus* the Captaine of the Guard with a band of ready souldiers, as though it had beene to suppresse a warre : who finding him at Baias, laid irons vpon him, and drew him to the City, where he was not licensed to be heard of the Senate, but in the Emperours chamber, in the presence of *Messallina*. There *Suilius* accused him, that he had corrupted the souldiers, and wonne them by money and loose life to all wickednesse. Then charged him with adultery with *Poppæa*, and vnnaturall dishonesty of body. At that, although hee were commanded to silence, hee burst forth, and said: O *Suilius* aske thy children, and they will confesse me to be a man. And entering into his defence, *Claudius* being wonderfully moued, drew teares likewise from *Messallinaes* eies ; who going out of the chamber to wipe them, giueth *Vitellius* warning not to suffer the party arraigned to escape. She maketh haste to ouerthrow *Poppæa*, tending some thorow the terror of prison, to perswade her to kill her selfe : *Cæsar* being so ignorant thereof, that a few daies after he asked her husband *Scipio* as he sate at table with him, why he had sate downe without his wife ? who made him answer, that she was dead. But whilest *Claudius* consulted of *Asiaticus* deliuerance, *Vitellius* with teares declaring how long time their friendship had continued, and how they two did reuerence and honour *Antonia* the Princes Mother : then running ouer briefely his seruices towards the Common-wealth, and that so lately done in Britannia, and what else might seeme to moue compassion; left it in the end to his owne choise what death he would choose; *Claudius* yeelding him the like clemency with like words. After this some perswading him, that to die with famine and abstinence was an easie death ; he answered, that he reiected such fauour : and therefore hauing done those exercises he was vsually wont to doe, washed his body, and fed daintily, saying, that it had been a more commendable death to haue died by *Tiberius* slieneſse and cunning or *C. Cæsars* violence, then now by the treachery of a woman, and *Vitellius* vncleane mouth : cut his veines, and hauing first seene the fire wherein his body was to be burned commanded it to be remooued

to

to another place, leaſt the thicke tuffed-trees ſhould be marred with the ſmoke: ſo ſmall reckoning did he make of death.

II. *Certaine Romans accuſed for a dreame. A treatiſe of aduocates.*

Cap. 4. AFter this, the Lords of the Senate were called together, and *Suilius* goeth on, and accuſeth certaine noble and renowned Gentle-men of Rome ſurnamed *Petra*. The cauſe of their death was, becauſe they had lent their houſe vnto *Mneſter* and *Poppæa*, when they had any cauſe of conference. But there was a dreame alſo obiected againſt one of them, which was, that he dreamed he had ſeene *Claudius* crowned with a crowne of eares of corne, and the eares turned backwards; interpreting that viſion to ſignifie a dearth of corne. Some report it to haue beene a garland of vine-branches with white leaues; which he ſaw in his dreame; and interpreted it to foretell, that the death of the Prince ſhould follow at the end of Autumne. Whatſoeuer the dreame was, it is not to be doubted, but that he and his brother were both put to death. *Criſpinus* had giuen him by decree of Senate *fifteene hundred thouſand ſeſterces; and ornaments of the Pretor. *Vitellius* added * tenne hundered thouſand ſeſterces to be giuen to *Soſibius*, becauſe he had beene *Britannicus* Schoole-maſter, and *Claudius* Counſeller. *Scipio* being demanded his opinion, ſaid: Seeing I doe thinke of *Popæus* faultes, that which all you do thinke; perſwade your ſelues that I doe ſay that which all you doe ſay; which was an excellent moderation and meane, ſhewing the loue he bare hir as his wife, and neceſſity of giuing ſentence, being a Senator. *Suilius* neuer ceaſed from accuſations, but proſecuted them with all cruelty: and many followed his audacity: for the Prince drawing vnto himſelfe all the duties of Lawes and Magiſtrate, opened the way to robbery. Neither was there any marchandiſe more publikely bought and ſould, then the perfidiouſneſſe of aduocates: inſomuch, that *Samius* a worthy Gentleman of Rome, hauing giuen *Suilius* * fower hundred thouſand ſeſterces, to plead his cauſe; and after perceiuing his preuarication and colluſion; ran vpon his ſword in *Suilius* owne houſe. Then *C. Silius* Conſull elect (of whoſe authority and fall I will ſpeake in conuenient time) beginning to ſpeake, the reſt of the Senators roſe vp, and demanded earneſtly that the law Cincia might be ſet on foote: by which it is prouided of old, that for pleading of cauſes, no man ſhould take either mony or gift. Then they whom that iniury ſeemed to touch, making a noiſe; *Silius* was eager and earneſt againſt *Suilius*, contradicted him, alleaging the example of Orators in times paſt. Which eſteemed fame with poſterity, to be the faireſt reward of eloquence: otherwiſe, that the Princeſſe of good Artes ſhould be diſtained with the ſeruitude of baſe lucre; and that no faith could be ſincere and inuiolate, where exceſſe of gaine is regarded. And if cauſes ſhould be defended without reward, there would be fewer of them; whereas now, enmities, accuſations, hatred, and iniuries are foſtered; and that as the multitude of diſeaſes brought the Phyſitians gaine; ſo the peſtilent infection of the Bar, ſerueth now to inrich the Lawyers. Let them call to minde *C. Aſinius*, and *Meſſalla*, and of later memory *Aruntius*, and *Eſernius*, which were lifted vp to the higheſt degree of dignity, by their vpright life, and vncorrupted eloquence. The Conſull elect vttering theſe ſpeeches; the others approouing the ſame; they went about to giue iudgement, that ſuch ſhould be condemned vnto the like puniſhment as they were; who had by bribery and extortion polled and oppreſſed the Commons. When as *Suilius* and *Coſſuſianus* and others,

* About 1178l. pound 15. ſol.
* About 812. pound 10 ſol.
* About 3130. pound.

others, which perceiued that there ſhould be no generall decree ſet downe, but a punishment for thoſe which had beene openly conuicted; came about *Cæſar*, and beſought him pardon of that which was paſt. And after a little ſilence, nodding with his head vnto them, they began as followeth. Who was he ſo puſt vp with pride, that would preſume or hope for eternity of fame? that it was expedient men ſhould prouide for neceſſary maintenance, leſt through the want of aduocates, the poore be oppreſſed by the rich and mighty. Neither did eloquence come by chance and gratis vnto any without paine and labour: the care of a mans owne family was neglected, if he were occupied in another mans buſineſſe: many maintained their life by warre; ſome by tilling the earth; no man laboured to attaine to any knowledge vnleſſe he had ſeene ſome commodity in it. It was an eaſie matter for *Aſinius* and *Meſſalla*, which were inriched with great rewards betweene *Antonius* and *Auguſtus* warres, to ſhew a gallant and braue minde: and for *Eſcrnius* and *Asinius*, heires of rich houſes, to doe the like. Examples were as ready for them to ſhew for what great rewards *P. Claudius*, and *C. Curio* were woont to plead. As for themſelues, they were but meane Senators, which expected no gaine of the common-wealth, but ſuch as grew of peace. The meaneſt of the people endeuored what he could to better his eſtate; the reward of ſtudies being taken away, ſtudies doe alſo decay, as hauing neither glory nor honour. The Prince thinking that this was not ſpoken without ground of reaſon, moderated the ſum which they ſhould take vnto *ten thouſand ſeſterces, and that they which paſſed this ſumme, ſhould be condemned of extorſion. cap. 7.

* About 78. pound 2 5 o. d.

III. Mithradates *recouereth his kingdome. Warres betweene* Gotarzes *and* Bardanes *for the kingdome of Parthia.*

ABout the ſame time, *Mithradates*, who as I haue ſhewed, gouerned Armenia, and was brought to *Cæſar*, returned into his kingdome at *Claudius* perſwaſion; truſting to the power of *Pharaſmanes*, King of the Hiberi, and *Mithradates* brother; who told him that the Parthians were at variance among themſelues, doubtfull what would become of the Kingdome, and matters of ſmaller importance vtterly neglected. For whileſt *Gotarzes* practiſed great cruelties (going about to kill his brother *Artabanus*; his wife and his ſonne; whereby the reſt were afraide) they called in *Bardanes*, who being a man of action and able to go thorow great enterpriſes, in two daies inuaded three thouſand * Stadia, and chaſed out *Gotarzes*, all amazed and diſmaied, not one dreaming of his comming: and without any lingring ſeaſed on the next gouernments, the Seleucians only refuſing to obey him. Where upon inflamed with greater anger then the preſent occaſion miniſtred cauſe, becauſe they had reuolted from his father; he beſieged their Citie which was ſtrong, and well fortified with a wall, inuironed with a riuer and furniſhed with victuals and munition. In the meane time *Gotarzes* ſtrengthened with the Daharian and Hyrcanian power, renueth the war. And *Bardanes* enforced to abandon Seleucia, remoued his campe to the champion country of the Bracteri. Then the forces of the Orient being deuided and vncertaine which way to leane, *Mithradates* had oportunity offered him by chance to ſeaſe vpon Armenia; and with the force of the Roman ſouldier, raſe and beat downe the ſtrong fortreſſes: the Hiberian campe at once waſting and ſpoiling the Champion. Neither did the Armenians make head at all againſt them: *Dimonaſtes* their Gouernour being ſlaine, who only durſt haue waged battell

* Eight Stadia make an Italian mile.

cap. 8.

cap. 9.

battell against them. *Cotys* King of lesser Armenia did somewhat hinder them: some of the Nobles ioyning with him. But afterward being rebuked by *Cæsars* letters, all turned vnto *Mithradates* side, more cruell then was expedient in a kingdome newly gotten. But the Parthian Emperours making preparation to fight, suddenly conclude a peace, hauing discouered the treachery of their subiects, which *Gotarzes* bewraied vnto his brother. At the first meeting they had a ielous conceit the one of the other; then taking one another by the right hand before the Altars of the Gods, they promised and couenanted to reuenge the treason of their enemies; and agree and helpe one another. *Bardanes* seemed most meete to possesse the kingdome. And *Gotarzes* because there should remaine no sparkle of emulation went to *Hircania*. And *Bardanes* returning againe: Seleucia yeeldeth the seuenth yeere after her reuolt; not without discredit to the Parthians, whom one bare City had so long deluded. Then he inuadeth the strongest Prouinces, and began to recouer Armenia; if *Vibius Marsus* Lieutenant of Syria, had not hindered him by threatning to warre against him. In the meane time *Gotarzes* repenting that he had yeelded the kingdome; and the nobility vnto whom obedience in peace seemeth hardest, calling him backe againe, assembleth his forces together, whom *Bardanes* met at the riuer Erindes; where skirmishing long on both parts for the passages: *Bardanes* had the vpper hand, and with prosperous battels subdued all the middle countries, vnto the riuer Gindes, which diuideth the Dahas from the Arij. There his fortunate successes had an end: for the Parthians although they were conquerers; yet liked not to make warre so far off. Wherefore building Monuments in token of his wealth and power: and that none of the *Arsacides* had euer before leuied any tribute of those Nations, he returned with great glory: and therefore so much the more fierce and intolerable to his subiectes; who hauing long before laide a snare to intrap him, killed him at vnawares as he was a hunting, in the Prime of his youth: few of the old Kings to be matched in renowne with him; if he had as well sought the loue of his subiects, as to be feared of his enemies. By the death of *Bardanes*, the Parthian affaires were in a hurly burly; whilest they wauered, whom they should receiue for their King. Many inclined to *Gotarzes*, sonne to *Meherdates*, sonne to *Phrahates*, who was giuen vs in hostage. In the end *Gotarzes* preuailed; who inioying the Kings seate through cruelty and dissolute life, forced the Parthias to send secretly to intreat the Roman Prince to release *Meherdates*, and inuest him in his fathers kingdome.

cap. 10.

IIII. Messalina *falleth in loue with* Sillius.

cap. 11. *These 800. yeare are nothing to the first empt. of Varro.*

THe same men being Consuls, the plays called Seculares, were exhibited eight hundred yeeres after the foundation of Rome, and threescore & foure yeeres after those which *Augustus* had caused then to be represented. I omit the reasons which moued both these Princes, as sufficiently declared in my bookes which I haue composed of the acts of *Domitian* the Emperour: for he likewise did set forth the same plaies, which I was present at, so much the more carefully, because I was then one of the fifteene Priests, and Pretor. Which I speake not to vaunt or brag thereof, but because that charge in times past was committed to the colledge of the fifteene, and magistrates did chiefly execute the office of ceremonies. *Claudius* sitting to see the race, when the noble mens children represented on horsebacke the play of Troy; and among them *Britannicus* the Emperours sonne, and *L. Domitius*, anon after adopted to the Empire, and surnamed *Nero*. The fauour of the people

was

was more affectionate to him then *Germanicus*, which was taken as a presage of his future greatnes. And it was rumored abroad, that in his infancie dragons were found about him in manner of a gard, which are fables, not vnlike vnto strange miracles: for he himselfe, who neuer derogated from himselfe, was wont to report but of one serpent which was seene in his chamber. But that affection of the people was a relike of the memory of *Germanicus*, who left no other male behinde him but he: and the commiseration towards *Agrippina* his mother was increased, by reason of *Messalinaes* crueltie, who alwaies hating her, and now more then euer kindled against her, was hindered no way from forging of crimes, and subborning accusers against her, sauing only by a new loue, and next chosen vnto madnes. For she did so burne in loue with *C. Silius* the faireſt youth of all Rome, that to content her lust, she caused him to put from him his wife *Iunia Syllana*, an honourable dame, to enioy wholly to her selfe the adulterer, now vntied from the bands of matrimony. Neither was *Silius* ignorant how lewde the practise was, and what perill he might incurre: but if he refused, certaine of his destruction, and hauing some hope to bleare the eyes of the world, and enticed with great rewards, he took it from the most expedient, to expect what might fall, and enioy the present. She not by stealth, but with a great retinue frequented his house; was alwaies at his side; bestowed wealth and honor bountifully vpon him; and at last, as though fortune had transferred the Empire; slaues, freedmen, and al princely ornaments, and preparations were seen at the adulterers house. But *Claudius* not knowing what rule was at home, vsurped the office of a Censor; reprehended with seuere edicts the ouergreat licence the people vsed in the Theater; vsing opprobrious speeches against *P. Pomponius*, who had been sometime Consull (and gaue verses to the stage) and other noble women. He made a law to restraine the cruelty of creditors, forbidding them to lend money to interest vnto mens sonnes subiect to the fathers power, to bee payed after their death. He brought water to the city from the Simbruan hils. He added and published new letters and characters; being a thing most certaine that the manner of the Greekes writing was not begun and perfected at once. The Ægyptians first of all expressed the conceptions of their mind by the shape of beasts; and the most auncient monuments of mans memory are seen grauen in stones: & they say, that they are the first inuenters of letters. Then the Phœnicians because they were strong by sea, brought them into Greece, and had the glory of inuenting that, which they receiued of others. For there goeth a report, that *Cadmus* sailing thither in a Phœnicean ship, was the inuentor of that arte among the Greeks, when they were yet vnexpert and rude. Some record that *Cecrops* the Athenian, or *Linius* the Theban, and *Palamedes* the Grecian, at the time of the Troian warre, inuented 16. characters; then others and especially *Simonides* found out the rest. But in Italy the Etrurians learned them of *Corinthius Damaratus*, and the Aborigenes of *Euander* the Arcadian: and the fashion of the latine letters are like vnto the old greeke letters; but we had but a few at the beginning, the rest were after added. By which example *Claudius* added three letters, which during the time of his raigne were in vse, and afterward forgotten: and are yet to be seene ingrauen in brasen tables hanged vp in temples and places of assembly to shew the peoples lawes. Then he propounded in Senate touching the colledge of southsayers, least that the most auncient discipline of Italie should come to naught by slothfulnes, seeing that in the hard and aduerse times of the common wealth they haue been sent for; and by their aduise the ceremonies haue been renewed, and better afterward looked into. And the chiefest noble men of Etruria, either of their owne motion, or at the perswasion of the Lords of the Senate, haue

haue continued their science, and propagated it to their families, which now is very carelesly accomplished by a sloth vsed towards commendable arts, and because strange superstitions preuaile and take deeper root. All well for the present, thanks were to be rendered to the goodnes of the gods therfore, & heed taken, that sacred rites in doubtfull times had in reuerence, be not in prosperous forgotten. Wherupon a decree of Senate was made, and order taken, that the high Priests should consider what was meet to be retained and established concerning the southsayers.

V. *The Cherusci crane* Italus *for their King.*

cap. 16 THe same yeere the Cherusci came to Rome to demand a King all their nobility being extinguished by ciuill wars, and one onely left of the blood royall, called *Italus*, then being at Rome. He was sonne vnto *Flauius*, *Arminius* brother; his mother was the daughter of *Catumerus* Prince of the Catti; and was of a comely personage; practised in armes and riding, as well according to the maner of our countrey, as his owne. *Cæsar* therefore hauing furnished them with money, and appointed him a guarde; encourageth him stoutly to take vppon him the honour of his house and auncestors: putting him first in minde that he was borne at Rome; where he remained not as an hostage, but citizen: and that now he was to goe to a strange Empire. At the first the Germans were glad of his comming; and so much the rather because he was not nusled in factions and discords; and therfore would beare like affection vnto all. He was reuerenced and honoured of all men; sometimes vsing curtesie and moderation misliked of none; and oftentimes quaffing and drunkennes with other wanton behauiour, which wel pleased these barbarous people. Now he had gotten reputation with his neighbours, and began to be famous among strangers; when as such as bare greatest sway in time of factions, suspecting his power and greatnes, goe from him to the borderers of the kingdome; « openly declaring that the ancient liberty of Germany was taken from them, and « that the Roman strength mastered al. Was their countrey so barren, that they could « finde none borne among them to fill the place of the prince; but that *Flauius* the « spies broode must be lifted vp aboue them all? It was in vaine to make *Arminius* « the pretence; whose sonne being brought vp in the enemies land, might well be fea- « red if he came to be King; as depraued and infected with education, seruilitie, attire, « and all other strange vsages. And if *Italus* bare the minde his father had done, no man euer hath borne armes more ragingly against his country, and houshold gods than his parents. By such and the like speeches they gathered great forces together; cap. 17 « and there did no fewer follow *Italus*: All of them affirming that hee had not thrust « himselfe among them against their wils; but that he was sent for by them: and see- « ing hee was more noble then the rest, they should make a triall of his vertue; and « whether he would shew himselfe woorthy of *Arminius* his vncle, and *Catumerus* his « grandfather. Neither could his father bee a shame and reproch vnto him, because « he would neuer violate his faith, which by consent of the Germans he had promised « the Romans. That the name of liberty was falsly pretended by them, who being base « and degenerate of themselues, and dangerous to the whole state; haue no hope but « in time of trouble and garboile. The common sort came cheerefully about him, and the King became victorious in a great battell against the Barbarians: then through his prosperous fortune falling into pride, he was chased out of his countrey; and a- gaine reenforcing his army with the aide of the Lombards, now with lucky, now with vnluckie successe, molested and annoyed the Cherusci.

VI. *The*

VI. *The Chaucians are driuen backe out of Germany by* Corbulo *a Roman Captaine: his seuere discipline.*

ABout the same time, the Chauci liuing in peace at home, and incouraged by the death of *Sanquinius*; whilest *Corbulaes* comming was expected, made some incursions vpon lower Germany vnder *Gannascus*: who being a Caninefian by birth; an aide-souldier, and long receiuing pay vnder the Romans; and afterward become a fugitiue with light vessels robbing and piracing; especially waiteth the coast of Gallia, because he knew them wealthy and cowards. But *Corbulo* entering into the Prouince, first with great care, then credit, especially gotten by that seruice, thrust into the riuer of Rhene certaine Galleies, and other shipping as they were fit, into other armes and ditches of the sea. And hauing with them suncke the small vessels of the enemy, and driuen out *Gannascus*: after he had setled the present estate of things, he reduced the Legions which knew not what worke and labour meant, but desirous to hunt after pillage and forreies, to the ancient discipline of seruice: commanding that none should depart from the Camp, nor enter battell without commandement: that the watch and ward; all charges both by day and night should be executed in armes. And it is reported that one souldier was put to death, because he digged at a Trench without his sword by his side: and an other, because he had nothing else but his dagger: which being ouer-hard and rigorous and vncertaine, whether falsely spread abroad; yet had their beginning of the Captaines seuerity. Whereby thou maiest know that he was inexorable in great faults, seeing it was thought he vsed such rigour in small. But that terrour wrought different effects in the souldiers and enemies: we thereby increased our valour; the Barbarians abated their courage. The Frisian Nation which rebelled after the ouerthrow of *L. Apronius*, and euer after shewed themselues enemies vnto vs, or nothing faithfull, hauing giuen hostages; inhabited the Country alotted and appointed them by *Corbulo*. He gaue them also a Senate, Magistrates and Lawes. And because they should not fall from their obedience, left them a strong Garrison, and sent some to draw the chiefest of the Chauci to yeeld; and withall, by a wile to surprise *Gannascus*. Neither were those wiles imploied in vaine, or thought cowardly and ill-beseeming vs, against a fugitiue and faith-breaker. But the Chauci were much troubled with his death, and *Corbulo* sowed some seedes of rebellion among them: which as some construed to the best; so others reported badly of it: for why should he prouoke an enemy? If the successe were bad, the hurt would redound to the common-wealth: if fortune went on his side, he was a man to be feared in time of peace, and being valiant and couragious, and vnder a cowardly Prince, not to be suffered. Whereupon *Claudius* was so far from forcing Germany anew; that he commanded the Garrisons to be brought backe on the hither side the Rhene. And whilest *Corbulo* went about to encampe in the enemies land, these letters were deliuered him. He vnderstanding of so sudden a countermand, although many things at once troubled his braines; feare of the Emperour; the contempt the Barbarians would haue him in; the iest his confederates would make at it: yet making no more words, but saying only; Oh how happy some Roman Captaines were, founded a retraite. Neuertheless lest the souldiers should grow lazy, he cast a ditch betweene Mosa and Rhene, three and tweenty miles long, to beare off the vncertaine inundations of the Ocean. Yet *Cæsar* granted him the honour of triumph, although he denied him licence to make war.

VII. *How ſouldiers were emploied out of war.*

NOt long after *Curtius Rufus* had the ſame honor giuen him, who in the country of Mattiacum had found a ſiluer mine, of ſmall profit and ſhort continuance: but to the Legions beſide the loſſe, it was great labour to digge the riuers, and mine vnder the earth, and draine waters, which in plaine grounds was laborious. The ſouldiers wearied with theſe toiles, and becauſe they had indured the like in many Prouinces; ſent letters ſecretly to the Emperour in the name of the whole Army, and beſought him that from thence forward, he would beſtow the markes of triumph before hand, on ſuch, as he purpoſed to make Commanders of
Cap. 21 the Armie. As for *Curtius Rufus* birth, whom ſome haue reported to be a Fencers ſonne, I will neither vtter any thing falſely, and am aſhamed to tell the truth. After he was come to mans eſtate, he was a follower of the Quæſtor of Affrica; and in a Towne called Adrumetum, as he walked ſecretly about midday in a Gallery where were no people, there appeared vnto him the likeneſſe of a woman, greater then the ſtature of any other, and a voice was heard, ſaying: *Thou art he*, Rufus, *which ſhalt come Proconſull into this Prouince.* Puffed vp with hope of this preſage of good fortune, he returneth to the City, and by the bounty of his friends, and his owne wit and induſtry, obtaineth the Quæſtorſhip; and anon after the Prætorſhip, among many men of note which ſued for the ſame, onely by the ſuffrage and fauour of the Prince; *Tiberius* hiding the baſeneſſe of his birth, with theſe words; Curtius Rufus *ſeemeth to me to be borne of himſelfe.* After this, liuing vntill he was very aged, an odious flatterer to his ſuperiours, arrogant to his inferiours, crabbed among his equals; he became Conſull, obtained the honour of triumph, and in the end the gouern-
Cap. 22 ment of Affrike; and there dying, fulfilled his fatall deſtiny. In the meane ſpace, for no cauſe then openly knowen, nor afterwad diſcouered, *Gn. Nonius* a worthy Gentleman of Rome, was found with his ſword by his ſide in the aſſembly of thoſe which came to ſalute the Prince: for being broken on the torture, he confeſſed nothing either of himſelfe or others; not knowen whether he purpoſed obſtinately to conceale the matter, or whether he were innocent. The ſame men being Conſuls, *P. Dolabella* propoũnded in Senate, that the ſhew of Fencers might be euery yeere ſet foorth at the charges of thoſe which obtained the Quæſtorſhip. Which was a charge in our anceſtors times, giuen as a reward of vertue; and was then lawfull for all Citizens which truſted to their merits and vertues, to ſue for all kinde of Offices, without any regard had of their age; being a thing lawfull for yoong-men to be conſuls or Dictators. But the Quæſtors were inſtituted when the kings bare the ſway as the law of *Curies* declare, renewed by *L. Brutus*: and the power of chooſing them continued in the Conſuls, vntill the people would alſo haue a ſhare therein; who firſt created *Valerius Potus*, and *Aemilius Mamercus*, threeſcore and three yeeres after the *Tarquines* were driuen out, to the end they ſhould follow the warres. Then affaires multiplying more and more, two were added for the buſineſſe of the City. Not long after, the number was doubled, when Italy and the Prouinces were ſubiect to pay taske and tallage. After that, by *Syllaes* law twenty were created to furniſh the Senate, vnto whom he had giuen authority of iudgement. And although the Gentlemen of Rome had recouered their power of iudgement, notwithſtanding the Quæſtorſhip was granted according to the worth of the ſuters, or curteſie of the giuers, and that gratis, vntill that by *Dolabellaes* aduiſe it was as it were put to ſale.

VIII. *Cer-*

VIII. *Certaine gentlemen of Gallia made Senators. How the Senate was purged of naughtie men.*

A. *Vitellius* and *L. Vipſanius* beeing Conſuls, when the matter was debated concerning the furniſhing of the number of Senators, and that the chiefe gentlemen of Gallia called *Comata*, who long before were in league with the Romans, and inioyed the priuileges of a citizen, deſired alſo the right of bearing offices in the citie: great rumors were ſpread, and the matter was debated before the Prince by men diuerſly affected: ſome affirming That Italie was not falleh to ſo low an ebbe, that it could not furniſh their citie of a Senate; that the home-borne „ with their kinſemen did in times paſt ſupply that want, and no cauſe why they „ ſhould be ſory to imitate the cuſtome of the ancient common-wealth. Yea, there „ might examples be alleaged, by which it might appeare that the vertuous inclina- „ tion of the Romans at this day, was not inferiour to the vertue and glory of their „ anceſtors. Is it a ſmall matter that the Venetians and Inſubrians haue thruſt into „ the Curia, vnleſſe a companie of ſtrangers be alſo put in, as it were to keepe vs in „ captiuitie? what other dignity is there left for the reſidue of the nobles? or if any of „ the Latian Senators fall to decay? that thoſe rich men would fill and poſſeſſe all, „ whoſe grandfathers and great grandfathers being captaines of the enemy nations, „ haue ſlaine with the ſword, and violence our armies, and beſieged *Iulius* of famous „ memory at Aleſia. Theſe things are freſh in memory. What if wee ſhould call „ thoſe to memory which beſieged the Capitoll, and broke downe the altar of „ Rome with their owne hands? That it was ſufficient to enioy the name of a citizen: „ and that the ornaments and markes of the Lords of the Senate; the dignity of Ma- „ giſtrates ought not to be made common. But with theſe and the like ſpeeches the „ Prince was nothing moued, but immediatly ſpake againſt it, and calling the Senate „ together, began as followeth. My anceſtors (among which the moſt ancient was *Clauſus*, taking his beginning of the Sabians, & was at once made citizen of Rome, „ and receiued into the familie of the *Patricians*) gaue me counſell to gouerne the „ common wealth with ſuch counſels and cares as they had done, and tranſfer into it „ all that is good and commendable, from whence ſoeuer it be brought. Neither am I „ ignorãt that the *Iulij* came from Alba, the *Coruncani* from Camerium, the *Porcians* „ from Tuſculum; and that we may not ſearch out farther antiquities, there haue been „ men called into the Senate from Etruria, Lucania, and all Italie. At laſt the citie „ was extended euen to the Alpes, in ſo much that not only men ſeuerally, but coun- „ tries & nations vnited themſelues to our name, and grew as one whole bodie. Then „ had we a ſure and firme peace at home, and flouriſhed againſt forraine nations, „ when the Tranſpadani receiued the freedome of the city; when vnder colour of lea- „ ding our legions throughout the world, and adding vnto them the ſtrongeſt forces „ of the prouinces, we eaſed the weake and wearied Empire. Doth it repent vs, that „ the Balbians came out of Spaine, & the worthieſt men of Gallia Narbonenſis to vs? „ Their poſterity remaine with vs, neither do they giue place vnto vs in loue towards „ this our countrie. What other thing was the deſtruction and ouerthrow of the La- „ cedæmonians and Athenians, although they were ſtrong and puiſſant in armes, but „ that they reiected thoſe they conquered, as ſtrangers? But our founder *Romulus* ca- „ ried himſelfe ſo diſcreetly, that he had many which the ſame day, were his enemies „ and citizens. Strangers haue ruled ouer vs: offices haue been giuen to the ſonnes of „ ſuch as haue bin freed from bondage, and not as ſome haue bin deceiued as a new „ preſident

" president, but it hath bin practised by our first people. But we haue fought with the
" Senonians. I pray you, haue the Volci and Æqui neuer prepared an army against
" vs? we haue beene taken of the Galli: and we haue giuen hostages likewise to the
" Tusci, and passed vnder the yoke of the Samnites. If thou wilt recken vp all the
" warres, none hath beene sooner ended then that against the Galli: since that time
" we haue had a continuall and faithfull peace. Now that in conformity of manners,
" artes, and alliances, they are mingled with our people, let them rather bring to vs
" their gold and wealth, then inioy it by themselues. All things (Lords of the Senate)
" which are thought now to be most auncient, haue beene new. The Patricians had
" first all offices in their hands; after them the people; after the people, the Latines;
" after the Latines, all the nations of Italie. This will grow olde likewise, although it
" seeme newe; and that which to day we maintaine by example, shall be reckoned
cap. 25. " amongst examples. A decree of the Senate giuen according vnto the Princes
oration, the Eduans first of all receiued the rights and priuiledges of Senators in the
citie. This was graunted them in consideration of their auncient alliance: and be-
cause they onely among the Galli, called themselues brothers of the people of
Rome. The same time *Cæsar* made the auncientest of the Senators patriciens, or
such whose fathers were famous; few of those families remaining, which *Romulus*
called of the greater; and *L. Brutus*, of the lesser familie: those also being decayed &
extinguished, which *Cæsar* the Dictator substituted by the law Cassia: and Prince
Augustus by the law Senia. All these things were gratefull vnto the people; and
done with the good liking of *Cæsar*. It troubled him very much how hee might re-
moue such from the Senate, as were notoriously infamous; and at last bethought
himselfe of a new and gentle course; yet grounded on the rigour of auncient time:
which was to admonish euery man to examine his owne conscience: and craue li-
cence to giue vp his roome, if he thought himselfe touched; which should easily bee
granted; and promised them to propound together, as well those as were remoued,
as those as resigned their roomes; that the iudgement of the Censors, and the mo-
deration of those which willingly renounced interlaced together, might couer the
discredit. For this cause the Consull *Vipsanius* propounded, that *Claudius* might bee
called the father of the Senate: because that the title of father of the countrey, be-
ing common, new merites towards the common-wealth, should not bee honoured
with old titles. But he himselfe brideled the Consull as ouer-much flattering; and
appointed a view to be taken of the city which is called Lustrum, and the number of
the citizens to be inrolled, which came to threescore eight hundred, & foure & forty
thousand. Then began he to haue better intelligence how matters went at home:
and not long after he was constrained to know, and punish the dissolute and licenti-
ous life of his wife, immediately after to burne in an vnlawfull desire of incestuous
matrimonie.

IX. Messalinaes *loose loues*: *her marriage with* Silius.

cap. 26. NOw *Messalina* through the easie inioying of her adulterers, as it were loa-
thing them, grew more licentious in vnknowen and strange sensualitie:
when as *Silius* himselfe, either by a fatale sottishnes, or thinking dangers
themselues to be the remedy against imminent dangers; began earnestly to vrge
her to breake off all dissimulation: and make that knowne, which vntill then he
" went about to keepe secret; For the matter was not come to that, that they should
" expect the princes death. Harmelesse counsels were good for the innocent; but in
open

open and manifeſt villanies there was no hope of ſafety, but in audacious attempts. There were others in the ſame fault and feared the like puniſhment: he was a ſingle man without children, ready to mary her, and adopt *Britannicus*. *Meſſalinaes* authority would continue the ſame, and with greater ſecurity, if they could preuent *Claudius*; as vncircumſpect againſt ſnares and wiles, ſo haſty and ſoone moued to anger; Theſe ſpeeches ſhe ſeemed not much to like of: not for the loue of her husband; but leſt *Silius* hauing gotten the ſoueraignety, would reiect her as an adultereſſe, and fall to a iuſt conſideration of her lewd life, which with his danger he had tried. Neuertheleſſe ſhe deſired the name of matrimony, becauſe of the greatneſſe of the infamy; which with prodigall and diſſolute perſons is the laſt contentment. They expected no longer, then *Claudius* went to Hoſtia to doe ſacrifice, but ſhee accompliſhed all the ſolemnities of mariage. I am not ignorant, but it will ſound like a fable, that there ſhould be any man ſo blockiſh and careleſſe; much leſſe that a Conſull elect ſhould in a City where all things is knowen, and nothing kept ſecret; a day appointed; company aſſembled to ſeale the agreement; contract mariage as it were of iſſue and children, with the Princes wife: and that ſhe ſhould heare the words of the Auſpices, or hand-faſters; attire herſelfe bride-like, ſacrifice vnto the gods; ſit downe amongſt the gueſts, kiſſe, embrace; and in the end paſſe the night in all liberty of mariage. But there is nothing fained, to make the thing ſeeme miraculous; but I wil you deliuer but that which hath been heard and written by ancient writers. Then the Princes houſe began to quake for feare; and eſpecially thoſe which were in higheſt credit and fauour: and if there ſhould fall an alteration more afeard; they began now not in ſecret whiſperings, but openly to murmur, ſaying: That as long as the adulterers did vſe the matter ſecretly, true it was that the Prince was diſhonored; but yet he was in no danger of his eſtate: where as now this yoong man of a noble birth, of a manly repreſentation, in the prime of his youth and ſhortly to be Conſull, aſpired no doubt to greater hope. For it was eaſily knowen what was to be expected after ſuch a marriage. Doubtleſſe a feare poſſeſſed them to thinke how blockiſh *Claudius* was, how thrall vnto his wife, and how many murders had beene committed by *Meſſalinaes* commandment. On the other ſide, the facility of the Princes nature imboldned them, and gaue them hope, that they could beat into his head the enormity of the fact, ſhe might as one already condemned, be brought to confuſion before ſhe were arraigned. But the danger was that if ſhe ſhould be admitted to her defence, yet the Princes eares would be buttened and deafe, although ſhe ſhould confeſſe. And firſt of all *Caliſtus*, of whom I haue ſpoken in the death of *C. Caſar*, and *Narciſſus* the contriuer of *Appius* death, and *Pallas* the greateſt fauorit at that time, debated: whether diſſembling all other matters by ſecret threats they ſhould diſſwade *Meſſalina* from *Silius* loue; but they altered their mindes, leſt they ſhould draw on their owne ruine; *Pallas* for want of courage; *Caliſtus* as practiſed in the eſtate of the former Court and knowing that credit and authority was ſafelier maintained with circumſpect then raſh counſel; *Narciſſus* perſiſted in his purpoſe altering that only point, which was, to take heed, leſt by any word ſhe ſhould haue an inckling who was her accuſer, and of what.

cap. 27

cap. 28

cap. 29

X. Narciſſus,

X. Narcissus, Claudius *Freed man aduertiseth him of the marriage. The sottishnesse of the Emperour.*

NArcissus then earnestly watching all opportunities, during *Cæsars* long stay at Hostia, induced two concubines with whom the Emperour licentiously conuersed, by faire promises and gifts, and especially shewing them to what greatnesse and credit they might come vnto, if his wife were put from him; to vndertake the discouering of this crime. Then *Calphurnia* (for so one of them was called) as soone as she found him alone, falling at *Cæsars* knees, crieth out that *Messallina* had maried *Silius*; and withall asketh *Cleopatra* who was there present of purpose to be asked the question; who nodding with her head in token that she had, commandeth *Narcissus* to be called for: he, craning pardon of that which was past, and that he had concealed the adultery betweene *Messallina* and *Vectius*, and betweene her and *Plautius*; added further, that the best way was not to reproch him of his adulteries, nor demand his house, his seruants, and other Princely ornaments embezeled away; but let him (said *Narcissus*) inioy them, so as he would restore thee thy wife, and cancell the writings of marriage. Doest thou know (saith he farther) of thy diuorcement? for *Silius* mariage the people saw, the Lords of the Senate, and the souldiers, and if thou make not haste, the new maried-man will be Lord of the City. Heereupon *Claudius* calleth for the chiefest of his friends, and first of all for *Turranius* chiefe Officer for prouision of Corne; then *Lusius Geta* Captaine of the Guard, asking them what they knew of the matter: who confessing it, all the rest came cluttering about him, crying that he should hast away to the Camp, strengthen his Guard, prouide first for his safety, then reuenge. Sure it is that *Claudius* was so surprised with feare that he did eftsoones aske whether he were yet soueraigne of the Empire? whether *Silius* were yet a priuate man without charge? But *Messallina* neuer more loose and dissolute in lusts, the Autumne being well spent, celebrated in hir house the feast of Grape-gathering; the Presses were wrong, the vessels flowed with wine, women danced about girt with skins, like vnto mad women, solemnizing the feasts of *Bacchus*; she her selfe, her haire hanging loose about her eares, shaking a Iauelin wrapped about with Vine-leaues; *Silius* hard by her couered with Iuie, with buskings on his legs, casting the head hither and thither, with a shameless companie of dancers shouting and singing about them. It is reported that *Vectius Valens* toying and iesting, climed vp a high tree; and being demanded what he saw there, made answer; a cruell tempest comming from Hostia. Whether any such thing did appeare, or whether it were a word slipt by chance; it was turned to a presage of future danger. Not a rumour any longer, but messengers come from all parts, bringing them tidings that *Claudius* knew all, and was comming, ready to reuenge. *Messallina* then conueigheth hir selfe into the Gardens which sometimes belonged to *Lucullus*: *Sillius* dissembling his feare, went to his businesse in the Forum. The rest, some slipping one way, some another, the Centurions laid hold on and bound with yrons, as they were found either abroad or in corners and lurking places. *Messallina* albeit this sudden crossing had almost put her besides her selfe, yet thought it best as a shift, which neuer failed at a pinch, to meete her husband, and shew her selfe vnto him; and commanded *Britannicus* and *Octauia* to goe before, and cast themselues betwixt their fathers armes; and praied *Vibidia* the ancientest of the Virgins Vestall to goe to the high Priest, and intreat him he would shew clemency in her behalfe. And in the meane time accompanied with three persons only (so naked was she

she left on the sudden) hauing gone afoote ouer all the City, at last in a Tumbrell which caried away the riddings of Gardens, she taketh hir way towards Hostia, no one pitying hir, because the filthinesse of hir wicked life swaied downe all compassion. Neuertheless *Cæsar* trembled, because he distrusted *Geta* Captaine of his guard, a man as lightly carried to bad as to good. Whereupon *Narcissus*, hauing taken those with him which had the like feare, assured *Cæsar*, he had no other hope of safety left, then to transfer the whole commandery of the souldiers that one day vnto some one of his Freed-men; and offereth himselfe to be the man. And fearing least, whilest he were brought vnto the City, he might be induced by *L. Vitellius* or *P. Largus Cæcina*, to repent him, he desireth and taketh a place in the same Chariot with the Emperour. The fame was common afterwards, that among diuers of the Princes speeches, now blaming his wiues lightnesse, now calling to minde the band of matrimony, and infancy of his children; *Vetellius* neuer vsed other speech, then ô wickednesse, ô shame. *Narcissus* vrged him to speake plainely, and goe no more about the bush; yet he could not win so much of him, but would still answer in doubtfull tearmes, and such as might be construed as euery man lifted to draw them; and *Largus Cæcina* did the like. cap. 33. cap. 34.

XI. Silius *and* Messallina *punished, with others hir adulterers.*

NOw *Messalina* was in sight, and cried that she would heare *Octauia* and *Britannicus* mother: when as the accuser made a noise on the other side naming *Silius* and the mariage: and withall presented vnto him certaine writings, bewraiers of hir lusts and lasciuiousnesse, to the end he might turne *Cæsars* sight from hir. And not long after, the children had betweene them, had beene presented vnto him, as he entered the City; if *Narcissus* had not commanded them to be conueied away. But *Vibidia* could not be driuen away, but requested importunately with nipping tearmes, that his wife vnheard might not be put to death. Hereupon *Narcissus* answered that the Prince should heare hir, and that she should haue liberty to purge hirselfe. In the meane space, that she should depart, and attend hir sacrifices. *Claudius* vsed a wonderfull silence whilest all those speeches past. *Vitellius* was as one that knew little; all obeied the Freed-men: he commanded the adulterers house to be opened, and the Emperour to be brought thither. And there first of all in the entry he shewed the Emperour the image *Silius* father, defaced by decree of Senate. Then told him that whatsoeuer the *Neroes* or *Drusi* had, rich and Princely, had beene giuen to *Silius* for a reward of his reprochfull adultery: then seeing *Claudius* inflamed and bursting into threats, leades him to the souldiers Campes, very ready to heare an Oration: vnto whom as *Narcissus* had before aduised him, he vsed some few words. For although he had iust cause of griefe; yet shame hindered him. Immediately all the bands cried together continually, demanding the names and punishment of the offenders. And *Silius* brought to the bar, neither went about to iustifie himselfe, nor craue respite; but in treated that his death might be hastened. The same constancy made other famous Gentlemen of Rome desire the hastning of their death. He commanded *Titius Proculus* guard vnto *Silius* and *Messallina*, and *Vectius Valens* offering to detect other crimes, and confessing the same, and *Pompeius Vrbicus*, and *Saufellus Trogus*, all of counsell to the fact, to be brought to execution. *Decius Calphurnianus* likewise Captaine of the watch, *Sulpicius Rufus* Ouerseer of the Plaies, *Iuncus Virgilianus* a Senatour, receiued the like punishment. Onely *Menester* delaied his punishment, renting his cloathes and crying, cap. 35. cap. 36.

that

that he would looke vpon the markes of the ſtripes, and call to minde his owne words, which were that he ſhould be ready to obey *Meſſalinaes* commandements. Alleaging that others had offended for rewards and hope of aduancement, but he of neceſſity: and that no mans cauſe ſhould haue beene harder then his, if *Silius* had become Emperour. *Cæſar* mooued with theſe ſpeeches and prone to mercy: yet the freed-men altered his minde, affirming that ſeeing ſo many notable perſonages had beene put to death, he ſhould not ſpare a Stage-plaier: and that it was all one whether conſtrained or voluntarily he had committed ſo leaud a fact. *Traulus Montanus* a Gentleman of Romes defence, was not receiued. This yoong man being of modeſt behauiour, and comely feature of body, not thinking on any ſuch matter, was ſent for by *Meſſallina*, who inioying him onely one bare night, would afterward no more of him, being of nature as ready to loath, as to like and luſt. *Suilius Ceſoninus*, and *Plautius Lateranus* onely had pardon granted them. This in regard of his Vncles great merits: *Ceſoninus* through his impurity and vnnaturall abuſing of his body.
cap. 37. All this while *Meſſallina* in *Lucullus* Gardens, prolonged her life; made hir ſupplications; ſometimes with hope, and ſometimes with anger: ſo proudly ſhe ſhewed hir ſelfe euen in hir extreameſt danger. And if *Narciſſus* had not haſtened hir death, ſhe had turned the miſchiefe vpon the accuſers head. For *Claudius* being returned home againe, and his choler well cooled in a banket; after he had waxt warme with wine, commanded that one ſhould goe and tell that wretch (for that tearme they ſay he vſed) that ſhee ſhould appeare the next day to plead hir cauſe. Which being vnderſtood, and fearing leaſt his anger ſhould relent; and his loue, (if they ſhould defer the matter that night which was already come) and the remembrance of his wiues chamber ſhould reuiue and returne: *Narciſſus* ruſht out, and told the Centurions and the Tribune which were preſent, that they ſhould put hir to death; and that the Emperour had ſo commanded: and *Euodius* one of his freed-men, was appointed to aſſiſt and ſee it executed. Who haſtening to the gardens, found her along on the earth, and *Lepida* her mother ſitting by her; alwaies at iarre with her daughter whileſt ſhe flouriſhed in proſperity; yet in her laſt extremities ouercome with compaſſion, perſwaded hir not to tarry for the executioner; that hir life was paſt, and that ſhe ſhould looke for no other honour, then by killing hir ſelfe. But hir minde corrupted with filthy ſenſuality, there was no ſparke of honeſty left; hir teares and lamentations were in vaine. Then the doores being violently broke open: the Tribune ſtood in amaze, and in a great dumpe without one word ſpeaking; and the
cap. 38. freed-men rebuked hir with many ſeruile reproches. *Meſſallina* then firſt of all conſidering of hir eſtate, tooke a ſword, which in vaine through trembling feare, ſhe put to hir throat, and then to hir breſt; which at laſt was thruſt through with a blow which the Tribune lent hir and hir body granted hir mother. Then word was brought *Claudius* as he was a banqueting, that *Meſſallina* was dead, not telling him whether by hir owne hand, or any mans elſe: neither did he aske ſo much; but called for the cup, and went forward as he was woont to doe at his banket. Neither the daies following gaue he any tokens of hate, ioy, anger, ſorrow, or of any other humane affection; not when he ſaw the accuſers ioyfull; not when his children ſaid. The Senat helped him to forget her, by giuing order: that hir name and image ſhould be pulde downe from all publike and priuate places. It was ordained that the ornaments of the Queſtorſhip ſhould be beſtowed vpon *Narciſſus*; the lighteſt point of his authority, ſeeing he was the chiefeſt after *Gallus* and *Caliſtus*, an honeſt decree and priuiledge; but of which roſe very many lewd actions, which eſcaped vnpuniſhed.

THE

THE TWELFTH BOOKE OF THE ANNALES OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. *Three of* Claudius *Freed-men deliberate vpon a wife for him.*

THE Emperours houſe being diuided through the death of *Meſſallina*, his Freed-men fell into contention, which of them ſhould chooſe *Claudius* a wife, already thundring againſt a ſingle life, and thrall to his wiues will. The women one their ſide burnt with no leſſe ambition, each of them comparing their Nobility, beauty, and wealth, ſet foorth themſelues and vanted they were woorthy of ſo great a match. But the chiefeſt doubt was betwixt *Lollia Paullina*, daughter to *M. Paullinus* once Conſull, and *Iulia Agrippina*, *Germanicus* daughter: *Pallas* fauoured her and *Caliſtus* the other. *AElia Petina* of the houſe of the *Tuberoes* was fauoured of *Narciſſus*. The Emperour himſelfe was eaſily carried, now hither, now thither, according as he had heard euery of their perſwaſions; and diſagreeing the one from the other, calleth them to a conſultation; and commandeth each of them to vtter and yeeld a reaſon of his opinion. *Narciſſus* beginneth with his old mariage, and family common to them both (for he had had *Antonia* by *Petina*) and that he ſhould haue no new change in his houſe, if his old wife ſhould returne againe; who would not with the eie of a Step-mother looke vpon *Britannicus* and *Octauia*, the neereſt pledges vnto her owne children. *Caliſtus* ſheweth that being reiected by a long diuorcement, if ſhe ſhould be taken againe, ſhe would become proud and haughty: therefore it were farre better to take *Lollia*, ſeeing ſhe was without emulation and children; and therefore would be in ſtead of a mother to her husbands children: But *Pallas* extolled in *Agrippina* aboue other qualities, that ſhe ſhould bring with her *Germanicus* nephew, worthy in all regards of the imperiall highneſſe; extracted of a noble race, and Claudian family, which ſhould vnite their poſterity; leſt a woman fruitfull in child-bearing, and in the flower of hir youth ſhould carry with hir the glory of the *Cæſars* to another houſe. This perſwaſion with ſome helpe of *Agrippinaes* allurements ſuncke deepeſt: who often comming to viſit him vnder colour of kindred, ſo wonne her Vncle; that being preferred before all others, though yet not his wife, tooke vpon hir the authority of his wife. For as ſoone as ſhe was aſſured of the mariage, ſhe began to lay plots for greater matters, and vndertooke a match betweene *Domitius*, whom ſhe had had by *Gn. AEnobardus*, and *Octauia*, *Cæſars* daughter: which without ſhame and diſcredit could not be accompliſhed, becauſe *Cæſar* had betrothed *Octauia* to *L. Silanus* a yoong man, beſides other vertues, of noble parentage; and on whom *Cæſar* had beſtowed the markes of triumph, and licenced to ſet foorth a play of Fencers with all pompe and magnificence, to win the loue and fauour of the people. But nothing ſeemed hard to the Princes minde, who had neither iudgement nor malice, but what was put into him or commanded. *Vitellius* therefore cloaking vnder the name of a Cenſor baſe and ſeruile deuiſes; foreſeeing into whoſe handling rule and dominion would ſhortly come, to win *Agrippinaes* fauour, began to intermeddle and thruſt himſelfe into hir counſels, and carry tales againſt *Silanus*: who had a

cap. 1.

cap. 2.

cap. 3.

cap. 4.

ſiſter

ſiſter indeed comely, but a ſhamleſſe dame, called *Iunia Caluina*: who not long before had beene *Vitellius* ſons wife. From hence roſe the beginning of his accuſation, by drawing hir into ſuſpition, not of inceſt with hir brother; but of other looſe loues redounding to their ſhame and infamy. *Cæſar* gaue eare vnto him, as one ready thorow the loue he bare his daughter, to harken to all ſuſpitions againſt his ſonne in law. But *Silanus* doubting nothing what ſnares were laid for him; and by chance that yeere Pretor, was on the ſudden by an edict publiſhed by *Vitellius* put from his Senators roome; althoug the roule of the Senators were made vp, and the number taken not long before. *Claudius* thereupon brake off his alliance with him; and *Silanus* was forced to renounce his office by oath; and the reſt of the time of his Pretorſhip was beſtowed vpon *Eprius Marcellus*.

II. Vitellius *Oration for the mariage of the Vncle and the Neece.*
The mariage betweene Claudius *and* Agrippina.
The death of Silanus.

cap. 5 Anᵒ 797

C. *Pompeius*, and *Q. Verannius* being Conſuls, the mariage was concluded betweene *Claudius* and *Agrippina* and held as certaine in euery mans mouth through tokens of vnlawfull loues, though they durſt not as yet celebrate the ſolemnities, hauing no preſident that the brothers daughter ſhould be brought into the Vncles houſe as wife; for it was inceſt: and if not looked into, it was to be feared that it would turne to a publike miſchiefe. Neither was that doubt out of *Cæſars* head, vntill *Vitellius* by his drifts and ſleights vndertooke the matter. And aſking the Emperour whether he would yeeld to the commandement of the people, or authority of the Senate? and he anſwering that he was one of the Citizens, and not able to withſtand their agreement, *Vitellius* willed him not to ſtir out of his Pallace, but goeth himſelfe to the Curia, and proteſting that he had a matter to debate which touched the welfare of the whole State, craueth licence to ſpeake firſt,

« and began as followeth. That the heauy and great toiles of the Prince in gouerning « the whole world, wanted ſupport; that being vnburdened of domeſticall cares, he « might the better prouide for the common good. And what honeſter ſolace of a Cen- « ſors minde, then to take vnto him a wife, a companion in proſperous and doubtfull « fortune? vnto whom he might impart his inward thoughts, commit his ſmall chil- « dren; he eſpecially not nuzled vp in riot and wanton luſts, but who had beene obedi- cap. 6. « ent to Lawes from his firſt youth. After he had made this preamble with a gloſing « ſpeech, and that it was accepted with great flattery of the Lords of the Senate, he « began anew and ſaid. Seeing that all of them did exhort the Prince to marry, it was « conuenient a wife were choſen for him, renowned for hir nobility, child-bearing, « and honeſty of life. Neither was it needful to go far for ſuch a one, ſeeing *Agrippina* « did excell the reſt in nobleneſſe of bloud; and had giuen a proofe of hir fruitefull- « neſſe, and was induced with other honeſt qualities. That was a matter worthy re- « membrance, that by the prouidence of the Gods, a Widdow ſhould be ioyned to « a Prince, who had tried no matrimony but his owne. They had heard of their fore- « fathers, and ſeene themſelues, mens wiues to haue beene taken by force at the « will of the Emperour; a thing farre from the modeſty of the preſent time: yea he « ſhould be a preſident how hereafter the Emperour ſhould take a wife. But it is a « ſtrange preſident to marry our brothers daughters: but a vſuall matter among o- « ther Nations, and by no law forbidden. And mariages betweene coſen germaines « a long time not knowen, in progreſſe of time grew common. A cuſtome is to be ap-

plied

plied according as it is profitable and expedient: and this marriage likewise in time
to come will be among things commonly practised. There wanted not some which
protested, if *Claudius* would protract his resolution, they would force him to it, and to
further who first might out of the Curia: and afterward by multitudes flocked toge-
ther, crying that the people of Rome desired the same. *Claudius* expected no longer,
but went and met them at the Forum, and shewed himselfe to such as were glad
thereof. And entering into the Senate, demaunded that a decree might bee inacted
by which, marriage betweene the vncles and neeces, daughters to their brothers,
should from thence forward be accompted iust and lawfull. Yet for all that onely
one there hath beene called *Vitellius Severus*, a gentlemen of Rome, who hath
greatly desired to marry in that sort, whom most men thinke to haue done it to win
Agrippinaes fauour. By that mariage all was turned vpside downe in the city, and al
men obeyed this Woman; yet not as when *Messalina* abused the gouernment
through licentiousnes: but as it were with as great and seuere subiection, as if they
had beene vnder a man. Openly she shewed seueritie, and often pride; nothing
done in her house dishonorably, vnlesse it were so expedient for the furthering of
rule and gouernment: her exceeding greedines in raking mony had a cloake, which
was the maintenance of the state. The day of the mariage *Silanus* killed himselfe,
either because vntill that time he had hope of prolonging his life; or else chose that
day to make the marriage more odious. *Calvina* his sister was expulsed Italy. *Clau-
dius* added certaine sacrifices according to the lawes of King *Tullus* and certaine
satisfactions by the chiefe priest in *Dianaes* wood: all men laughing *Claudius* to
skorne, that punishment and purging sacrifices of incest should bee sought at
that time.

III. *Betrothing of* Domitius Agrippinaes *sonne with* Octauia, Claudius *daughter.* Seneca *is recalled out of exile. The Parthians demaund that* Meherdates *may be their King.*

BVt *Agrippina*, lest shee should be famous only for infamous actions, got remis-
sion of *Annaus Senecaes* banishment, and withal obtained him the Prerorthip;
perswading her selfe it would be gratefully accepted of the commenalty, by
reason of his great fame in learning; and because *Domitius* childhood might bee
trained vp vnder such a maister, and vse his aduise and counsel to attaine to the Em-
pire which she hoped after. Because it was thought *Seneca* would be trustie to *A-
grippina*, for the remembrance of this benefit receiued of her, and an enemy to *Clau-
dius* for the griefe of his iniury. Then thinking it conuenient not to delay the mar-
ter any longer, *Memmius Pollio* Consull elect was induced through great promises
to propound, and perswade *Claudius* to handfast *Octauia* to *Domitius*, a thing no-
thing inconuenient, both their ages considered, and might be an entrance to grea-
ter matters. *Pollio* gaue his opinion in words, not vnlike vnto those which *Vitelli-
us* of late vsed, and thereupon *Octauia* was betrothed. Now *Domitius* besides the kin-
dred which was betweene them before, being betrothed and sonne in law to the
Emperour, began to bee made equall to *Britannicus*, by his mothers practises, and
policie of such as feared the sonne would reuenge vpon those which procured *Mes-
salinaes* accusation. About the same time the Embassadors of the Parthians sent
as I haue said before, to demand *Meherdates* for their King, entered into the Senate,
and began to vtter their charge as followeth. They came thither not ignorant of
the league betweene them and the Romans, nor disloyall to the familie of the Arsa-
cides,

" cides; but to aske for *Vonones* sonne, *Phrahates* nephew; against *Gotarzes* tyrannie,
" alike intolerable to the nobility and communaltie. Now that his brothers are ex-
" tinguished by murder, his neereſt kinſemen, and ſuch as were fartheſt off; he would
" do the like to women with child, and ſmall children; thinking it a meanes being vn-
" fortunate in warres abroad, to couer with that cowardlines his cruelty at home.
" That their amitie with vs was auncient, and publickly confirmed; and therefore
" reaſon wee ſhould ayd our allies, which might in ſtrength compare with the Ro-
" mans, but in deed yeelde for reuerence. Therefore the Kings children were giuen
for hoſtages, that if they grew weary of their domeſticall gouernment, they might
haue recourſe to the Prince and Lords of the Senate, vnder whoſe manner of liuing
cap. 11 the King being brought vp, ſhould be preſumed to be the better. When they had
vttered theſe and the like ſpeeches, *Cæſar* began his oration with the greatnes of the
Roman Empire, and dutifulnes of the Parthians, and maketh himſelfe equall to *Au-
guſtus*; declaring that a King had beene demaunded of him alſo, not mentioning
Tiberius at all, notwithſtanding he had ſent ayd likewiſe. He gaue certaine precepts
to *Meherdates*, who was there preſent, aduertiſing him that he ſhould not thinke
himſelfe a Lord and maſter to commaund ouer his ſubiects as ſlaues; but a guide;
and they citizens: and that he ſhould vſe clemency and iuſtice, vertues ſo much
the more gratefull vnto theſe barbarians, by how much the leſſe knowne among
them. Then turning himſelfe to the Embaſſadors, he highly commended the youth
which had beene brought vp in the citie, as one, whoſe modeſty had beene well
tried: that the diſpoſitions of Kings were to be borne withal, becauſe often changes
are not profitable. That the Romane eſtate was growne vnto that hight with ful-
nes of glory, that it deſired peace and quietnes euen to forren nations. After he had
thus ſaid, he commaunded *C. Caſſius* gouernor of Syria, to conduct the yoong man
cap. 12 to the riuer of Euphrates. *Caſſius* at that time did excell the reſt in the knowledge
of the lawes. For military skill is vnknowne in time of reſt and quietnes: and peace
eſteemed alike of the coward and couragious. Neuertheles, as much as thoſe quiet
times gaue him leaue, he renewed the auncient diſcipline; kept the Legions in pra-
ctiſe with care and foreſight; as if the enemy had beene at hand; thinking it a thing
worthy of his auncеſtors, and *Caſſian* familie, renowned among thoſe people. Ha-
uing therefore ſent for them, through whoſe conſentment the King was demaun-
ded, & planted his camp at Zeugma, where the riuer is moſt paſſable: after that the
noble men of Parthia, and the King of the Arabians called *Abbarus* was come, hee
ſhewed vnto *Meherdates*, that the firſt brunt of the barbarians was fierce and hote;
but by delay and lingring became cold, or turned into treaſon; and therefore hee
ſhould couragiouſly go through his enterpriſe. But his aduiſe was contemned
through *Abbarus* fraud, who detained him like an vnexperienced yong man in the
towne of Edeſſa; as though the higheſt degree of fortune and princely felicity had
conſiſted in riot and wantonnes. And when *Carrhenes* called them in, and aſſured
them, that all was in a good readines if they would make haſte, they did not march
ſtraight to Meſopotamia, but turned to Armenia in an vnſeaſonable time, becauſe
cap. 13 the winter was begun. Then wearied with ſnowes and mountaines, comming neere
to the plaine, they ioyned with *Carrhenes* forces. And hauing paſſed the riuer of
Tigris, they entered into the countrey of Adiabeni; whoſe King *Iuliates* in open
ſhew profeſſed himſelfe a confederate of *Meherdates*, but vnder hand was more
faithfully bent to *Gotarzes*.

IIII. Gotar-

IIII. Gotarzes *ouercommeth* Meherdates, *and cutteth off his eares*: Mithridates *vsurpeth the kingdome of the Dandarides: and goeth about to driue out* Cotys.

NEuertheleſſe in paſſing by, *Meherdates* tooke the citie of Ninos, the moſt ancient ſeat of Aſſyria, and a famous Caſtle; becauſe that in the laſt battell betwixt *Darius* and *Alexander* there; the Perſian power was brought to vtter ruine. In the meane time *Gotarzes* at a hill called Sambulos, offered vowes to the gods of the place, among which *Hercules* was chiefly honoured: who at a certaine time admoniſheth his Prieſts in a dreame, that neere vnto the Temple, they ſhould haue horſes ready prepared for hunting: the horſes loaden with quiuers full of arrowes prawnſing vp and downe the woods, returne at night, breathing and panting with their quiuers empty. The god again declareth to them in a dream what woods they haue courſed vp and downe in; whither they goe and find wilde beaſts killed in many places. But *Gotarzes* not hauing ſufficiently ſtrengthened his armie, vſeth the riuer Corma for a defence. And alt hough he were ſummoned by diuers meſſengers and hard ſpeeches to battel: yet he ſought delayes; changed place; and ſent ſome to corrupt the enemy, and draw them to forſake their obedience. Among which *Ezates Adiabenus*, and anon after *Abbarus* King of the Arabians, with their army began to ſhrink thorugh a certain lightnes incident to that nation: and becauſe it is tried by experience that the Barbarians had rather come to Rome to demand a King, then when they haue him, keepe him. Now *Meherdates* ſeeing himſelfe ſtripped of his ſtrongeſt ſuccour, and ſuſpecting leſt the others would betray him, determined for his laſt refuge to commit his matter to chaunce, and hazard it in a maine battell. *Gotarzes* being very fierce, that his enemies forces were diminiſhed, refuſed not to fight. They met with great ſlaughter and a doubtfull iſſue; vntill *Carthenes* making cleere way before him, and driuing and purſuing the enemies too farre, was compaſſed behinde with a freſh company and ſlaine. Then all hope being loſt, *Meherdates* truſting the promiſes of one *Parrhacis* a follower of his father, by his falſhood was taken priſoner, and deliuered to the Conquerour. Who intreated him not like a kinſman, or one of the *Arſacis* ſtocke; but reuled him like a ſtranger and a Roman: and hauing cut off his eares, gaue him his life, as a ſhew of his clemencie; and diſhonour and reproch vnto vs. Not long after *Gotarzes* died of a diſeaſe; and *Vonones* then gouernour of the Medes, was called to be King. There happened nothing in his raigne either proſperous or vnproſperons, worthie the telling: he liued but a ſhort and an inglorious time; and the kingdome of the Parthians was tranſlated to his ſonne *Vologeſes*. But *Mithridates* the Boſphoran wandering vp and downe after he had loſt his forces; vnderſtanding that *Didius* the Roman Captaine with the ſtrength of his army was departed: and that not only *Cotys* a raw and rude youth, was left in the new kingdom with ſome few bands vnder the conduct of *Iulius Aquila* a gentleman of Rome; contemning both of them, began to ſollicite the countries about him, and allure fugitiues: and at laſt, hauing aſſembled an armie, chaſeth out the King of the Dandarides, and inioyeth his kingdome. Which being vnderſtood, and looking euery hower that he would inuade the Boſphoran: *Aquila* and *Cotys* diſtruſting their owne forces, becauſe *Zorſines* King of the Soraci had taken armes againe, ſought for forreine aide, and ſent Ambaſſadors to *Eunones* King of the Adorſian nation: being no hard matter to draw him to their

cap. 14.

cap. 15.

fellowship, after he had declared what oddes there was between the Roman forces, and the rebell *Mithridates*. Whereupon they agreed that *Eunones* should haue
cap. 16. charge of the horsemen, and the Romains besiege townes. Then hauing mustered their armie in order, they marche in battell array; the Adorsi defending the front and the rereward; the cohorts and Bosphorani the middle battell, armed after our fashion. And so driuing backe the enemy, we came to Soza the chiefe towne of Dandarica, which *Mithradates* forsooke; where wee left a garrison, as being doubtfull of the inhabitants fidelitie. From thence they marched to the Soraci: and hauing passed the riuer Panda, they besieged the city Vspe, situated on a high place, & fortified with wals and ditches, sauing that the wals not being made of stone, but of hurdles ioyned together, and earth in the middle, were too weake against the besiegers: who hauing erected towers higher then the wals, with fire and darts disordered they besieged: and had not the night broken off the battell, the towne had
cap. 17. beene assaulted and taken the same day. The next day they sent Ambassadors to intreat for the free men; but of slaues they offered ten thousand, which the Conquerours refused. And because that to slay such as yeelded would be a cruell part; and to keepe so great a multitude hard; they thought it best to hold on the siege, and kill them by right of warre: and thereupon the signe was giuen to such souldiers as had scaled the wals to put them to the sword.

V. Mithridates *being forsaken by* Zorsines *King of the Soraci, yeeldeth to* Eunones *King of the Adorsi, and came to Rome after he had made a peace.*

THe slaughter of the Vspensians stroke the rest into a feare, thinking now that there was no safety in any thing: seeing their armes; their fortresses, high and hard places; riuers and townes, were forced alike. Zorsines then long waighing with himselfe, whether he should succour *Mithridates* desperate case; or prouide for his fathers kingdome: at length the loue of his country swaying him, hauing giuen pledges, hee prostrated himselfe before the image of *Cæsar*, to the great glory of the Roman army; which without any losse of bloodshed on his side came (as it is most manifest) victorious, within three daies iourney of the riuer Tanais. But in returning fortune was not alike; becausse some of the shippes carried on the Taurian shores, were by the Barbarians surprised, & the prefect of the cohorts, and
cap. 18. most of the Centurions slaine. In the meane time *Mithradates* finding no safety in armes, debateth with himselfe whose mercy he should trie: He feared his brother *Cotys*, because he betraied him once, and was now his enemy. There was none of the Romans of such authority, that their promises should greatly bee regarded: in fine, he addressed himselfe to *Eunones* his enemy for priuate grudge; but great, and of better credit through the friendship newly contracted with vs. Therefore composing his countenance, and attiring himselfe suitable to his present estate, goeth to
" the Kings pallace, and casting himselfe at his knees, saith: Behold heere *Mithradates*,
" whom by sea and by land you haue so many yeeres sought. Behold I am here of my
" owne voluntary will. Vse as thou wilt the sonne of great *Achemenes*, which is the
cap. 19. " onely thing which the enemies haue not taken from me. But *Eunones* moued with the nobility of the man & the change of his fortune; at his prayer which argued no base mind; lifteth vp the suppliant, and commendeth him that hee had chosen the Adorsian nation, and his right hand for obtayning of pardon. And withall sendeth
" Ambassadors and letters to *Cæsar* with these contents. That the first friendship, betwixt

twixt the Emperours and Kings of other mighty nations, proceeded of conformitie and likenes of fortune: but *Claudius* amity and his, of a victorie common to them both. That the end of warre were most notable, when peace was made with pardoning. So when *Zorsinus* was conquered nothing was taken from him: for *Mithradates* although he had deserued woorse; no power, no kingdome was intreated for; but onely that he might not be lead in triumph, and lose his life. Neuertheless *Claudius*, although he were milde and gentle towards forreine nobility; yet doubted, whether it were best for him to receiue the captiue vnder condition of life, or demaund him by force of armes. For on one side the griefe of iniuries receiued, and desire of reuenge pricked him; and on the other, reasons to the contrary: That hee should take a warre in hand in a hard countrey, and a hauenlesse sea: with all that the Kings were fierce and the people scattered, and the soile fruitlesse, and needy of victuals; then that lingring would bring tediousnes, and haste danger: the praise should be small to the conquerers; the infamie great if they tooke the repulse: therfore it were best to take the offer, and keepe the exiled: who being poore, how much the longer he liued; so much the more punishment he should indure. Mooued with these reasons he wrote to *Eunones*. In verie truth, that *Mithradates* deserued examplarie punishment; neither wanted he power to execute it: neuertheless it hath seemed best vnto our predecessors, to vse as great benignity towards humble suppliants, as hard and rigorous dealing towards the enemie: for triumphes were gotten of whole nations and kingdomes. Then *Mithradates* was deliuered and carried to Rome by *Iunius Celo* Procurator of Pontus; and thought to haue spoken more boldly to *Cæsar*, then his estate required. His speech was carried to the people in these termes. I am not sent backe vnto thee, but am come; and if thou beleeue me not, let mee goe and trie. There appeered no signe of feare in his countenance, when as garded with keepers neere vnto the court, he was shewen vnto the people. The Consularie ornaments were giuen to *Colo*, and the Pretorian to *Aquila*.

cap. 20.

cap. 21.

VI. *The death of* Lollia Paulina, *through* Agrippinaes *iealousie.* Calphurnia *driuen out of Italy.*

cap. 22.

VNder the same Consuls *Agrippina* boiling with deadly hatred and malice against *Lollia*, because shee had contended with her for the marrying of the Prince, left no meanes vnsought, vntill shee had stirred vp some to accuse her of conference had with the Chaldeans, and Magicians, and counsell asked of the idoll of *Apollo Clarius*, concerning the Emperors marriage. Hereupon *Claudius*, the defendant vnheard, hauing spoken much before the Senat of her noblenes of birth, that shee was *L. Volusius* sisters daughter; that *Cotta Messalinus* was her great vncle, and she once wife to *Mennius Regulus*, (for of purpose he left out that she had beene married to *C. Cæsar*) added in the end; that shee had practised dangerous things against the state; and that all occasion and matter of euill was to bee taken away: therefore he was of aduise that shee should lose her goods, and depart out of Italy; leauing the banished woman of the infinite wealth which shee was mistres of, but *fifty hundred thousand sesterces. And *Calphurnia*, a woman of great birth was ouerthrowne, only because the Prince had praised her beawty; not for any amorous affection, but by chance: yet *Agrippina* stretched not her malice to the vttermost against her, but sent a Tribune to make away *Lollia*. And *Cadius Rufus* was condemned for bribery, and extortion, at the instance of the Bithynians. And in consideration of the great reuerence the inhabitants of Gallia Narbonensis bare the

*About 390 l. pound 10 shill.

cap. 23.

Lords

Lords of the Senat, it was graunted to the Senators of that prouince, that without licence of the Prince they might go visit their houses, & dispose of their goods with the like priuiledge, as they which were of the prouince of Sicilia. The Ituræi and Iewes, after their Kings *Sohemus* and *Agrippa* were dead, were ioyned to the prouince of Syria. It was ordained that the ceremonies of the auguration of health, intermitted fiue and twenty yeres, should be renewed, and continued from thencefoorth. *Cæsar* inlarged the circuit of the citie, according to the auncient custome; by which licence was giuen them which had inlarged the bounds of the Empire, to inlarge the bounds of the Citie. Neuertheles none of the Roman captaines, *L. Sylla* cap. 24. and *Augustus* excepted, although they had subdued mighty nations, had vndertaken to do it: but whether the Kings which then ruled the citie did it for ambition or vaine-glory, there run diuers reports. But it shall not be impertinent, as I thinke, to lay downe the beginning of the foundation of Rome, and what circuit *Romulus* first assigned. Hee therefore began the circuit at the oxe market called *forum boarium*, where wee set vp a picture of a brazen Bull (because that kinde of beast is broken to the plough) from thence drawing a furrow as a plat of the circuit of the citie, which contained within it the great altar of *Hercules*. From thence by certaine distances stones were put by the foot of the hill Palatine, vnto the altar of *Consus*; then to the old Curies; then to the chappell of the houshould gods. For some haue thought, that the forum Romanum, and the Capitoll, were not added to the city by *Romulus*, but by *T. Tatius*. After that, the circuit or pomœrium was augmented, according to the fortune and riches of the Kings. And for the limits that *Claudius* then put, they are easily knowne, and are written in the publike actes.

VII. Domitius *sonne of* Agrippina *is adopted by* Claudius. *The* Catti *send hostages to Rome.* Vannius *driuen out of his country, goeth to Rome.*

C. *Antistius*, and *M. Suilius* being Consuls, the adoption of *Domitius* was cap. 25. An. 798. hastened through *Pallas* credit, who being wholie at *Agrippinaes* deuotion, as a principall meane of working the marriage betweene *Claudius* and her, then bound vnto her, for vnlawfull company of her body; vrged *Claudius* to prouide for the common wealth, and strengthen *Britannicus* estate whilest hee was yong. So *Augustus* wiues children did flourish, although hee had nephewes of his owne for a stay to his house: and *Tiberius* hauing issue of his owne, adopted *Germanicus*: therefore that he should also strengthen himselfe with this yoong man, who would take part of the care vpon him. *Claudius* yeelding to this perswasion, preferreth *Domitius* beeing but two yeeres elder: before his owne sonne; and maketh an oration before the Lords of the Senate, which he receiued of his freed man *Pallas*. The skilfull and wise did note, that there had neuer beene any adoption before that time in the Patrician familie of the *Claudians*, & that the succession had neuer failed from *Atta Clausus*. Neuertheles great thanks were rendred the Prince, and exquisite flatterie vsed to *Domitius*, and a decree set downe, by which hee should be accompted one of the *Claudian* familie, and be called *Nero*. *Agrippina* also was magnified with the surname of *Augusta*. Both which done, there was no man so voide of pittie, which was not grieued and sorry for *Britannicus* fortune: for by little and little he was abandoned and scorned of his basest seruants, by shewing an vnseasonable dutie to his stepmother, which he well perceiued, as not dull witted, but of good conceipt, as it is reported, either because he was so indeede, or attributed to him in his

his distresse, the fame and opinion continued without triall. *Agrippina* to make hir credit and power knowen among the confederates also, commanded the old souldiers, and a Colony to be brought to the City of Vbium, where she was borne, which was afterward called of hir name *Agrippina*. It hapned by chance, that when that Nation passed the Rhene, hir Grandfather *Agrippa* tooke them into his protection. About the same time vpper Germany quaked with feare, through the comming of the Catti, which robbed and spoiled all where they came. Whereupon *L. Pomponius* Lieutenant, gaue aduertisement to aide the Vangiones, and Nemetians, adding vnto them a company of horsemen, to get before those Forragers; or if they slipped away, compasse and surprize them on a sudden. The diligence of the souldiers followed the Captaines counsell, and diuiding themselues into two companies, those which tooke the left hand came vpon them, and slew them, as they newly returned from pillage, riotously abusing their booty, and heauy asleepe. Their ioy was increased, because they had deliuered from seruitude some of their fellowes, which forty yeeres before had beene taken when *Varus* was defeated. But those which tooke the right hand, and the neerest way, meeting the enemy in the face, and daring to encounter, made a greater slaughter and loaden with booty and fame, returned to the hill Taunus; where *Pomponius* was expected with the Legions, if the Catti desiring a reuenge, would offer occasion to fight. But they fearing lest the Romans would set on them on one side, and the Cherusci with whom they are alwaies at farre, on the other; sent Embassadors and hostages to Rome; where the honour of triumph was awarded *Pomponius*, a small part of his fame with posterity, being more renowmed for skill in poetry. About the same time *Vannius* made King of the Sweuians by *Drusus Cæsar*, was driuen out of his kingdome: in the beginning of his rule well liked and accepted of the people; but in the end growing proud, partly by the hatred of the borderers, and partly by ciuill discords, was put to the worst. The authors of this practise were *Iubillius* King of the Hermunduri, and *Vangio*, and *Sido*, *Vannius* sisters children: yet *Claudius* although often intreated, whilest these barbarous people were together by the eares, would no way intermeddle; only he promised *Vannius* refuge if he were driuen out: and wrot vnto *P. Atilius Histrus* Gouernour of Pannony, to lodge a Legion, and all the aid he could leuy in the prouince, on the banke of Danubium; as an aid to the conquered, and a terrour to the conquerer, lest puffed vp with prosperous fortune, they would so disturbe our peace. For an infinite power of the Ligians and other Nations were comming, drawen with the fame of the wealth of *Vannius* kingdome, which for thirty yeeres space he had enriched with pillages and tributes. *Vannius* owne forces consisted in foote-men, his horse-men were of Sermates, called Iazygiens, vnable to encounter the multitude of the enemies power, and therefore defended himselfe in fortresses, and purposed to protract the war. But the Iazygiens not able to indure to be besieged, but wandring and wasting the Champion adioyning, droue *Vannius* to a necessity of fighting, because *Vangius* and *Hurmunduru* were pressing in, on the backes of them. *Vannius* therefore issuing out of his Fort, lost the battell, but not without honour, euen in his distresse: because in person he shunned not the battell, and face to face receiued wounds in his body; and at last fled to his shipping which waited for him in Danubium: by and by his Vassals following him, hauing receiued land to dwell in, planted themselues in a part of Hungaria. The Kingdome *Vangio* and *Sido* parted betweene them, shewing great loialty towards vs. Their subiects either for their desert, or such being the disposition of those which are kept vnder, whilest they were yet a getting the kingdome, shewed them all tokens of loue and affection: but after they had

had gotten it, as the greater their loue before, so the greater their hatred after.

VIII. Ostorius *gouernor of great Britannia, gaineth a battell against the Iceni, and tooke* Caractacus *King of the same countrey, and sent him to Rome. The warres of the Romanes against the Siluri.*

Tacit. lib. 12. cap. 31.

P. *Ostorius* Propretor of Britannia, at his landing found all in an vprore: the enemie ranging the allies countrey, and vsing so much the greater violence, because he thought the new captaine as vnacquainted with his armie, and the winter also begun, would not come foorth to encounter him. But he knowing well that the first successe breedeth either feare or confidence; gathered with speed his readiest cohorts, made toward the enemy, slaying those which made head against him; pursued the residue straggled abroad, for feare least they should ioyne againe: and least a faithlesse and cloaked peace should neither giue the captaine nor the souldier any rest, hee disarmed those he suspected, and hemmed them in with garrisons betweene Antona and Sabrina[a]. Which the Iceni[b] first of all refused, a strong people, and vnshaken with warres; because that of their owne motion they had sought our alliance and amitie: and at their instigation the people adioyning chose a place to fight, compassed in with a rude and common trench, and narrow entrance, to hinder the comming in of horsemen. That fence the Roman Captaine, although he wanted the strength of the legions, went about to force with the aide of the allies alone: and hauing placed his cohorts in rankes, setteth the troupes of horsemen in a like readines to their businesse: then giuing the signe of battell brake the rampire, and disordered the enemies in their owne fortresses. Who stroken in conscience with a remorse for their rebellion; and seeing all passages of escaping stopped vp; shewed great courage and valour in defending themselues. In which fight *M. Ostorius* the Lieutenants sonne, deserued the honour of sauing a citizen. But by the slaughter of the Iceni, those which wauered between warre and peace were quieted, and the armie lead against the [c] Cangi. Whose countrey they wasted and spoiled; the enemy not daring to shew himselfe in fielde: or if priuily and by stealth they attempted to cut off any which dragged behind, they payed for their comming. Now the Roman army was come neere vnto the sea coast which lookes towards Ireland, when as certaine tumults sproong vp among the [d] Brigantes brought backe the Captaine, certainly resolued not to attempt any new matter, vntill he had setled the old. But as for the Brigantes, some few put to death which first began to take armes; the residue being pardoned, all were quieted. The [e] Siluri could neither by cruelty nor faire meanes, bee hindered from making warre: and therefore no remedy left to keepe them vnder, but with a garrison of legionarie soldiers. The which to performe more easily, a colonie called [f] Camalodunum, of a strong company of old soldiers, was brought into the subdued countrey, as an aide and safegard against the rebels; and inducement to the confederates, to the obseruation of lawes. From thence they marched against the Siluri; besides their owne courage trusting to *Caractacus* strength; who hauing waded thorow many dangers, and in many aduentures prosperous and luckie, had gotten such reputation, that he was preferred before all the British Captaines. But in craft, and skilfulnesse of the countrey, hauing the aduantage on vs, but weaker in strength, remoueth the warre to the [g] Ordouices: and there all those ioyning to him which feared our peace, resolued

[a] Nen, at Northhampton and Seuerne. *Vide Camdenum.*

[b] Suffolke, Norfolke, Cambridgeshire, & Huntingtonshire.

[c] Whether Sommersetshire men or Chesshire, *Consul. Camd.*

[d] Yorkshire Lancashire. B. of Durham Westmerlād, Cumberland,

[e] Southwales as Herefordshire. Radnorshire. Brecknockshire, Monmouthshire, and Glamorganshire,

[f] Maldon in Essex.

[g] Northwales Montgomeryshire. Merionythshire. Carnaruonshire. Denbighshire, and Flintshire.

ued to hazard the laſt chaunce; chuſing a place for the battell, where the comming in and going out was very incommodious to vs; and to his, great aduantange. Then they got to the top of a hill: and if there were any eaſie paſſage vnto them, they ſtopped it vp with heapes of ſtones, as it were in manner of rampire. Not farre off, ranne a riuer with an vncertain foord, where a great troup of his beſt ſouldiers were ready in order before the rampire. Beſides this, the leaders went about, exhorted and incouraged the ſouldiers, taking all occaſion of feare from them, and putting them in hope, with all other inducements of warre. And *Caractacus* courſing hither & thither, proteſted: That that day, and that battell ſhould be either the beginning of the recouering of their liberty, or perpetuall ſeruitude. Hee called vpon the names of his auncеſtors, which chaſed *Cæſar* the Dictator out of the Ile; by whoſe valour they were deliuered from hatchets, and tributes; and inioyed freely their wiues and childrens bodies vndefiled. Whileſt he vttered theſe or the like ſpeeches, the people made a noiſe about him; and euery man ſwore according to the religion of his countrey, that he would yeeld, neither for wounds nor armes. That courage and cheerefulnes greatly aſtonied the Roman Captaine: and conſidering the riuer before his face; the forte they had caſt vp; the high hils which hanged ouer them; all things deadly to them, and commodious for the enemie; droue him into a doubt of the ſucceſſe. Neuertheleſſe the ſouldier demanded battell, crying that there was nothing which valour could not ouercome. The Prefects and Tribunes vſing the like ſpeeches, greatly inceнſed the ardour and courage of the reſt. Then *Oſtorius* hauing viewed what places were of hard paſſage, and which of eaſie; leadeth his army boyling with choler, with ſmal difficulty ouer the riuer. But whē we were come to the rampire, as long as we fought with throwing of dartes; we receiued moſt wounds, and many of our men were ſlaine: but after we had made our target fence* thicke, and broken downe thoſe rude compacted heapes of ſtones; and that the fronts of both the armies came cloſe to handie ſtrokes, without ods: the Barbarians fled to the hill tops. But thither alſo as wel the light harneſſed ſoldiers, as the corſlets brake in: after whom the one galding them with darts and Iauelins; and the others marching thicke and cloſe together, brake the ranks, and diſordered the Britaines; hauing neither head-peece, nor coat of fence. If they thought to reſiſt our aid-ſouldiers, they were beaten downe with ſwords and Iauelins by the legionaries; if they turned to make head againſt them, they were ſlaine with the pikes; and two handed ſwords of the auxiliaries. That victory was famous; *Caractacus* wife and daughter were taken, and his brothers yeelded themſelues. He himſelf (as generally all ſuccor failes in aduerſity) crauing defence & protection of *Cartiſmandua*, Queen of the Brigantes was by her taken priſoner and deliuered to the conquerors nine yeeres after the warre was begun in Britannia. Whereupon his fame being carried ouer the Ilands, and ſpread abroad throughout the Prouinces adioyning, was alſo renowned in Italy: and they deſired to ſee who hee was, that ſo many yeeres had contemned our forces. Neither was his name meanely eſteemed of at Rome. And whileſt *Cæſar* extolled his owne woorth, he made the conquered more glorious. The people was aſſembled, as to ſee a notable ſpectacle. The Emperours guard was all in armes, & good order, in the field before their campe then *Caractacus* vaſſals and retinue going before, the capariſſons, his chaines and all other things gotten in warre againſt ſtrangers, were brought after; then his brothers; his wife and daughter; and laſt of all, he himſelfe was ſhewen to the people. The prayers of the reſt were baſe for feare: but *Caractacus* neither hanging down the head; nor in words crauing mercy, when he ſtood before *Cæſars* tribunall, ſpake as followeth.

If

cap. 34

cap. 35

cap. 36.

*Vide annot. in hiſt. lib. 3. num. 7.

cap. 37 "If my moderation in prosperity had beene as great as my nobility and Fortune, I had
"come rather as a friend into this City, then a captiue: neither wouldest thou haue
"disdained to haue receiued me with couenants of peace, being descended of anci-
"ent progenitors, and commanding ouer many Nations. My present lot, as it is to me
"dishonorable; so is it to thee magnificent. I haue had horses, men, armes, wealth:
"What maruell is it if vnwillingly I haue lost them? for if you will command all men,
"it followeth that all men become bond men. If presently I had yeelded and beene
"deliuered into thy hands; neither my fortune, nor thy glory had beene renowned;
"and obliuion would haue followed my punishment. But if thou keepe me aliue, I
shall be for euer an example of thy clemency. Hauing spoken these words, *Cæsar*
pardoned him, his wife, and his brothers. And being all vnbound, they did their re-
uerence likewise vnto *Agrippina*, who sat a loft in another high chaire; and gaue her
the like praises and thankes, as they had giuen the Prince. Surely a new and strange
thing, and of our ancestors neuer vsed, that a woman should sit and command the
Roman ensignes; but shee carried hir selfe as a fellow and associate of the Empire
cap. 38. gotten by hir ancestors. After this the Lords of the Senate being called together,
they made long and glorious discourses touching *Caractacus* captiuity: affirming it
to be no lesse honorable then when *P. Scipio*, shewed *Siphaces* vnto the people, and
L. Paullus Perses; or if any other had exhibited to the view of the people Kings van-
quished and ouercome. Then publike honours of triumph were ordained for *Ostorius*
his fortunes vntill then prosperous; but not long after doubtfull: either because that
Caractacus being remooued, as though thereby all had been vanquished and subdu-
ed, seruice was carelessly intertained; or else because that the enemies hauing com-
passion of so mighty a king, were more feruently enflamed to reuenge. For they in-
uironed the Camp-master, and the Legionary Cohorts, which were left behind to
build fortresses in the Silures country: and if they had not beene speedily rescued by
the Villages and Fortes adioyning, they had beene put to the sword euery man. Ne-
uertheless the Campe-master, and eight Centurions, and the forwardest common
souldiers, were slaine: and anon after they put to flight our Forragers, and the
cap. 39. troupes of Horse-men which were sent to rescue them. Then *Ostorius* sendeth a-
broad certaine light harnessed Companies; which yet could not stay their flight, if
the Legions had not vndertaken the battell. By their strength they fought with small
odds on either hand, till at length we had the better of it; and the enemy be-
tooke him to his heeles with small losse, because the day began to faile. After that
time they had diuers skirmishes, though for the most part in Woods and Marishes,
according as occasion was giuen, in manner of roades, either by chance, or of
valour; sometimes by their Captaines commandement; and sometime without
warrant: but principally by the obstinacy of the Siluri, exasperated with a speech
which the Roman Emperour should haue vsed: which was, that as the Sugambri
were destroied, and transported into Gallia; so the name of the Siluri should vt-
terly be extinguished. And in this heate they entercepted two aide-bandes, vncir-
cumspectly wasting and spoiling through the auarice of the Captaines; and by di-
stributing the spoiles and prisoners, drew the residue of the Nations to reuolt;
when as *Ostorius* wearied with care and trauell yeelded vp his Ghost: the e-
nemy reioycing thereat, as at the death of a Captaine not to be despised, though
cap. 40. not in battell, yet spent by reason of the warre. But *Cæsar* being aduertised of the
death of his Lieutenant, lest the Prouince should be destitute of a Gouernour, sent
A. Didius in his place. He being gone thither with great speed, yet found not all
quiet.

quiet: *Manlius Valens* in the meane space hauing had with a legion committed to his charge an vnluckie fight. The fame whereof the enemy made greater then it was, to terrifie the captaine which was comming: and he vſed the like policie, and augmented the fame of that which he had heard, to win more praiſe by appeaſing the ſturres; or if he could not, to purchaſe pardon more eaſily. The Siluri did therein endomage vs, and waſte and ſpoile farre abroad, vntill by *Didius* comming they were driuen back. But after that *Caractacus* was taken, *Venutius* a very expert man in militarie affairs, borne at the citie of the Iugantes;* & as I haue ſaid before, a long time truſty vnto vs, and defended by the Roman power, as long as the marriage betwixt him and *Cartiſmandua* continued; rebelled againſt vs, by reaſon of a diuorce and warre betweene them. But at the firſt the ſtriſe was onely betweene them two, vntill *Cartiſmandua* by policie had taken priſoner *Venutius* brother and neereſt kinſmen. Whereupon the enemies kindled with rage, and ignominy pricking them forward, leſt they ſhould be brought vnder the yoke of a woman, they inuaded her kingdome with a ſtrong power of armed and choiſe youth. Which was foreſeene by vs, and the cohorts ſent to ſecond her, fought a hote battell; which at the beginning was doubtfull, though the end more ioyfull. A legion alſo which *Ceſtius Naſica* commanded, fought with the like ſucceſſe: for *Didius* being ſtroken in yeeres, and hauing receiued many honors, thought it ſufficient to execute his charge, and driue away the enemy by the help of others. Theſe exploits although they were atchieued by two Propretors *Oſtorius* and *Didius* in many yeeres; yet I thought good to ioyne together, leaſt being ſeuered, they ſhould not ſo well haue beene remembred.

*E Ciuitate Brigantum ſaith Camd.

IX. Nero Agrippinaes *ſonne, is preferred before* Britannicus, *ſonne to* Claudius.

NOw I will returne to the order of times. *Ti. Claudius* being the fift time Conſull, and *Ser. Cornelius Orfitus*, great haſt was made to make *Nero* of full yeeres, *that he might ſeeme more capable of the gouernment. And *Cæſar* willingly yeelding to the flattery of the Lords of the Senate, conſented that *Nero* ſhould be Conſull at twentie yeeres of age: and being elect, in the meane ſeaſon, haue the Proconſulary authoritie out of the citie; and be called prince of youth. There was alſo giuen in his name a donatiue to the ſouldiers, and a liberalitie to the people. The Circenſian playes being exhibited to win the fauour of the people, *Britannicus* in his pretext, and *Nero* in triumphing attire; becauſe the people ſhould ſee the one in the magnificence of an Emperour, and the other in the habite of a child; thereby to preſume what fortune to either of them ſhould hereafter fall. Withall, if any of the Centurions or Tribunes bewayled *Britannicus* hap, they were remoued either by fained pretences, or vnder colour of preferment: yea of the freed men, if any were faithfull, he was not ſuffered about him. As theſe two met vpon occaſion, *Nero* ſaluted *Britannicus* by his name, and *Britannicus* rendered him the like by the name of *Domitius*. Which *Agrippina* taking hold of, as a beginning of a quarrel, carieth to her husband with a grieuous complaint, ſaying: that the adoption was nought ſet by, the decree of Senate, the ordinance of the people broken and abrogated in his owne houſe: and if ſuch contemptuous frowardnes of *Britannicus* teachers were not ſeuerely looked vnto, it would burſt out into ſome publike miſchiefe. *Claudius* moued with theſe complaints, as though they had beene faults indeede; either baniſhed, or put to death the chiefeſt bringers vp of

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*Tegeriti in oppoſition to *praetexta*, which noble mens children wore till 17. then tooke *toga virilis* *Suet. Ner. 7. Tacit. Ann. 13. 11. Dio. 60. Plin. Pan. 11.

cap. 41 of his sonne, and placed such ouer him as his stepmother would appoint. Neuertheless *Agrippina* durst not leuell at her chiefest marke, which was, that her sonne should succeed in state, vnlesse *Lusius Geta*, and *Rufius Crispinus* captaines of *Cæsars* gard were first discharged; whom shee thought would be mindfull of *Messalinaes* fauours towards them, and therefore bound vnto her children. *Agrippina* therefore beareth the Emperour in hand, that the guard was diuided into factions through ambition of the two captaines striuing for superioritie; that the discipline of seruice would be better kept if the souldiers were commanded by one alone. The charge of the cohorts was transferred vnto *Burrhus Afranius*, a man of great fame for matter of seruice, yet knowing well by whose practise and fauour hee came to the place. *Agrippina* began also to raise her owne estate to a higher degree, by entering into the Capitol in a Chariot, which in times past was a custome only lawfull for the Priests in sacred rites; which augmented the more the state of this woman, because she was the only example vnto this day of any one, who being daughter of an Emperour, hath bene also sister, wife, and mother of an Emperour. In the meane season her chiefest buckler *Vitellius*, being in highest fauour, and very old (so slippery is the state of great personages (was accused by *Iunius Lupus* Senator, of treason, and aspiring to the Empire; and *Cæsar* ready to giue eare to the accusation, if hee had not rather changed his opinion by *Agrippinaes* threats then intreaties, and so to banish cap. 43 the accuser, which was the punishment *Vitellius* best liked. That yeere many prodigious sights hapned: as that many birds portending euill lucke lighted vppon the Capitol; many houses ruined by often earthquakes, and the feare spreading among the astonied people, many in throngs were smothered. The want of corne, and the famine which insued thereof was also construed as a presage of euill lucke. Neither did they complaine in secret onely, but came about *Claudius* as he gaue audience, with turbulent clamours, and hauing thrust him to the end of the forum, followed him, vntill that with a band of souldiers hee brake through the preasse. It was most certaine that the citie was not victualled for aboue fifteene daies: but by the great goodnes of the gods, and mildnesse of the winter, the citie was releeued in necessity. But truly in times past prouision of corne hath been transported out of Italy into other prouinces farre distant. And at this present wee stand not in want through the barrennes of the countrey, but we do rather manure Afrike and Ægypt, and hazard the life of the people of Rome by sea, whereof depends want or abundance.

X. *Warres betweene the Romans and the Parthians.*

cap. 44 THe same yeere a warre begun betweene the Armenians & Hiberi, was cause of great troubles betwixt the Romans and the Parthians. *Vologeses* was King of the Parthians, descended by his mothers side of a Greek concubine, yet got the kingdome by consent of his brothers. *Pharasmanes* hath a long time possessed the Hiberians countrey as a King: and his brother *Mithradates* the Armenians through our forces. *Pharasmanes* had a sonne called *Rhadamistus* of a comely tall stature, and of a very strong and able bodie, trained vp in the qualities and practises his father before him had beene, and greatly renowned among his neighbours. He was woont to say that the kingdome of Hiberia was small; and yet kept from him by his father, who was verie olde: and so oft he did cast foorth those speeches, and so fiercely, that it was easily seene how greedy a desire he had to raigne. *Pharasmanes* then seeing this yoong man so desirous and ready to rule, misdoubting the peoples affection bent towards him, by reason of his declining yeeres; thought it best

beſt to feede him with ſome other hope and ſet Armenia before his eies, telling him that he had giuen that Kingdome to *Mithradates*, hauing firſt expulſed the Parthians. Yet that it was not his beſt courſe to ſet on it by force; but vſe policy againſt *Mithradates* and intrap him when he leaſt looked for it. *Rhadamiſtus* vnder colour of ſome diſcontent with his father, through the inſupportable dealing of his ſtep-mother, goeth to his Vncle: where being intreated with all curteſie as if he had beene his owne childe, ſolliciteth the chiefe Noble-men of Armenia to rebellion: *Mithradates* knowing nothing, but ſtill entertaining him with all fauour and kindneſſe. *Rhadamiſtus* vnder colour of reconciliation returned vnto his father, and declared vnto him, to what a forwardneſſe he had brought matters by policy; and that the reſt was to be accompliſhed by armes. In the meane time *Pharaſmanes* ſeeketh occaſions of warre: and faineth that when he made warre againſt the King of the Albani, and demanded ſuccour of the Romans, his brother was againſt him, which iniury he would reuenge to his vtter ruine and ouerthrow. And there withall giueth his ſonne a ſtrong power; who hauing terrified *Mithradates* with a ſudden irruption and driuen him out of the field, forced him to flee into a Forte called Gorneas, ſtrong by ſituation, and garded with a Garriſon of ſouldiers: *Calus Pollio* being their Captaine, and *Caſperius* their Centurion. The Barbarous people know nothing leſſe then engines and ſubtile deuiſes in beſieging and aſſayling of fortreſſes: and to vs that part of ſeruice is moſt familiar. And *Rhadamiſtus* in vaine, yea with his loſſe hauing tried to approch the Forte beginneth the ſiege; and ſeeing how little good was to be done that way, trieth what marchandiſe he could make with the Captaine for mony: although *Caſperius* proteſted that a King confederate, or Armenia the gift of the people of Rome, ought not to be bought and ſould by corruption and mony. In the end, becauſe *Pollio* pretended the multitude of enemies, and *Rhadamiſtus* his fathers commandement; *Caſperius* hauing agreed to a ſuſpenſion of armes, departed: with intention that if he could not with-draw *Pharaſmanes* from making warre againſt *Mithradates*, he would informe *T. Vinidius Quadratus* Preſident of Syria in what ſtate Armenia ſtood. By the departure of the Centurion, the prefect being as it were deliuered of a keeper, began to exhort *Mithradates* to make a peace: Shewing him the vnity that ſhould be betweene brothers, that *Pharaſmanes* was his elder brother; with other reſpects of friendſhip and alliance; as that he had married *Pharaſmanes* daughter, and how he was *Rhadamiſtus* father in law. The Hiberi refuſed not to make a peace, although at that time they were ſtrong, and the perfidiouſneſſe of the Armenian well knowen; and *Mithradates* had no other refuge but the Caſtle deſtitute of munition: and therefore that he ſhould not doubt rather to accept conditions of peace without blood, then trie the hazard of warre. *Mithradates* reſolued not on the ſudden, ſuſpecting the Captaines counſels; becauſe he had lewdly behaued himſelfe with the Kings Concubines, was a man eaſily corrupted with mony to all lewdneſſe. *Caſperius* in the meane ſpace goeth to *Pharaſmanes*, and is very inſtant that the Hiberi ſhould depart from the ſiege of Gorneas. But the King giuing him openly vncertaine anſwers, and for the moſt part gentle and milde; by ſecret meſſengers aduertiſeth *Rhadamiſtus* by all poſſible meanes to haſten the aſſault. The price of the treaſon is augmented, and *Pollio* ſecretly corrupting the ſouldiers, perſwadeth them earneſtly to demand a peace, and threaten that they would abandon the Fortreſſe. Through which neceſſity *Mithradates* taketh a day and place to treate of a peace, and goeth out of the Fortreſſe. *Rhadamiſtus* running immediately to imbrace him; faineth great obedience; calleth him father in law, and father; and ſweareth hee would vſe no violence towards

cap. 45. cap. 46. cap. 47.

wards him, neither by sword, nor poison. And withal draweth him into a wood hard by, saying: that there he had caused a sacrifice to be prouided to conclude and confirme the peace in the presence of the gods. The custome of those Kings is that when they make any attonement, to ioyne their right hands, and binde their thumbes together and draw them hard with a knot; then when the blood is run to the outward parts, with a small pricke let it out, and then licke the one the others: that attonement is counted secret, as it were hallowed with their mutuall bloud. But he which should haue tied their thumbes together, faining as if he had fallen, catcheth hold of *Mithradates* knees, and ouerthroweth him: immediately many ran in and bound him in chaines and fetters, and so drew him away, which the Barbarians repute a great ignominy and dishonour. The common people whom he had rigorously tyrannised, reuiled him, and offered to strike him. But contrariwise there were some which had compassion of so great a change of Fortune: and his wife following with hir little children filled all with lamentation; who were all thrust into sundry couered Wagons, vntill *Pharasmanes* pleasure was knowen. But the Kingdome was deerer vnto him, then his brother and daughter; and therefore his minde was ready bent to all wickednesse: onely he tooke order that they should not be murdered in his sight. And *Rhadamistus* as it were mindefull of his oth, vsed neither sword nor poison against his sister and Vncle; but laying them on the ground couereth and stifeleth them with a heauy burden of clothes. And *Mithradates* children were slaine likewise, because they wept and bewailed the murdering of their parents. But *Quadratus* vnderstanding that *Mithradates* was betraied, and that the murderers inioyed the Kingdome; calleth a councell, declareth the matter, and consulteth whether he should reuenge or not. Few had care of the publicke credit; most were of opinion that they should imbrace the surest way. That they should be glad of all wickednesse committed among forraine Nations: yea that they should cast seedes of sedition and hatred among them: as oft the Roman Princes had bestowed the same Armenia vnder colour of liberality, now to one, now to another, as an occasion to put those Barbarians together by the eares. That *Rhadamistus* might inioy his ill gotten kingdome, so as withall he be odious and infamous: seeing that it was better so for the Romans, than if he had gotten it with credit. They all condescended vnto this aduise. And yet lest they should seeme to approoue that wicked fact, and lest *Cæsar* should command the contrary, messengers were sent to *Pharasmanes*, aduising him to depart Armenia, and withdraw his sonne away likewise. At that time *Iulius Pelignus* a dastardly coward, and no lesse despicable a iesting stocke for mishap and deformity of body, was Procurator of Cappadocia; but of inward familiarity with *Cæsar*; which being a priuate man in times past, in his company he spent his idle time with delight and contentation. This *Pelignus* hauing gathered together the forces of the Prouinces, as if he would recouer Armenia, but wasting and spoiling the allies more then the enemies; his owne reuolting from him, and the Barbarians making incursions; being without succour came to *Rhadamistus*, who with gifts so wonne him, that of his owne motion he exhorted him to crowne himselfe King, and assisted him as the Author and approouer of the action. Which dishonest fact being bruted abroad, least the credit of the rest should be measured according to this fact of *Pelignus*; *Heluidius Priscus*, Lieutenant was sent with a Legion to redresse those sturres as the present occasion required. Who hauing with all conuenient speed passed ouer the hill Taurus, and setling the affaires there rather with moderation, then force; was commanded to returne to Syria; lest he should be a beginning of war against the Parthians. For *Vologeses* thinking there had fell out iust

cap. 48.

cap. 49.

cap. 50.

occasion

occasion of inuading Armenia, which possessed of his Ancestors, a forraine King now occupied by a lewd practise; assembleth his power: and because none of his house should liue without rule and soueraignty, goeth about to inuest his brother *Tiridates* in the kingdome. By the comming of the Parthians, the Hiberi were driuen out without stroke striking: and the Cities of the Armenians, Artaxata, and Tigranocerta, submitted themselues to the yoake. But the sharpe and hard winter, or else scarsity of victuals and other prouision, and the sickenesse proceeding of both; constrained *Vologeses* to forsake his pretended enterprise: and *Rhadamistus* inuadeth Armenia afresh, hauing none to resist him; more cruell then before, as against rebels, ready at all times to rebel if occasion were offered. In so much that they, though accustomed to bondage: yet brake all patience, and besiege the Kings house; *Rhadamistus* hauing no other refuge, then the swiftnesse of his horses, saued both himselfe and his wife. But his wife being great with childe, endured the first flight so so, for feare of the enemy and loue of hir husband: afterward by continuall hast and ouermuch rogging and shaking, she began to pray hir husband that with an honest death she might be deliuered from the reproch of captiuity. He at the first embraced hir, comforted hir, encouraged hir; then admiring hir stoutnesse, then sicke with griefe, least leauing hir behind him, any should enioy hir: at last ouercome with loue; and being no babe in wicked attempts, draweth his Cymetter; and hauing giuen hir a wound, drew hir to the bankes of Araxis and committed hir to the riuer, least hir body should be carried away; and posteth himselfe to Hyberia his fathers kingdome. In the meane time the Shepheards espied *Zenobia* (for so was *Rhadamistus* wife called) drawing breath and aliue, vpon the quiet shore of the riuer: and iudging hir by the comelinesse of hir person of some noble race, bound vp hir wound, and applied such medicaments as the Country affoordeth. Then vnderstanding hir name and chance carried hir into the City Artaxata: from whence at the charge of the common purse she was conducted to *Tiridates*, who entertained hir with such curtesie as beseemed a Kings wife. cap. 51.

XI. *A decree against the Mathematicians.* Cumanus *and* Felix, *Gouernors of Iudæa be at variance: War against the Clites.*

WHen *Faustus Sylla*, and *Salnius Otho* were Consuls; *Furius Scribonianus* was banished, as searching out by the Chaldeans the time when the Prince should die. And *Iunia* his mother who before exiled was touched with the same crime, as bearing impatiently hir former fortune, *Camillus*, *Scribonianus* father had heretofore stirred vp warres in Dalmatia: and therefore *Cæsar* thought it a point of clemency to keepe aliue the progeny of his enemy. Neuertheless the banished man enioyed not any long life after this: but ended his daies, either by naturall death, or by poison; euery man giuing out as he beleeued. Of banishing the Astrologers out of Italy, there was a straight decree of Senat made, but tooke no effect. After this the Prince commended such in an Oration, who knowing their owne estate decaied gaue vp their Senators roome of their owne accord; and those put from it, which continuing in it, ioyned impudency to their pouerty. Among other things the matter was debated in Senat touching the punishment of such women as maried with slaues: and an order set downe that she who without the priuity of his Lord, had fallen into that folly, should as if she had consented thereto, become hirselfe a bondslaue, and the children borne of them be taken as Libertini. And *Pallas* whom *Cæsar* cap. 52. An. 800 cap. 53.

publickely confessed to haue beene author of this relation, was by the aduise of *Burrea Soranus* Consull elect, honored with the Prætorian ornaments, and receiued further * a hundred and fifty hundred thousand sesterces: and it was added by *Scipio Cornelius*, that thanks should be publikely giuen him, that being descended from the Kings of Armenia he would prefer the publike good before his ancient family, and vouchsafe to be accounted one of the Princes officers. *Claudius* affirmed that *Pallas* was contented with the Pretorian dignity onely, and would continue in his former pouerty. Whereupon a decree of Senate was publikely engrauen in Brasse in commendation of this freed-man, who being possesser of three hundred millions of sesterces, was content to liue according to the prouident manner of sparing of our ancestors. But his brother surnamed *Felix* of late made Gouernour of Iudæa, vsed not the same moderation; but bare himselfe vpon his authority as a sufficient warrant for all lewdnesse whatsoeuer. The Iewes made shew of a rebellion through a sedition * after they vnderstood of the death of *Caius*: they were still afeard lest some other Prince should command them the like things. In the meane season, *Felix* going about to redresse all by vnseasonable punishments, exasperated them the more. And *Ventidius Cumanus* vnto whom part of the Prouince was committed, and was his secret enemy, egged him forward. For the Country was so diuided, that the Galileans were gouerned by *Cumanus*, and the Samaritans by *Felix*, enemies of old; and now more then euer shewing themselues through the contempt of the Gouernours. And therefore made inroades one against the other; set in Companies to rob and spoile; laid ambushes: and sometimes they met in battell, and carried the booties and spoiles to their Gouernours. Who at the first were glad of it; but in the end perceiuing the mischiefe to grow greater, they sent in souldiers to quiet them, which were all slaine. And the whole Prouince had beene in an vprore; if *Quadratus* the Gouernour of Syria had not found meanes of redresse: who staied not long vntill he had reuenged the death of the Roman souldiers, which the Iewes had slaine. *Cumanus* and *Felix* drew the matter at length, because *Claudius* hauing vnderstood the occasions of the rebellion, had giuen authority to the Gouernor to determine, and punish the Procurators *Cumanus* and *Felix*, if their demerit had so required. But *Quadratus* caused *Felix* to sit among the Iudges, and receiued him into the Tribunal to him, to the end the heat of the accusers should therby be cooled: and condemned *Cumanus* for all the misdemeanour which both of them had committed; and by that meanes he set the Prouince at quietnesse. Not long after the Peasants of the Cilician Nation surnamed Clites, which at diuers other times had rebelled, hauing *Trosobor* for their Captaine, encamped on a rough and high hill. And from thence running downe to the sea shores and Cities, ventured on the husbandmen and Citizens; and often set on Marchants and Sea-men. And then hauing besieged the city of the Anemurienses; the horse-men sent out of Syria to aide them were put to flight with *Curtius Seuerus* their Prefect, by reason the difficulties and vncleanesse of the place round about fit for foot-men, was most incommodious for horse-men to fight. Then *Antiochus* King of that quarter, vsing faire words to the Country people, and craft and subtilty towards the Captaine, when he had seuered the forces of the Barbarians hauing slaine *Trosobor* and a few of the ring leaders; appeased the residue by clemency. The same time between the lake Fucinus and the riuer Lyris, the better to behold the sight and magnificence of the spectacle, a Mountaine was cut thorow, and in the very lake a Sea-fight was represented. *Augustus* in times past had done the like, by making a standing poole on this side Tibris, but with light boates and fewer in number. *Claudius* armed Gallies with three and foure

* About 11718. pound 15 sol.

* About 2343. 50. lb.

cap. 54.

cap. 55.

cap. 56.

foure oares on a ſeate, and nineteene thouſand men, and enuironed the Lake with frames of timber worke, becauſe they ſhould not run out at randome, yet left ſpace enough for the rowers and Pilots to ſhew skill, and ſuch encounters as had beene accuſtomed in a ſea fight. On the buildings about the Lake ſtood certaine companies of foote-men and troupes of horſe-men of the Emperours guard, with fences before them to ſhoot with warlike inſtruments and engines. The reſt of the Lake, ſea-ſouldiers occupied with couered ſhips: the ſhore and ſmal hill tops as it had been a Theater, an infinite number of people filled, as well out of the townes adioyning, as the City, through deſire of ſeeing the paſtime, or to pleaſe the Prince. He himſelfe in a rich and princely coat-armour, and *Agrippina* not farre off ſate aloft, in a garment wrought with gold. They fought although they were malefactors and condemned perſons, with great courage and valor; and after many wounds were parted and hindered from killing one another. But after that the ſhew was ended and the water let out: the inſufficiency of the worke which was not thruſt downe, nor digged deepe enough to the bottome was diſcouered. Whereupon not long after the ditches were digged deeper and to draw the people againe together, a ſhew of Fencers was made on bridges built ouer the Lake to repreſent a land fight. And at the mouth of the Lake a banket prepared, droue them all into a great feare through the violent guſhing out of the water, which carried with it all that was by, and things farther off breaking downe, with the craſh and noiſe, ſtrooke them all into amaze. Whereupon *Agrippina* taking aduantage of the Princes feare, rebuked *Narciſſus* who had charge of the worke, of couetouſneſſe and theft. And he for his part held not his tongue, but caſt in hir teeth hir intolerable pride, and ouer haughty hopes. cap. 57.

XII. Nero *marieth with* Octauia: *the inhabitants of Cous exempted from ſubſidies: the like is granted to* Byſance.

WHen *D. Iunius* and *Q. Haterius* were Conſuls, *Nero* at the age of ſixteene maried *Cæſars* daughter, *Octauia*. And to win credit and reputation by honorable ſtudies and glorie of eloquence, vndertaking the Ilienſes cauſe, declared that the Romans were deſcended from Troy, and that Æneas was the roote of the Iulian family, and many other matters, not farre vnlike old fables; which being deliuered with a good grace and fit words, obtained that the Ilienſes ſhould be releaſed from all publike duties and charges. He pleaded alſo for the Bononian Colony which was waſted with fire, and obtained for their reliefe * ten millions of ſeſterces. The inhabitants of Rhodes are reſtored to their liberty, often taken from them, or confirmed, according as they had merited by ſeruice abroad, or demerited by ſedition at home. The Apameans ruined by an earth-quake were diſcharged of tribute for fiue yeeres. *Claudius* was incenſed to much cruelty by *Agrippinaes* practiſes; who gaping after *Statilius Taurus* Gardens, eſteemed very rich, neuer ceaſed vntill ſhe had ouerthrowne him, *Tarquitius Priſcus* being his accuſer. This *Priſcus* had beene *Taurus* Lieutenant, when he was Proconſull in Affricke: and when they returned, obiected that in ſome things he had vſed extorſion and bribery; and withall, that he conſulted with Magicians. But he not able to endure ſuch an indignity by a falſe accuſer, ſlew himſelfe before the Senators had giuen ſentence: yet notwithſtanding all the ſuite *Agrippina* could make, this *Tarquitius* was expulſed the Curia: ſo odious he was to the reſt of the Lords of the Senat. The ſame yeere the Prince was often heard to ſay, that the cauſes adiudged by his Procuratour, ſhould be of the ſame validity, as if himſelfe had giuen ſentence. cap. 58. An. 802

* *About 781 l.* *pound.*

cap. 59.

cap. 60.

And

And leſt thoſe words might ſeeme to haue eſcaped him by chaunce, a decree of Senate was inacted thereon, fuller and ampler then before any had beene conceiued. And *Auguſtus* of famous memory had graunted, that all cauſes might be heard before the gentlemen which gouerned Egypt; and commaunded that the ſentences ſet downe by them ſhould be kept, as if they had bin giuen by a magiſtrate of Rome. After that, in other Prouinces and in the citie, many things were graunted, which in times paſt belonged to the hearing onely of the Pretor. *Claudius* yeelded them all the right and iuriſdiction, for which there had bene ſuch wars and ſedition: as when the order of gentlemen by the Sempronian lawes, were eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of Iudicature; or when the Scruilian lawes on the other ſide, had giuen the Senate power iudicially to determine cauſes: and for which *Marius* and *Sylla* in times paſt more then all the reſt, made warres the one againſt the other. But in thoſe daies factions raigned among the citizens; and the conquerors bare publike ſway, hauing all power in their hands. *C. Oppius* and *Cornelius Balbus* were the firſt, which with authority from *Cæſar* could handle conditions as well of peace, as of warre. It were to ſmall purpoſe to ſpeake of the Matians and Vedians after theſe, which were gentlemen of marke, and of noble families: ſeeing that *Claudius* hath made freed men: vnto whom hee had committed the charge of his houſholde
cap. 61 affaires equall to himſelfe, and to the lawes. After that, *Cæſar* propounded, whether thoſe of Cous ſhould be releaſed of tributes, alleaging many things concerning their antiquitie: as that the Argiui and Ceus, *Latonaes* father, were the olde inhabitants of the Ile; and that after by *Aeſculapius* arriuing there, the Arte of Phyſicke was brought in; a man highly eſteemed of poſterite; naming them by their names, and in what age euery one of them flouriſhed. Further, hee affirmed that *Xenophon* whoſe skill himſelfe vſed in Phyſicke, deſcended from the ſame familie; and that in regard of his deſire, the Ile of Cous deuoted to the ſeruice of ſo great a god, ſhould be diſcharged of all tributes. Neither was it to be doubted, but there might be alleaged many merits of theirs, towards the people of Rome; and many victories obtained by their alliance. But *Claudius* according to his accuſtomed facilitie and ſimplicitie,
cap. 62 went not about to ſhadow that with externall helps, which he had beſtowed in fauour of one alone. The Byzantines hauing obtained audience, deliuered how greeuous their impoſitions and tributes were, and deſired they might be releaſed; and ripped vp all reaſons they could, euen from the firſt alliance which they made with vs, when we warred againſt the king of Macedonia; who for baſenes of minde, and want of courage, was called the falſe *Philip*. How after that, they had ſent their power againſt *Antiochus*, *Perſes*, *Ariſtonicus*: and how they ſuccoured *Antonie*, in the wars againſt the pyrats: calling to minde likewiſe that which they offered *Sylla*, or *Lucullus*, or *Pompey*: then the late good turnes & ſeruices done to the *Cæſars*, when they came into thoſe parts; where there is a moſt conuenient paſſage both by land and by ſea, for the captaines and
cap. 63 armies; with al cariages of neceſſary prouiſiõs. For the Greeks ſited Byzance in the vtmoſt part of Europe, in a very narrow ſtreight, which diuideth Europe from Aſia: for hauing cõſulted with *Pythius Apollo*, in what territory they ſhould build their citie; the oracle anſwered them that they ſhould ſeeke out a ſeat which was oppoſite to the land of Blind-men. By that darke ſpeech, the Chalcedonians were pointed at; becauſe that hauing firſt arriued in that place, not iudging aright of the commodiouſnes of it, made choiſe of the woorſt: for Byzance is ſeated in a fertile ſoile, and a plentifull ſea, becauſe great abundance of fiſh going out of Pontus, and frighted with the rockes and ſtones vnder the water, forſaking the creekes of the other

ſhore,

shore, is brought all to these hauens. Whereby, first all the City became rich and wealthy: but then oppressed with charges and impositions; and therefore intreated they might either haue an end or a meane of so heauy a burden. The Prince was ready to do them good, alleaging that they were to be helped, as people wearied with late wars againe the Thracians, and Bosphorans: and thereupon they were exempted in tributes for fiue yeeres space.

13. *Why* Agrippina *seeketh* Claudius *death: the Emperour dieth empoisoned by the Physition* Xenophon.

WHen *M. Asinius*, and *M. Acilius* were Consuls, a change of state to the worse was portended, and fore-knowne by many prodigious signes. For the ensignes and souldiers Tentes were burnt with fire from heauen. A swarme of Bees lighted on the top of the Capitol: monsters and children borne with two shapes: and a Sow brought foorth a Pigge with talons of a Hauke. It was accounted a prodigious matter, that the number of Magistrates was so small; a Quæstor, Ædill, Tribune, Prætor, and Consull dying but a few monthes before. But *Agrippina* of all others was most afeard, by reason of a word which *Claudius* cast foorth being drunke; which was, that it was fatall vnto him, first to beare the lewdnesse of his wiues; then to punish them. Thereupon she bestirreth hir selfe and that with all speed: but first hauing made away *Domitia* for light cause, and womens quarrels. For *Domitia Lepida*, being daughter to the yoonger *Antonia*, and Neece to *Augustus* and cousen germane to *Agrippina* and sister to *Gn. Agrippinaes* first husband; thought hir-selfe to be of as great nobility as *Agrippina*, and as well descended: neither was there any great difference betweene them in beauty, age and wealth. And being both vnchaste, infamous, peremptory and proud; they no lesse hated one the other for their vices, then for the graces and gifts of fortune. The ground of this bitter and deadly hate was which should haue more credit, and greater interest in *Nero*, the Aunt or the Mother. For *Lepida* had wone the yoong mans heart by gifts, and faire words: *Agrippina* contrariwise cruell and threatning, could giue hir sonne the Empire; but not indure that he should rule. The crimes imputed to hir were, that she went about to destroy the Princes wife by incantations, and diuelish inuocations: and that by not brideling and punishing hir swarmes of slaues in Calabria, she had disturbed the quietnesse of Italy: for these causes she was commanded to die. *Narcissus* mightily repenting and grudging at it, who began more and more to suspect *Agrippina*; and was said to haue vttered vnto his neerest friends, that he was sure to die, whether *Britannicus* or *Nero* came to be Emperour. Yet he had receiued so much good at *Cæsars* hands, that he esteemed more of the Princes safety then his owne life: *Messallina* and *Silius* had beene conuicted; the like occasions of accusations will be offered againe, if *Nero* should raigne. If *Britannicus* should succeed, he had deserued no fauour of him; and the whole house would be shaken, and vtterly ouerthrowne with the diuelish deuises of his Step-mother; and with more wicked practises, then if he had concealed the impudicity and vncleane life of his other wife: although the house be as shamefully defiled by *Pallas* adultery as then it was; because no man should doubt what small accompt shee made of hir credit, reputation, shame, body and all whatsoeuer, so as shee might rule and command. After he had vttered these or the like speeches he embraced *Britannicus*, wished hee were come to ripe yeeres, lifteth vp his hands sometimes to the gods, sometimes to him; praying that he might grow in yeeres, driue out his

cap 64 An. 802.

cap 65

cap. 66 his fathers enemies, and reuenge on the murtherers of his mother. *Claudius* in this great heape of cares was stroken with sickneſſe, and to recouer his ſtrength with the temperateneſſe of the City, and wholeſomeneſſe of the waters, went to Sinueſſa. Then *Agrippina* long before reſolued in hir villanous deſeignments, and deſirous to haſten the occaſion offered, wanting no miniſters, began to thinke with hirſelfe what kind of poiſon ſhe were beſt to vſe: for by a ſpeedy and quicke working poiſon, ſhe feared leſt hir wickedneſſe ſhould be diſcouered; yet if ſhe ſhould chooſe a lingering ſlow working one; leſt *Claudius* drawing by little and little to his end, and vnderſtanding the treachery, ſhould turne his minde and ſhew loue and affection to his owne ſonne: in the end ſhe reſolued to thinke on ſome ſingular thing which ſhould trouble his braines, and not worke his death ouer-haſtily. A Schoole-miſtris of ſuch practiſes was choſen of purpoſe, called *Locuſta* of late condemned of empoiſoning, and long reſerued among other inſtruments of State. The poiſon was prepared by this womans skill, and the miniſter to giue it was *Holotus*, an Eu-
cap. 67. nuch, one accuſtomed to carry in and taſte his meate: all came afterward ſo cleerely to light, that the Writers of thoſe times haue affirmed, that the poiſon was infuſed into a Muſhrome which *Claudius* tooke pleaſure to eat of: which then he perceiued not, either by reaſon of his blockiſhneſſe, or ouer much quaffing of wine; and hauing a ſolubleneſſe of body withall, it was thought the receipt would not worke his effect. Whereupon *Agrippina* greatly aſtonied, and fearing hir vtter deſtruction, nothing regarding what enuy ſhe might preſently incurre, conferreth with *Xenophon* the Phyſitian, whoſe conſcience before-hand ſhee had wrought to ſerue hir turne. He as though he would helpe the Prince, endeuouring to vomit, was thought to haue put downe his throate a feather dipped in a ſtrong and ſpeedy poiſon; knowing well that foule attempts are begun with danger, and ac-
cap. 68. compliſhed with reward. In the meane time the Senate was aſſembled, and the Conſuls and Prieſts made vowes for the health of the Prince: and being already dead, he was couered and cheriſhed with cloathes, whileſt things neceſſary to aſſure the Empire vpon *Nero* were a preparing. And firſt of all *Agrippina*, as one ouercome with griefe, and ſeeking comfort, held *Britannicus* betweene hir armes, calling him the very image of his fathers face, and by diuers policies entertained him, for feare hee ſhould goe out of the chamber: and with like practiſes held *Antonia* and *Octauia* his ſiſters; and at euery dore and paſſages placed a ſtrong Guard: and often gaue out that the Prince waxed better and better, to the end the ſouldier ſhould liue in good hope, and ſhe enterpriſe hir attempt at ſuch a time
cap. 69. as the Magicians ſhould thinke lucky and proſperous. Then about the middeſt of the day, the third before the Ides of October, the Pallace gates being ſuddenly laid open, *Nero* accompanied with *Burrhus*, goeth forth to the Cohort, who kept ward according to cuſtome; where at the commandement of the Captaine of the Guard he was receiued with ſhoutes, and acclamations of ioy, and put into a Chariot. It is reported that ſome were in a doubt, and looking about them, and asking where *Britannicus* was? then ſeeing no beginner of any attempt to the contrary, they followed that which was offered: and ſo *Nero* being brought to the reſt of the Guarde, and hauing made a ſpeech fit for the time, and promiſed a donatiue according to the example of his fathers largeſſe, was ſaluted Emperour. A decree of Senate confirmed the ſentence of the ſouldiers; neither was there any doubt made of it in the Prouinces. After that honour due to the gods was ordained for *Claudius*, and the Funerals as ſolemnely celebrated as when *Auguſtus* of famous memorie was buried, *Agrippina* imitating the magnificence

cence of his Grand-mother *Liuia*. *Claudius* Teſtament was not publickly read leſt the people ſhould be incenſed to diſdaine, and enuy againſt *Nero*, by ſeeing him who was onely a ſonne in law, to be preferred before the Emperours naturall ſonne.

THE

THE THIRTEENTH BOOKE OF THE ANNALS OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. Silanus *is put to death, and* Narcissus. Neroes *good beginning.*

cap. 1. THe first whose death was contriued in this new gouernment was *Iunius Silanus* Proconsull of Asia, and that without the priuity of *Nero*, by *Agrippinaes* treachery and malice; not because he had by any seditious demeanor procured his owne ruine: for he was so heauy and dull spirited, and the other Emperours did so smally regard him, that *C. Cæsar* was wont to call him a golden sheepe. But *Agrippina* hauing wrought the ruine of his brother *L. Sillanus*, feared reuenge; being a common speech among the people that this man deserued to be preferred to the Empire before *Nero*, yet scarse out of his childhood, and hauing gotten it by wicked meanes: for he was a man of a setled age, sincere and iust in his dealing, noble of birth, and (which at that time was greatly esteemed) descended of the *Cæsars*, being in the fourth degree to *Augustus*. This was the cause of his death, the ministers being *P. Celer*, a Gentleman of Rome, and *Aelius* a freed-man, both hauing charge of the Princes peculiar reuenewes in Asia. By them the poison was giuen the Proconsull in his meate, and that so openly, that it could not be denied. With no lesse speed *Claudius* freed-man, *Narcissus* (of whose iarring with *Agrippina* I haue already spoken) was brought to his end, by hard imprisonment, and extreame necessity, against the Princes will; whose vicious humours yet vnknowen, he did exceedingly well fit in couetousnesse and prodigality;
cap. 2. and had gone forward in murders, if *Afranius Burrhus*, and *Annæus Seneca* had not staied them. These two were the yoong Emperours guides and gouernours; and in equall authority, well agreeing, bare equall stroke in diuers faculties. *Burrhus* in military discipline and grauity of manners; *Seneca* in precepts of eloquence, and courteous carriage; helping one the other in their charge, the easier to bridle the youths slippery age with honest and lawfull pleasures, if he contemned vertue. Their care was both alike in keeping vnder *Agrippinaes* fierce humor, who boyling with all desires of wicked rule and dominion, had *Pallas* for hir counseller; by whose aduise *Claudius* through his incestuous mariage, and pernicious adoption, wrought his owne ruine. But *Neroes* disposition was not to be ruled by a slaue; and *Pallas* with an odious arrogancy exceeding the moderation of a freed-man, bred his owne dislike. Neuertheless, all honours were openly heaped vpon *Agrippina*, and the Tribune according to the order of seruice asking the watch-word, had this giuen him by *Nero*, *Of the very good mother*. The Senat decreed she should haue two sergeants, and *Claudius* a Colledge of Priests called *Claudians*: and withall, that he should haue the
cap. 3. funerals of a Censor and be after deified and put among the gods. The day of his funerals, *Nero* made the oration in his praise and as long as he spake of the antiquity of his stocke, of the Consulships and triumphs of his ancestors, he and the rest were attentiue: and likewise whilest he spake of the loue he bare to liberal sciences and that during the time of his gouernment the common-wealth was not molested by forren power, all men gaue good eare: but after he descended to his prouidence and wisedome,

dome, no man could forbeare laughing; although the oration composed by *Seneca* shewed the exquisite skill of that mans pleasant vaine, fitted and applied to the eares of that time. The old men (which were at leasure to compare things past with the present) noted that *Nero* was the first Emperour that needed another mans eloquence. For *Cæsar* the Dictator, was equall with the famous Orators: and *Augustus* had a ready, fluent and eloquent speech, such as well becommed a Prince. *Tiberius* had great skill in waighing his words, vttered much in few words, but was obscure of set purpose. Yea, *C. Cæsars* troubled minde hindered not his eloquence: neither wanted *Claudius* elegancy when he had premeditated. *Nero* in the beginning of his childish yeeres bent his liuely spirit to other matters, as to ingraue, to paint, to sing, to mannage horses, and sometimes in composing a verse he shewed some smattering of learning. When the funerals were ended, he entered the Curia, and hauing first spoken of the authority of the Lords of the Senate, loue and concord of the souldiers, he reckoned vp certaine deseignments and presidents he intended to follow in the gouerning of the Empire, adding: that not hauing beene nuzled vp in ciuill warres, nor domesticall discords, he would bring with him neither hatred, nor grudge, nor desire of reuenge. Then he laid downe a platforme of his future regiment, especially auoiding those things, the hate whereof did yet freshly boile in mens hearts; that he would not be the iudge of all matters, lest the accusers and defendants being as it were shut vp in one house, the power of a few might haue full sway to worke their will: there should nothing be set at sale in his court, or exposed to ambition; his house should be deuided from the Common-wealth; the Senate should retaine his old preheminence; Italy and publike Prouinces should make their appearance before the Consuls tribunall, and they giue audience like Lords of the Senate, and he himselfe would looke to the Army committed to his charge. Neither did he faile in his promise. For many things were ordained by the arbitrement of the Senate: As that no man should be bought for reward or gift to plead a cause. That the Quæstor elected should not be constrained to set foorth the shew of Fencers, which was a matter the Senators obtained contrary to *Agrippinaes* will, vnder colour that *Claudius* acts were thereby infringed. And thereupon she caused the Senate to be called to the Pallace, to the end that she might stand in a secret place, separated from the Lords by some vaile; which might not hinder the hearing of them, and yet not be seene. Yea, when the Embassadors of Armenia came to plead the cause of their Nation before *Nero*, shee was ready to pearch vp to the Chaire of audience, and by his side to giue answer with him, if (the rest surprised with a great feare) *Seneca* had not aduised him to meete his mother, as shee came: and so vnder colour of doing his duty, preuented the discredit.

cap. 4

cap. 5

II. Neroes *preparatiues to defend Armenia.*

cap. 6

IN the end of the yeere, it was a common rumor that the Parthians had burst out againe, and wasted Armenia, driuen out *Rhadamistus*, who hauing beene first King, and after a fugitiue, had then giuen vp this warre. Whereupon in the City greedie of talke, they began to enquire, how the Prince which was yet scarse past seuenteene yeeres of age, could either vndertake or acquit himselfe of so great a burden: what helpe could be expected at his hands, who was led by a woman: whether battels and warres also, and besieging of townes, and other duties of seruice, could be accomplished by his masters? Contrariwise others said it had fallen out better, then if *Claudius* a weake and cowardly old man, should haue beene called

" called to the labours of warre, ready to obey the commandements of his slaues. Yet
" *Burrhus* and *Seneca* had beene proued by experience of many matters: and what
" wanted to the Emperours full strength, seeing that *Cn. Pompeius* at eighteene yeeres
" of age, and *Cæsar Octauianus* at nineteene, sustained ciuill warres? Most things in
" high fortune are atchieued rather by good lucke, conduct, and counsell, then wea-
" pons and hands. That he should giue an euident proofe, whether he vsed honest
" friends or not, if he would rather make choise of a notable and valiant Captaine, en-
cap. 7. " uy laid aside, then a rich, graced and fauored by ambitious lure. Whilest the peo-
ple thus discoursed, *Nero* commanded a muster to be made of the youth in the Pro-
uinces bordering vpon the Parthians, to supply the Legions of the East; and the Le-
gions themselues to be planted neere vnto Armenia: and withall, wrote to the two
old Kings *Agrippa*, and *Iocchus*, to prepare their forces, and enter the bounds of
Parthia, and make bridges ouer the Riuer Euphrates: and gaue charge of lesser Ar-
menia to *Aristobulus*, and the Sophenian Nation to *Soæmus*, honoring them both
with royal marks and ornaments. And in very good time it fell out that *Vardanes* son
began to rebell and beard *Vologeses*, which cauled the Parthians to depart Armenia,
cap. 8 as though they would defer the war. But all things were made more then they were
to the Senate, amplified by those who gaue aduise that processions should be made
in honour of the Prince: and that that day he should weare a triumphall garment,
and enter into the City ouant: and that his image of the same greatnesse that *Mars*
the reuengers was, should be placed in the same Temple; being besides their ordi-
nary flattery, ioyfull and glad, that he had made *Domitius Corbulo* Gouernour of
Armenia: perswading themselues, that the way was now made open to vertue.
The forces of the East were so deuided, that part of the aid souldiers with two Le-
gions should remaine in the Prouince of Syria, with the Lieutenant *Quadratus Vini-
dius*; and that the like number of Citizens and Allaies should be vnder *Corbuloes*
charge, with other Cohorts and Coronets of horse-men, which wintered in Cappa-
docia. The Kings which were confederate with the Romans, were warned to be in
a readinesse as occasion of warre should require. But their affections were bent
more vpon *Corbulo*, who to purchase fame (which in new enterprises is of great
importance) making away with all speed at Agas a Citie of Cilicia, met *Qua-
dratus*; who was come so farre, least if *Corbulo* should haue entered into Syria
to receiue the forces, all mens eies would haue beene cast vpon him, being of a
comely and tall stature, magnificall in words; and besides his experience and
wisedome, in shew of vaine hope and promises, woone the people to what hee
cap. 9. lusted. In fine, both of them by messengers admonished King *Vologeses* to desire
rather peace then warre, and giuing hostages, continue the like reuerence to the
people of Rome as his predecessors had done. And *Vologeses* to make preparati-
ons of warre with more aduantage, and such as might match the Romans, or to
remoone those he suspected as concurrents vnder the name of hostages; deliuereth
the noblest of the Arsacides family, whom *Hosterius* the Centurion sent before by
Vinidius for other occasions receiued. *Corbulo* vnderstanding this, commandeth
Arrius Varus, Captaine of a company of Foote-men, to goe and receiue them: from
whence grew a quarrell betweene the Captaine and Centurion (which because
they would no longer be a iesting stocke to the strangers) they referred to the ar-
bitrement of the pledges themselues, and Lieutenants which conducted them:
who preferred *Corbulo* before the other, partly through the fresh renowne which
was yet in euery mans mouth; and partly through a certaine inclination which the
enemies themselues bare him. Hereupon grew a iarre betweene the Captaines,

Vinidius

Vinidius complaining, that, that was taken from him which was compaſſed by his aduiſe: *Corbulo* proteſting on the contrary part, that the king was neuer drawen to offer pledges, vntill that he being choſen captain of the warre, had turned his hopes into feare. *Nero* to ſet them at one, cauſed it to be publiſhed: that *Quadratus* & *Corbulo*, for their proſperous ſucceſſes, ſhould haue baies added to the bundle of rods, which was carried before great captaines of warre. I haue ioyned theſe things together, although they were done vnder other Conſuls. The ſame yeere *Cæſar* demanded of the Senate that there might be an image dedicated to his father, and the Conſularie ornaments giuen *Aſconius Labeo*, who had beene his tutor; and forbad that any image of maſſiue gold or ſiluer, ſhould be offered in honor of himſelfe. And although the LL. of the Senat had decreed, that the yeer ſhould begin on that day of December that *Nero* was borne: yet he retained the olde ceremonie of beginning the yeere the Kalends of Ianuarie. Neither were *Carinas Celer* a Senator, accuſed by a ſlaue, or *Iulius Denſus* gentlemen, called into queſtion, although it was laid to their charge, they fauoured *Britannicus*. cap. 10

III. Nero *beginneth to hate his mother: and falleth in loue with* Acte.

C. *Laudius Nero* and *L. Antiſtius* being Conſuls, when the magiſtrates tooke an oath of obſeruing the ordinances of the princes; hee would not ſuffer *Antiſtius* his fellow officer to ſweare to the obſeruation of his; which the LL. of the Senate did highly commend in him; to the ende, that the youthly minde of the Prince being ſturred vp with the glory of ſmall things; ſhould continue in matters of greater moment. After this followed his lenity towards *Plautius Lateranus*, who being remooued from the order of Senators, for adultery committed with *Meſſallina*, was reſtored by him to his roome; binding himſelfe to continue this clemencie, with many orations: which *Seneca*, to teſtifie in what honeſt precepts he inſtructed him, or for a bragge of his owne wit, publiſhed by the voice of the Prince. But *Agrippinaes* credit and authority by little and little began to waine: and *Nero* caſt a liking to a freed woman called *Acte*: two comely youthes, *Otho* deſcended from a Conſularie houſe, and *Claudius Senecio*, ſonne of one of *Cæſars* freed men, being partakers of his counſels: his mother being at the firſt a ſtranger to the matter, and in vaine at laſt ſtriuing to the contrary. So far ſhe had poſſeſſed him by diſſolute behauiour and riot & ſecret conuerſation, that his greateſt friends and ſeuereſt, ſeemed not to know it; conſidering that this woman ſatisfied his luſts, without the offence of any. For *Octauia* his wife, a womã of noble birth, & of approued good life, either by ſome ſecret deſtinie, or becauſe things vnlawfull are moſt greedily deſired, he vtterly diſliked. And ſom feared alſo that if he were brideled of that loue, he would luſt after the defiling of noble women. But *Agrippina* fretted & fumed that a freed woman ſhould beard her, & a bond woman become her daughter in law; with other ſuch like womaniſh complaints; not hauing patience to ſee whether her ſon would either repent or be filled: and the more opprobriouſly ſhee vpbraided him, the more ſhe inflamed him; till at laſt ouercome with the rage of loue, hee ſhaked off all dutie and reuerence towards his mother, & committed himſelfe wholy to *Seneca*. Amõgſt his familiars was *Annæus Serenus*, who faining loue to the ſame freed woman, couered & cloked with his owne name, the firſt heats of this yoong prince: and ſuch things as the prince had beſtowed on hir by ſtealth, he openly aduouched to be his gifts. Then *Agrippina* changing her ſtile ſeeketh to win the yoong man by faire cap. 11. An. 803. cap. 12. cap. 13

faire alluring speeches, offereth rather hir own chamber and bosome to hide those things which his youth and high fortune desired. Yea she confessed her vntimely seuerity; and offered him the vse of al her wealth, which was little inferiour to the Emperors; as before too seuere in correcting her sonne; so now vnreasonably humbled and cast downe in courage. The which change did neither deceiue *Nero*, and gaue his neerest friends cause of feare; and praied him to beware of the trechery of this woman, alwaies fell and cruell; and then false and dissembling. *Nero* hauing by chance seene the wardrob where the apparell laie, which Princes wiues and parents were wont to shine in, made choise of a garment and iewels, and sent them his mother most bountifully: seeing he sent of his own the chiefest, and which by others were most of all desired. But *Agrippina* exclaimeth that these ornaments were not so much giuen her to adorne and trim her selfe; as to exclude her from the rest; and that her sonne would diuide those things with her, which came wholly from her. Neither wanted there some to carry these speeches, and make them woorse then they were. Whereupon all such growing odious vnto *Nero*, vpon whom this womans pride chiefly relied, displaceth *Pallas* from the charge which *Claudius* had giuen him; in which he carried himselfe as if he had beene chiefe Lord and master of all. It is reported that when *Pallas* departed with a great retinue following him, *Nero* very aptly said that *Pallas* went to resigne his office. True it is, that *Pallas* had couenanted with the Prince not to be called in question for any act past; and that he had made euen with all accounts of the common-wealth. *Agrippina* after this, more mad and wilfull then euer, gaue out threatning and thundering speeches: yea not

cap. 14.

« forbearing the Princes eares, but crying, that *Britannicus* was now growen to mans « estate: a true and woorthy plant to receiue his fathers Empire, which a graffed son « by adoption now possessed by the iniury and trumpery of his mother. There should « be no let in her, but that all the villanous practises of that infortunate house should « be laid open: and first of all her owne marriage, and her impoisoning of *Claudius*. « That onely thing was prouided by the gods to her good, that her sonne in law was « aliue. She would goe with him to the campe, where on one side *Germanicus* daugh- « ter should be heard: on the other side that base companion *Burrhus* and *Seneca* the « banished; the one his hand cut off; and the other with his professors eloquence « quarrelling and debating of the rule and gouernment of the whole world. In vttering of this she bent her fist towards him; heaped one iniury vpon another; called *Claudius*, and the infernall ghosts of the Silaniens; and so many fruitlesse wicked attempts, which she had beene author of. *Nero* troubled with these speeches, and the day now at hand, on which *Britannicus* had accomplished the ful age of fourteene yeeres; began to ponder with himselfe, sometimes the violence of his mother; sometimes the towardlines of *Britannicus* knowen of late by good proofe; & which hath woon him great fauour and good will. On a festiuall day dedicated to *Saturn*, amongst other pastimes of his equals, drawing lots who should be King; the lot fell to *Nero*: who commaunding diuers things vnto others, which could not turne to their shame; commanded *Britannicus* to rise vp and stand in the middle and begin a song, hoping the childe should be laughed to skorne, as one ignorant how to carrie himselfe in sober companie; much lesse in drunken. But he very constantly began a verse, which signified that *Nero* had thrust him from his fathers seate, and gouernment of Empire: which mooued them al to open compassion; because the night and lasciuious wantonnes had taken away all dissimulation.

cap. 15.

IIII. Britan-

IIII. Britannicus *empoysoned.* Agrippina *chased from the Emperors house.*

Nero feeling himselfe toucht, augmented his hatred; and incensed with *Agrippinaes* threats, because he could lay no iust cause against him, nor openly durst not commaund the murdering of his brother, practiseth secret meanes, and commaundeth poison to be prepared, *Pollio Iulius* tribune of the Pretorian cohort being his minister in the action. Vnder whose charge *Locusta*, a woman infamous for lewd practises, and before condemned for empoysoning, was kept prisoner. For it was long before prouided that such as were neerest about *Britannicus* should haue no regard either of honesty or faith. Hee tooke the first poison of his bringers vp; which not being strong inough, he voided by siege, or els because it was tempered, lest it should worke immediatly. But *Nero* impatient of lingring & long working wickednes, threatned the Tribune, commanded the poisoneresse to be put to death, because that whilest they respect the rumour, and forge excuses for their own safty, they droue off his security. They then promising as speedy a death, as if he should be slaine with a sword, neere vnto *Cæsars* chamber a poison was sod strong & violent, by proofe of poisoning. The custome was for Princes children to sit with other noble mens, of the same age, in presence of their neere kindred, with spare diet at a table by themselues: *Britannicus* there taking his repast, because one of the seruitours did taste his meates and drinkes, least the custome should be omitted, or the villany discloscd by both their deaths, this policie was deuised: A drinke yet not hurtfull, but very hote, and tasted of, was presented to *Britannicus*, then that beeing refused by reason of the heate, the poison was powred into colde water, which so spread throughout all the parts of his bodie, that his speech and spirits were at once taken from him. Those which sate about him were in a maze; the other which knew nothing ran away: but they which were of deeper iudgement stirred not, but looked *Nero* in the face; he leaning on the table like one that knew nothing of the practise, sayd: he was often wont to fall into such fits, through the falling sicknes, which *Britannicus* had been greeuously afflicted with from his infancie; and that his sight and speech by little and little would come to him againe. But *Agrippina* was possessed with such a great fear, & an astonishment of senses, although she indeuored to hide it in countenance, that she was easily iudged to be as ignorant of the fact, as *Britannicus* sister *Octauia*: for she saw that she was bereaued of her greatest stay; & perceiued well that it was a beginning of parricide. *Octauia* also although of young yeeres, yet had learned to hide her griefe, her loue and all affections; and so after a little silence, the mirth of the banquet began againe. *Britannicus* bodie was burnt the same night he died, all funerall preparation hauing beene prouided before hand, which was but smal: neuertheless he was buried in Campus Martius, in such storms and showres, that the people beleeued that portended the wrath of the gods against so heinous a fact: which yet many excused in *Nero*, calling to minde the auncient discord of brothers in termes of soueraignty, and how Kings admit no companions. Many writers of that time do deliuer, that *Nero* many daies before had abused *Britannicus* bodie; and therefore that now his death could not seeme either vntimely or cruell, although it happened in the sacred libertie of his table, his sister not hauing so much as time to imbrace him, hastned before his enemies face against the last of *Claudius* bloud, and his bodie defiled before he was poisoned. *Cæsar* excused the hastines of the obsequies by an edict, saying that the custome of auncient times

cap. 16.

cap. 17.

" was to celebrate in secret manner, and not openly dolefull and bitter funerals, with-
" out either solemnities or praises. As for himselfe hauing lost the ayde and comfort
" of his brother, the rest of his hopes were anchored wholy in the common-wealth:
" and that the Lords of the Senat & people should so much the more fauor and main-
" taine that Prince, which was onely left of the familie borne to rule and absolute do-
cap. 18. " minion. Then hee enriched with gifts the chiefest of his friends. Neither wanted there some which blamed men pretending grauity, that they deuided houses and possessions; as though they had beene booties. Some thought the Prince forced them thereto, as guilty of his fact, and hoping for pardon if he could bind vnto him the mightiest and strongest in power. But his mothers wrath could by no munificence be apeased, but she embraced *Octauia*, and had often secret conference with hir friends: and besides her naturall couetousnes, scraping money together of all hands as it were for some purpose on a pinch, shee entertained the Centurions and Tribunes with all courtesie: shee honoured the names and vertues of the nobilitie which then were in towne, as though she had sought for a head to make a faction. *Nero* perceiuing that, commaundeth the guard of souldiers which heeretofore was appointed to gard the Emperors wife, and now her, as his mother, to be taken from her; and certaine Germans which shee had, besides the former appointed to gard her, to depart and be gone. And lest shee should be frequented with multitudes of saluters, he diuideth his house, and sendeth his mother to that which was *Antoniaes*; and as oft as himselfe came thither, garded with a companie of Centurious, after a short salutation, departed againe.

V. Agrippina *accused for conspiring against* Nero. Silana *punished.* Pallas, *and* Burrhus *accused.*

cap. 19. THere is no mortall thing more mutable and flitting, then the fame of greatnesse, not sustained by his owne force and strength. *Agrippinaes* house was now vtterly forsaken; no man went to comfort her; no man to visite her, saue a few women: and vncertaine of them, whether for loue or hatred. Among which *Iunia Silana* was one, who as I haue already declared, at *Messalinaes* instigations was separated from her husband *C. Silius*; a woman of great parentage, of alluring and wanton beauty, and a long time welbeloued of *Agrippina*. Yet afterwards there was a priuie grudge betweene them two, because *Agrippina* had dehorted *Sext. Africanus* a noble yoong gentleman from marrying of *Silana*: saying, shee was vnchast and growne into yeeres; not because she meant to reserue him for herselfe; but fearing least he should enioy *Silanaes* goods if she died without issue. *Silana* hauing a hope of reuenge offered, sollicited *Iturius* and *Caluisius*, followers of her owne, to accuse *Agrippina*: yet not for any old and stale matter, as that shee bewailed the death of *Brittannicus*, or published the iniuries done to *Octauia*; but that she intended to stir vp *Rubellius Plautus* (by the mother side, as neer to *Augustus* as *Nero* was) to new enterprises against the state, and by marrying, of him and empire gotten by her means, afflict and inuade the common-wealth afresh. These things *Iturius* and *Caluisius* discouered to *Atimetus* a freed man of *Domitia*, aunt vnto *Nero*. Who glad of the occasion offered (for betweene *Domitia* and *Agrippina* there was deadly hatred) vrged the stage player *Paris* a freed man likewise of *Domitia* to goe
cap. 20. with al speed to *Nero*, & informe most bitterly against her. The night was well spent, and *Nero* well tippeled, when *Paris* entereth as one accustomed at other times to entertaine the Prince with sports and iestes: but then his countenance seeled to

sadnes,

sadneſſe, and declaring the whole order of *Atimetus* tale, did ſo terrifie and daunt the Prince, that he determined to kill not onely his mother, and *Plautus*; but diſcharge *Burrhus* of his office as aduanced by *Agrippinaes* fauour; and ready therefore to requite hir with as good a turne. *Fabius Ruſticus* reporteth, that letters were written to *Cæninæ Tuſchus* to come and take charge of the Gaurd; but that *Burrhus* credit was ſaued, and kept in his office by *Senecaes* meanes. *Pliny* and *Cluuius* ſeeme there was no doubt made of *Burrhus* loyaltie: and in very deede *Fabius* inclineth much to the commendation of *Seneca*, as one of his preferment. But our meaning is to follow the conſent of Authours; and if any affirme contrary, we will deliuer it vnder their names. *Nero* trembling for feare, and exceeding deſirous of the death of his mother, could not indure the delay, vntill *Burrhus* had promiſed to performe it, if ſhe were conuicted of the crime. But euery man might alleage what he could for his defence; much more a mother. Neither were there any accuſers preſent and nothing to ground on but one mans report out of an enemies houſe. He was to conſider that it was night, and that ſpent in banquetting; and therefore all would ſeeme to ſmel of raſhneſſe and folly. The Princes feare ſomwhat lightned by theſe ſpeeches and the day come, one went to *Agrippina* to let hir vnderſtand of the accuſation, and to purge hir ſelfe or looke to ſuffer. *Burrhus* was to doe the meſſage in preſence of *Seneca*, with ſome Freed-men as witneſſe of the ſpeeches. Then *Burrhus* hauing declared the accuſation, and the Authors of it, vſed threatning termes: and *Agrippina* not forgetting hir old fierceneſſe, returned him his anſwer: ſaying, I maruell not if *Silana* neuer hauing had childe, know not what the affections of mothers are: neither are children changed by their parents, as adulterers by ſhameleſſe women: Neither of *Iturius* and *Caluiſius*, hauing waſted their ſubſtance, beſtow this their laſt labour in vndertaking this accuſation: therefore am I to ſuſtaine the infamy of parricide, or *Cæſar* haue ſcruple of conſcience, that I would commit it: as for *Domitia* I would thanke hir for the hate ſhe beareth me, if ſhe would likewiſe in good will and loue towards my *Nero*, ſtriue with me. Now by hir Concubine *Atimetus*, and *Paris* the ſtage plaier ſhe doth as it were compoſe fables for the Stage. She was buſie about hir fiſh pooles of Baia, when by my counſels, *Neroes* adoption; proconſulary authority; election to be Conſul; and other ſteps to mount to the Empire were procured. Or elſe let ſome one be brought foorth to make it appeare, that I haue practiſed with the City-cohorts; corrupted the loyalty of the Prouinces; or ſollicited bond-men, or freed-men to rebellion. I might haue liued if *Britannicus* had beene Soueraigne: but if *Plautus* or ſome other ſhould get the rule of the common-wealth forſooth there ſhould want accuſers to lay to my charge, not words ſometimes vnaduiſedly eſcaped through feruency of loue; but ſuch crimes alſo from which I could not be acquitted, but as a mother by hir ſon. The aſſiſtants moued with theſe ſpeeches and endeuouring to appeaſe hir anger; ſhe requireth to ſpeake with hir ſonne: before whom ſhe ſpake nothing in defence of hir innocency, as if ſhee had diſtruſted; or of hir benefits, as to vpbraid him: but obtained reuenge of hir accuſers; and rewards for hir friends. The charge and office of prouiſion of corne was giuen to *Senius Rufus*; the commiſſion of Plaies which *Cæſar* was a preparing, to *Aruntius Stella*: Ægypt to *C. Balbillus*: Syria was appointed to *P. Anteius*, then abuſed with diuers deuiſes, and in the end detained in the City. But *Silana* was baniſhed: *Caluiſius* alſo and *Iturius*: *Atimetus* was executed: *Paris* being in greater credit (by reaſon of pleaſures miniſtred to the Prince) then that he ſhould be put to death. *Plautus* was ſent away for the time with ſilence. *Pallas* after this and *Burrhus* were accuſed to haue practiſed to call *Cornelius Sylla*, for nobleneſſe of birth and

Cap. 24

Cap. 22.

Cap. 23.

and affinitie with *Claudius*, whose sonne in lawe he was by marriage of *Antonia*, to the Empire. The author of that accusation was one *Pætus*, a man infamous, by causing debters to forfeit their goods: and then manifestly conuicted of vanity and falshoode. Neither was *Pallas* innocencie so gratefull, as his pride insupportable: for when some of his freed men were saide to haue beene priuie to the practise; hee made answere that in his house he appointed nothing to be done, but with a nod of his head or hand; or by writing, if hee had much to say, lest if hee should haue spoken vnto them, he should seeme to haue made them his fellowes. *Burrhus* although accused, yet gaue sentence among the Iudges. *Pætus* the accuser was banished, and the writings burnt, by which he went about to renew the records of the treasurie already cancelled. In the end of the same yeere, the gard of the souldiers which was cap. 24 woont to be at the plaies, was taken away, for a greater shew of libertie: and because the souldier being absent from the disorder of the Theater, should bee lesse corrupt; and the people shew by proofe, whether they would vse modestie if the guarde were away. The prince hallowed and purged the citie with sacrifices, by aduise of the southsaiers, because *Iupiters* and *Mineruaes* temples were set on fire with lightning.

VI. Neroes *disorders: the case of the franchised debated: an order for certaine magistrates.*

cap. 25. An. 804. Q. *Volusius* and *P. Scipio* being Consuls, there was peace abroad, and filthy lasciuiousnes at home: during which, *Nero* gadded vp and down the streets, to infamous brothell houses, & by-corners, in slaues attire, to be vnknowne; accompanied with such as snatched away wares from mens stales, wounded such as met them, and with such small regard whom, that *Nero* himselfe hath receiued and carried away blowes and markes on the face. And when it was knowne to be *Cæsar* which played those pranks, the disorder grew greater against both men and women of accompt; and with like licentiousnes abusing *Cæsars* name, many practised the same insolencies, gathered together in particular companies, and so spending the night as it had beene in taking a towne, and captiuity. One *Iulius Montanus* a Senator, who had not yet taken vpon him the dignitie, by chance coping with the Prince in the darke and rudely thrusting him backe as hee offered him violence; then knowing him, and crauing pardon, was inforced to die, as though thereby he had reproched him of folly. *Nero* more wary and fearfull after that, went not without a rabble of souldiers and fencers; which medled not at the first, and whilest the prince made his party good: but after, if he were ouermatched, by such as he abused they layd hands immediatly on their weapons. He turned the disordered licence at plaies, and part-taking in fauor of stage players, almost to a mutinie, by giuing impunity and rewards, himselfe priuily or for the most part openly looking on; vntill the people growing to sedition, and fearing greater stirres; no other remedy was found then to expell the stage-players out of Italie, and place a gard of souldiers a-cap. 26 gaine on the theater. At the same time the deceit and vngratefull behauiour of freed men was debated in Senat; and instant sute made that the patrons might haue authority to reuoke the freedome giuen to such as deserued it not: for many there were of that opinion. But the Consuls not daring to determine the matter, without the priuity of the Prince; yet wrote the common consent vnto him: And that hee should bee the author of the decree, few being of a contrary opinion, and some grudging that the irreuerence of their late bondmen, by reason of liberty was

growen

growne to that, that they cared not whether they carried themselues towards „
their patrons dutifully or not: nothing at all waying what they said vnto them: „
yea, bende their fists towards them; thrust and elbow such as would haue any lawe „
made to bridle them. For what other redresse was there graunted vnto patrons of- „
fended, but to banish his freed man aboue twentie miles off, to the coast of Campa- „
nia? all other actions were indifferent and equall to both. Some weapon therefore „
should be giuen the patron, which the freed man should not despise. Neither could „
it seeme hard if the manumised should with the same obedience keepe their liberty, „
by which they got it. And such as were openly conuicted of crimes, were woorthily „
brought againe to seruitude; that such might be bridled by feare, whom benefits „
could not change. Some spake to the contrarie, saying: That, that fault of a fewe „
should be preiudiciall but to themselues; and not derogate from the priuiledges, „ cap. 27.
common to them all; because it was a body farre spred abroad. From them were ta- „
ken many Tribes and Decuries, fit men for magistrates & priests, and citie cohorts: „
and many gentlemen and Senators could deriue no beginning but from thence. If „
the freed men should be seuered from the rest, the number of the free borne would „
appeare verie small. Not without cause our aunceſtors when they diuided the citi- „
zens into degrees and callings, left libertie in common. Yea they had instituted „
two kindes of manumising their bondmen, because it might be in their choise to „
repent or yeelde newe fauour. Those whom the patron did not manumise *Vindicta* „
before the magistrate, remained still as it were in the bonds of seruitude. That eue- „
rie man would looke into the merits of his slaue; and graunt that slowly, which be- „
ing once giuen could not be taken away. This opinion carried it away. And *Cæsar* „
wrote to the Senate that they should priuately examine the cause of the freed men „
as oft as they were accused by their patrons: and derogate nothing from the whole
bodie of them. Not long after, *Paris* the late bondman was taken from *Domitia*, *Neroes* aunte, vnder colour of ciuill lawe; not without a disgrace to the Prince: by whose commandement iudgement of free condition was giuen him. Neuertheleſſe cap. 28.
there remained a certain shew of a free common-wealth. For a contention being growen betweene *Vibullius* the Pretor, and *Antistius* tribune of the people, for releasing out of prison certaine vnruly fauourers of the Stage-plaiers, committed by the Pretor: the Lords of the Senate opproued the Pretors fact, and blamed *Antistius* boldnesse. Withall the Tribunes were forbidden to vsurpe any thing belonging to the Pretors or Consuls authoritie; or call such before them out of Italie, whose right was to be determined by law. *L. Piso* Consull elect added further, that they should not exercise their authoritie in punishing of any in their own houses: & that the Quæstors of the treasurie should not enter into record before foure months were past, the mercements adiudged by them: & that in the mean time it might be lawfull to speake against them; and the Consuls determine the matter. The authoritie of the Aediles is also restrained, and order set down how much the Curules, and the people might take to pawne, and how farre they might punish. Thereupon *Heluidius Priscus*, Tribune of the people, shewed his priuate grudge against *Obultronius Sabinus* Quæstor of the treasury, as though he had too seuerely enforced the execution of open sales of goods against the poore. Then the Prince transferred the records of publicke debts from the Quæstors to the Prouosts of the citie: albeit, cap. 29.
the forme of that office had beene diuersly vsed, and often chaunged. For *Augustus* gaue the Senate licence to choose the Prouosts; then canuasing of voices being suspected, they were drawn by lot out of the number of the Pretors. Neither did that long continue, because the lot fell oft vpon the vnmeeteſt. Then *Claudius*
restored

restored againe the Quæstors to the office, and bestowed extraordinary promotion vpon them, lest for feare of offence they should be slacke in their duty. But because there wanted authority of age in manie which were in that office, as being the first they were possessed of; *Nero* chose such as had beene Prouosts, and tried by long
cap. 30 experience. *Vipsanius Lenas* was condemned vnder the same Consuls, for behauing himselfe too rauenously in the Prouince of Sardinia. *Cestius Proculus* was acquited of extorsion, his accusers letting fall the sute. *Clodius Quirinalis*, Captaine of the galli-slaues at Rauenna, accused for molesting Italie with riot and crueltie, as the least of all nations, preuented his condemnation by poisoning himselfe. *Aminius Rebius* a principall man for the skill of the lawes and of great wealth, escaped the griefes of sickly olde age by letting himselfe bloud in the veines, although hee was thought to be too cowardly to kill himself; by reason he was giuen too effeminately to lusts. But *L. Volusius* died with great fame, hauing liued ninety three yeeres, very rich by good meanes, and neuer once hurt by any of those vniust Emperors, vnder whom he liued.

VII. *What Annales ought to intreat of: plaies forbidden.*

cap. 31 Ann. 805. *Nero* being the second time Consull, and *L. Piso*, few things happened worthy of memory; vnlesse some would thinke it well done to fill vp volumes in praising the foundations and timber imployed by *Cæsar* in the huge building of the Amphitheater in Campus Martius, seeing it is meet for the dignitie and honor of the people of Rome to commit famous acts to their Annales, and such as those to the diurnall of the citie. Capua and Nuceria both colonies, were reenforced with a supply of olde souldiers. There was bestowed a gift of *forty sesterces by powle to the people, and *foure hundred thousand sesterces to the publike treasurie to maintain the people faithfull vnto him. The tribute of the fift and of the twentieth for the sale of slaues was released in shew rather then in deed: for when the seller was commaunded to pay it, he enhanced the price still to the buiers losse. *Cæsar* commanded by an edict, that no magistrate, procurator of any prouince, should set foorth a shew of fencers, or wilde beasts, or any other pastime. For heretofore the subiects were no lesse endomaged by such liberalities, then by taking their money from them; whilest they cloaked with fauor gotten by such spectacles, their
cap. 32 faults committed by robbing the people. A decree of Senate was made as well for reuenge as securitie, that if any man had been slain by his bondmen, those also who being manumised by testament, & continued in the same house, should be punished as the other bondmen. *L. Varius* somtimes Consull was restored to his dignity, remoued before for couetous dealing and extorsion. And *Pomponia Græcina* a noble woman; and wife to *Plautius*, who returned with a small triumph out of Britannia, and accused of strange superstition, was remitted to the iudgement of her husband; and hee according to the auncient custome, in the presence of her neerest kindred, heard her cause of life & death, and pronounced her innocent. This *Pomponia* liued long, and in continuall sorrow: for after that *Iulia, Drusus* daughter was murdered by *Messallinaes* trechery, she was not seene for forty yeers but in mourning apparell, and very sad & dolefull. Which she might lawfully do whilest *Claudius* raigned, and
cap. 33 afterward turned to her glory. Many citizens were accused that yere, of which number *P. Celer* being one, at the information of the inhabitants of Asia, because *Cæsar* could not acquit him, he prolonged his cause till he died of age. For *Celer* (as I haue alreadie said) hauing besturred himselfe in the murdering of *Silanus* the Proconsull,

cloaked

*Sixe shil. 3. d.
*About 31250. pound.

cloaked all other villanies vnder the greatnes of that lewd action. The *Cilicians* accuſed *Coſſutianus Capito*, criminally noted & diſcredited with many vices, thinking he had had the ſame priuilege of vſing inſolent behauiour in the prouince, as he had done in the city. But turmoiled and moleſted with an ouerthwart accuſation, in the end letting fall his defence, was condemned of extorſion. Great ſuings preuailed ſo much for *Eprius Marcellus*, of whom the Lycians demaunded reſtitution, that ſome of the accuſers were baniſhed, as though they had indangered an innocent man.

VIII. *A liberality of* Nero *towards certeine decaied gentlemen. The warre of Armenia renewed.* Tiridates *departeth the countrey.*

WHen *Nero* was the third time Conſull, *Valerius Meſſalla* entered the ſame office, whoſe great grandfather *Coruinus* an orator, ſome olde men remember to haue beene companion in office with *Auguſtus* of famous memorie, *Neroes* great grandfathers father. But the honour of this noble family was bettered by giuing *Meſſalla* by yeare *fiue hundred thouſand ſeſterces to relieue his harmeleſſe pouertie. To *Aurelius Cotta* likewiſe, and *Haterius Antonius*, the Prince graunted that an annuall ſum of money ſhould be giuen, although they had waſted riotouſly the wealth their anceſtors had left them. In the beginning of that yeere, the warre which was drawne at length with ſoft and mild beginnings vntill then, betweene the Parthians and the Romans for obtaining of Armenia, was now hotly purſued: becauſe *Vologeſes* would neither ſuffer his brother *Tiridates* to bee depriued of the kingdom in which he had inueſted him, nor that hee ſhould enioy it as a gift from another Lord; and *Corbulo* thought it woorthy of the greatnes of the people of Rome to recouer that which by *Lucullus* and *Pompey* had bene once gotten. The Armenians being doubtfull, and faithfull to neither ſide, inuited both: yet by the ſite of their country and conformity of conditions, being more neere vnto the Parthians, and intermingled with them by mariages, and not knowing what liberty was, inclined rather to that ſeruitude. But *Corbulo* had more adoe with the ſlothfulnes of the ſouldiers, then perfidiouſnes of the enemies: for the legions remoued from Syria, by a long peace grown lazie and idle, could hardly endure the labor and pains of the Roman diſcipline. Certaine it was there were old ſouldiers in that campe, which had neuer kept watch nor ward; a rampire or trench they gazed at, as at a new and ſtrange deuiſe: without head-peeces; without curaſſes; neate and fine; hunting after gaine; hauing ſpent all their ſeruice in townes. Whereupon the olde and feeble being diſmiſſed, he deſired a ſupply, which was had out of Galatia and Cappadocia. And to them was added a legion out of Germanie with wings of horſemen, and all the armie kept in campe; although the winter were ſo hard, and the earth ſo couered with yce, that they could not pitch their tents, vnleſſe they had firſt digged the ground. Many of their limmes grew ſtarcke with extremity of cold; and many died in keeping the watch. And there was a ſouldier noted carrying a fagot, whoſe hands were ſo ſtiffe frozen, that ſticking to his burden, they fell from him as though they had been cut from his armes. *Corbulo* ſlightly apparrelled, bare headed, was with them when they marched; when they laboured, praiſed the ſtout; comforted the feeble; and gaue example vnto them all. Then becauſe many refuſing to endure the hardnes of the ſeaſon, & ſuch rigor of diſcipline, forſooke him: he ſought a redreſſe by ſeuerity: for hee did not pardon the firſt and ſecond fault as in other armies, but he ſuffered death preſently who forſooke his enſigne

cap. 34. An. 806.

*About 3906. pound 5. s.

cap. 35.

signe: which by experience proued more profitable, then clemencie. For fewer
cap. 36 forsooke that campe, then where there was much mercie shewen. In the meane season *Corbulo* hauing kept the legions in campe vntill the spring, and disposed the aid-cohorts in conuenient places, charged them not to giue the onset. The charge of the garrisons he committed to *Pactius Ophitus*, once Captaine of the first ensigne: who although he wrote to *Corbulo* that the Barbarians were careleſſe and disordered, and a fit occasion offered of atchieuing some exploit; yet was he commaunded to keepe within his garrison, and expect greater power. But breaking his commaundement when he saw a few troups of horsemen issue out of a castle hard by, and vnskilfully demaund battell, he encountred the enemy, and went away with the losse. And those which should haue seconded them, terrified with that discomfiture, fled as fast as they could euery man to his hold; which to *Corbulo* was an exceeding griefe. Who rebuking *Pactius* and the Captaines, and the souldiers, commaunded them all to pitch their tents out of the campe: and there kept them in that disgrace,
cap. 37. vntil thy were deliuered by the intercession & suite of the whole army. But *Tiridates* besides his own followers, succoured by his brother *Vologeses*; not now by stelth, but with open warre molesteth *Armenia*, spoiling all such hee thought faithfull to vs; and if any forces were brought against him, he deluded them, by flying hither and thither; terrifying more by fame then fight. *Corbulo* therefore seeking occasion to ioyne battell, but in vaine; and constrained to make war now in one place, now in another, as the enemy did; seuered his forces, to the end that the Lieutenants & captaines might inuade diuers places at once. Withall; he aduertised King *Antiochus* to set on the gouernment next adioyning to him. For *Pharasmanes*, his sonne *Rhadamistus* being slaine, as a traitor towards him, to testifie his loyaltie towards vs, shewed more willingly his inueterate hatred against the Armenians. Then the Isichians, a nation neuer before confederate with vs, beeing now brought to our side, inuaded the hardest passages of Armenia; whereby all *Tiridates* designments were crossed. He sent Embassadors to expostulate in his owne, and
« the Parthians name, Why hauing of late giuen hostages, and renewed amity, which
« opened the way to new benefits, he should be driuen from the auncient possession
« of Armenia? therefore *Vologeses* was not yet moued to warre, because he had rather
« debate the matter by reason, then by force. But if they would persist in warre, the
« Arsacides should neither want courage nor fortune, often experimented to the
« losse of the Romans. Hereupon *Corbulo* knowing well that *Vologeses* was troubled with the Hircanians rebelion, perswadeth *Tiridates* to deale with *Cæsar* by intreatie; that hee might obtaine a firme possession of a kingdome without bloudshed; if leauing off a long and slow hope, he would imbrace that which was present and
cap. 38. more sure. Then they resolued, because by entercourse of messengers they profited nothing, for the full knitting vp of peace, to appoint time and place for a parlie. *Tiridates* sayd, that he would come with a thousand horse for his gard: how many of whatsoeuer sort of souldiers *Corbulo* should bring, he weighed it not; so as they came without curasses & helmets, as a better shew of peace. The barbarous trecherie was palpable to all men, much more to an old circumspect captaine; therfore a small number was limited on one part, and a greater permitted to the other, that the treason might bee the better effected: for to oppose against practised horsemen archers, vnarmed men, the multitude would auaile nothing. Yet *Corbulo* making as though he had not perceiued the treason, answered, that publicke affaires would better be debated in the face of both the whole armies. And for the purpose chose a place whereof the one part had hils of an easie ascent fit for ranks of foote-

men,

men; the other stretched out into a plaine, conuenient to display troupes of horsemen. And the day agreed on, *Corbulo* appeared first in this order: He placed the cohorts of allies, and succours sent by Kings, in the wings: and in the middle, the sixt legion; among which he had intermingled three thousand of the third, sent for by night from other garrisons, with one ensigne, as if all were but one legion. *Tiridates* the day being well spent, shewed himselfe aloofe, where he might better be seen then heard: so the Romaine captaine without parly, commanded his souldiers to depart euery man to his owne campe. The King either suspecting fraud, because our men went at once to diuers places, or to intercept our prouision of victuals, comming from the sea of Pontus, and the town Trapezunt, maketh away with all speed. But he could not hinder the comming of the victuals, because it was brought throgh mountaines possessed by our own garrisons; and *Corbulo* because the warre should draw to an end, and the Armenians constrained to defend their owne, goeth about to raze their Castles. cap 39

IX. Corbulo *hauing taken the Castles, destroyeth Artaxata the chiefe towne of the countrey.*

Corbulo chose to himselfe the strongest place of the countrey called Volandum to assault; the lesser hee committeth to *Cornelius Flaccus* Lieutenant; and *Isteus Capito* camp-maisters. Then surueying his forces, and seeing all things in a readines for the assault, incourageth his souldiers to vnnestle the vagabond enemy, neither ready for peace nor warre; acknowledging by his fleeing away his perfidiousnes and cowardise; and so win at once both glory and wealth. After this, hauing deuided his armie into foure parts, he lead some close and thicke ranked together, for a target fence to vndermine and beate downe the rampire: others to scale the walles: others to let flee fire and darts out of engins of warre: the sling-casters and stone-throwers had a place appointed them, from whence they might a farre off throw pellets of yron and stone, that the besieged might haue no refuge or comfort of one another, all places being full of like feare. The courage of the assailants was so great, that within the third part of the day the walles were naked of defendants: the gates broken downe; the fortresse scaled: and all of lawfull yeeres put to the sword; no one souldier lost on our side, and verie few hurt: the weake and vnable people were sold in a portsale and made slaues; the rest of the booty fell to the Conquerours share. The Lieutenant and camp-master had the like fortune, three castles taken in one day; the rest for feare and by consent of the inhabitants yeelded: which encouraged the Romans to set on Artaxata the chiefe towne of the countrey. Yet the legions were not brought the next way, because that passing the riuer Araxis which washeth the wals, by the bridge they should haue come vnder the danger of blowes; but went ouer a farre off at broade foords. But *Tiridates* assailed with feare and shame, lest if hee should suffer the besieging, he might seeme not to be able to succour it; if hinder it, encomber himselfe and his horsemen in dangerous and difficult places, resolued in the end to shew his armie in battell aray, & a day appointed, giue the onset; or making as though he would flee, dresse an ambush. Whereupon on a sudden hee enuironeth the Romans; our Captaine not ignorant thereof, who had marshalled his armie in such aray, that it might both march on, and fight. On the right side the third legion; on the left the sixt marched; in the middle a company chosen out of the tenth; the carriages betweene the rankes, and a thousand horsemen in the rereward, with cap. 40

comman-

commandement that they ſhould reſiſt and make head againſt the enemie if they paſſed in; but if they fled, not to follow. In the wings went the footmen archers with the reſidue of the horſemen; the left wing ſtretched ſomewhat longer to the bottome of the hils; that if the enemy ſhould enter on them, he ſhould haue beene receiued both in the front and middle. *Tiridates* on the contrary ſide, came about the Romans freely; yet not within a darts caſt; now threatning; now making as though he were afraid; and ſo retiring, to ſee whether we would open or breake our rankes to follow, and ſo intrap vs being ſcattered. But not ſeeing any thing diſordered, or any ranke broken by raſhnes; and onely one vnder Captaine of horſemen ventering boldlier then the reſt to haue beene ſlaine with an arrow, and the reſt by his example to obey, the night being almoſt come, he departed. *Corbulo* hauing pitched his campe in the ſame place, conſidered with himſelfe, whether he ſhould goe by night to Artaxata, and beſiege it with light and vncumbered legions, ſuppoſing that *Tiridates* had retired thither. Then the ſcouts hauing brought intelligence that the King had taken a longer iourney, doubtfull whether to the Medes or Perſians, he ſtaied vntill it was day: ſending before a company light armed, to enuiron the walles, and begin the aſſault a farre of. But the townesmen opening the gates of their owne accord, yeelded themſelues and all they had to the Romans; whereby their liues were ſaued. But Artaxata was burnt and razed to the ground, becauſe it could not be kept without a ſtrong garriſon, by reaſon of the compaſſe of the wals; and our forces were not ſo great that we could leaue there a ſufficient garriſon, and withall, keepe the field: or if ſhee ſhould bee left ſtanding and vngarded, there would be neither profit nor glory that ſhe had beene taken. There is a miracle reported, as it were by ſome diuine power happened: for all things out of the houſes were lightned by the ſun; but that which was inuironed with the wals, was on ſuch a ſudden couered with a darke cloud & ſeparated with lightning, that it ſeemed the will of the gods was, it ſhould be deſtroyed. Hereupon *Nero* was ſaluted Emperor, & proceſſions made by decree of Senat; and images & triumphall arches ſet vp, and the Conſulſhip continued on him: and ordained that the day the victorie was gained, the day of the newes the day wherin they talked of in Senat, ſhould be kept holy, and other ſuch like; ſo far beyond meaſure, that *C. Caſſius* conſenting vnto the reſt of the honours giuen him, touching the proceſſions; ſaid, that if they would giue the gods thanks for ſo many fauours of fortune, all the yeere would not be enough to make them proceſſions. And therefore they ſhould diſtinguiſh working daies from holie daies, in ſuch ſort that the gods might be honoured, and temporall buſineſſe not hindered.

X. Suilius *is baniſhed.* Octauius *tribune of the people killeth* Pontia, *with whom he was in loue.*

ABout that time, *P. Suilius*, a man croſſed with many aduerſities, and iuſtly incurred the hatred of many, was called in queſtion, and condemned; not without ſome touch of *Senecaes* credit. This *Suilius* in *Claudius* raigne was both cruell and corrupt, and by alteration of times brought low, though not ſo much as his enemies deſired; and who rather would ſeeme culpable, than as a ſuppliant craue pardon. For it was thought that the penaltie of the law Cincia, againſt ſuch as pleaded cauſes for money, was ſet on foote againe, onely to ſubuert and ouerthrow him. Yet *Suilius* neuer forbare complaints and hard ſpeeches, beſides his naturall fiercenes, more free by reaſon of his old age: laying in *Senecaes* diſh that he was

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an enemy to *Claudius* friends, vnder whom he had sustained a most iust banishment: withall, that with his idle and dead studies, applying himselfe to the vnskilfulnes of raw youth, he enuied such as vsed a liuely and vncorrupt eloquence in defending the citizens. He had beene Questor to *Germanicus*; and *Seneca*, and adulterer of his house. Was it to be iudged a greeuouser offence to receiue a suters reward freely offered for a mans honest trauell, then to defile the beds of Princes wiues? with what wisedome, with what precepts of Philosophers within foure yeeres friendship with the King, had hee gotten * three thousand times three hundred thousand sesterces? At Rome he couzened men of their Legacies, and such as died without children, as if he had layd a snare to intrap him. Italy and the prouinces were drawn dry by his excessiue vsurie. As for himselfe, he had but small store of wealth gotten by his labour and sweate. Hee would suffer the accusation, perill, and what else might fall, rather then subiect his old credit and estimation to a new vpstart. Neither wanted there such as reported these or worser speeches to *Seneca* againe: and other informers were found, which accused *Suilius* that hee had pouled and pilled the allies when he was gouernour of Asia, and purloined the common treasure. Then because he had obtained a yeeres space for to make enquiry of these matters, it seemed to be the shorter course, to begin with crimes committed neere about the City, because of such, witnesses were at hand. They obiected against him, that the bitternesse of his accusation droue *Q. Pomponius* to a necessity of ciuill war: that he had brought *Iulia* the daughter of *Drusus*, and *Sabina Poppæa* to destruction; and falsly accused *Valerius Asiaticus*, *L. Saturninus* and *Cornelius Lupus*: yea a great company of Gentlemen of Rome had been condemned by his meanes: in fine, all *Claudius* cruelty was imputed to *Suilius*. He for his defence answered, that he had vndertooke none of those things of his owne will, but to obey the Prince, vntill *Cæsar* caused him to hould his tongue saying, that he was assured by his fathers memorial, that he neuer inforced any man to accuse another: then he pretended *Messallinaes* commandement, and his defence began to faile him. Why was there no other chosen to speake for that cruell vnchast dame? the instruments of cruell actions are to be punished, when as hauing receiued the reward of their lewdnesse, yet goe about to lay it to others charge. Therefore part of his goods being taken from him (for part was left his sonne and his neece, and that also was excepted which was giuen them by their mothers or Grandfathers testament) he was banished into the Ilands of Baleares, neuer loosing courage either in the time of his danger, or after condemnation. And it is reported that he suffered that separation from company, liuing both aboundantly and delicately. The accusers had ouerthrowne his sonne *Nerulinus*, for the enuy they bare the father, and his owne extortions, if the Prince had not opposed himselfe, as though the reuenge had beene sufficient. About the same time *Octauius Sagitta*, Tribune of the people, mad in loue with *Pontia* a maried wife, by great gifts bought hir vnlawfull loue, and vse of hir body; then to forsake hir husband, promising hir mariage, and inducing hir to the liking of him. But when this woman was free from hir husband, she began to finde delaies, shifting it off that hir father was vnwilling, and in the end finding a hope of a richer husband, went from hir promise. *Octauius* on the contrary side sometimes complained, sometimes threatned, protesting his credit was lost, and his mony consumed; finally put his life which only remained in hir hands. But being reiected, craueth one nights pleasure for his satisfaction, then promised he would desist. The night was appointed, and *Pontia* gaue charge of watching the chamber to a maide which was priuy to their dealings. He with one freed-man conueyeth in a weapon vnder his garment.

* About 2343750. lib.

cap. 43.

cap. 44.

Then as the manner of louers is, ſometimes angry, ſometimes chiding, ſometimes intreating, ſometimes vpbraiding and ſpending ſome part of the night in voluptuous pleaſures, at laſt kindled with griefe and complaints, with his ſword ran thorow this woman, which feared no ſuch thing, and wounded the maide which ran in, and ſo ruſheth out of the Chamber. The next day the murder was knowne, and the murderer not doubted of, being knowne manifeſtly that they had beene together. But a Freed-man proteſted it was his doing, in reuenge of the iniuries done to his Patron, & moued ſome with the ſtrangeneſſe of that example to beleeue him, vntil the maid, recouered of hir wound, diſcouered the truth. Then *Octauius* accuſed of the murder before the Conſuls by *Pontius* father, at the end of his Tribuneſhip was condemned by the Senat, according to the Law Cornelia againſt murderers.

XI. Nero *taketh away* Sabina Poppæa *from hir husband.*

THe ſame yeere, an vntemperate life, no leſſe infamous then the former, was a beginning of greater miſchiefes in the common-wealth. There was in the city one *Sabina Poppæa* daughter of *T. Oſtius*: but ſhe had taken the name of *Sabinus Poppæus*, hir Grand-father by the Mothers ſide; a man of worthy memory honored with the Conſulary dignity, and ornaments of triumph: for *Seianus* friendſhip did ouerthrow *Oſtius* before he came to any dignities. This woman was graced with al things ſauing an honeſt minde: for hir mother ſurpaſſing other women of hir time in beauty, gaue hir both glory and beauty: wealth ſhe had ſufficient to mantaine hir Nobility: hir ſpeech affable and gratious nor no groſſe wit; but knowing wel how to pretend modeſty and liue laſciuiouſly: ſhe came little abroad, and then part of hir face couered with a veile; either not to fill the eie of the beholder, or becauſe it becommed hir beſt: of hir credit regard ſhe had neuer; making no difference betweene hir husbands and adulterers: neither ſubiect to hir owne will, nor anothers; but where profit was offered, thither ſhe carried hir affection. This woman then being wife to *Rufus Criſpinus*, a Gentleman of Rome, by whom ſhe had a ſonne; *Otho* ſeduced through his youth and riot; & becauſe he was moſt inward in friendſhip with *Nero*: It was not long but they ioyned mariage to adultery. *Otho* either becauſe he was vncircumſpect in loue, or becauſe he would enflame the princes luſt; praiſed his wiues beauty and comely feature in his preſence; that both enioying one woman, his credit and authority might by that bond grow greater. He hath bin often heard to ſay, as he hath riſen from banqueting with *Cæſar*, that he would go to hir in whom was al beauty and nobility; and to hir who kindling all mens deſires, was able to make them moſt happy. Through theſe and the like prouocations, there was no long delay made. *Nero* then finding acceſſe vnto hir, *Poppæa* at the firſt by allurements and cunning, began to inueigle him; ſaying, that ſhe was not able to withſtand his loue, and that ſhe was ouercome with his beauty. Then perceiuing the Princes luſt to be growen hot; ſhe began to grow proud; and if ſhe entertained him aboue a night or two, it was all ſhe could affoord him; ſaying, ſhe was a married wife, and that ſhe could not abandon hir husband as being bound vnto *Otho*, for his manner of cariage and behauiour, which few came neere vnto: that he was in courage and demeanour magnificent; and in all reſpects woorthy of higheſt fortune. As for *Nero* vſing a bond-ſlaue for his Concubine, and tied to Actes familiarity, hee had learned nothing of that ſeruile company, but baſeneſſe and niggardice. *Otho* after this was barred of the accuſtomed familiarity with the Prince; then of his company and retinue: and laſt of all, leaſt hee ſhould be his concurrent in the City, he made

made him Gouernour of the Prouince of Portingall. Where he liued vntill the ciuill warres, not as before disorderly; but honestly and vncorruptly, as one loosly giuen when he had little to doe; but in office and rule more staied and temperate. All this while *Nero* sought to cloke his vitiousnesse and licentious life. Afterward he began to be iealous of *Cornelius Syllaes* dull and heauy disposition, interpreting it contrary to that which it was, deeming him a crafty and subtill dissembler. Which iealousie *Graptus* a freed-man of *Caesars* by age, and experience and time, vntill then well practised in Princes houses, augmented with this lie. The Miluian bridge in those daies was notorious for a haunt, of dissolute and vntruly persons in the night. Whither *Nero* resorted also to enioy his licentious pleasures more freely, being out of the towne & returning backeby the Flaminian way; *Gratus* put him in the head that there had beene wait laid for him, which he escaped by destiny, because he went another way to *Sallustius* Gardens, and falsly accused *Sylla* to be the author thereof: Because that some of the Princes seruitors returning that way by chance, were, by some licentious behauiour of youth, which in that place was very common, put in greater fright than danger. Yet there was no one of *Syllaes* seruitours or vassals knowen. His faint heart and not daring any enterprise being well knowen to be far from any such fact: yet neuertheleſſe as though he had beene conuicted, he was commanded to depart his Country, and liue within the wals of Marsiles. Vnder the same Consuls the Embasies of the Puteolanians were heard, which the Senators on one side, and the communalty on the other, sent to the Senate: the Senators charging the communalty with insolency; and the people charging the magistrates and chiefe Gentlemen with couetousnesse. And when the sedition was already growen to throwing of stones, and threatning to fire one another, and like to draw on murder and war, *C. Cassius* was chosen to order the matter; but knowing that they could not endure his seuerity at his request, that care was committed to the brothers the Scribonians, with a band of the Emperours guard: through the terrour of which and punishment of a few, the Townesmen were set at quietnesse againe. I would not speake of the very common decree of Senate, by which the City of Syracusa was licensed to exceed the number prefixed in the shew of Fencers: If *Paetus Thrasea* had not spoken against it and giuen matter vnto backbiters to reprehend his iudgement: For said they, if he beleeued that the Common-wealth wanted the liberty of Senators, why did he meddle in such trifles? He should rather haue perswaded or disswaded matters of war or peace; of tributes, of lawes, and other things wherein consisted the estate of Rome. It was lawfull for the Lords of the Senate as oft as they thought conuenient to giue their opinion, to propound what they lifted, and aske for a consultation vpon it. Was it onely woorthy of correcting, that at Syracusa the Plaies should not be so long? Be all other things in the Empire, as well as if, not *Nero*, but *Thrasea* had the gouernment thereof? The which if they were let passe with great dissimulation; how much more should they forbeare vaine trifles? *Thrasea* on the contrary, his friends demanding him a reason why he contradicted the decree, made answer; that he did it not as being ignorant of the present estate of things; but for the greater honour of the Lords of the Senate: and shew manifestly that they would not dissemble in important affaires, which would looke into such small matters.

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XII. *Matters of policy redressed. The Senatours withstand* Nero *touching Subsidies.*

cap. 50. THe same yeere, through the often and importunate sute of the people, blaming the couetousnesse of the Farmers of the common rents, *Nero* doubted whether it were best to command that there should no more subsidies and tributes be leuied; and giue so faire a gift to the world. But this sudden pang hauing first commended the bounteousnesse of his minde, the LL. of the Senate staied, affirming it to be the dissolution of the Empire, if the reuenewes by which it was sustained should be diminished: for if custome were taken away, it would follow that the abolishing of tributes would be demanded. Many societies of tributes and tallages were established by the Consuls and Tribunes of the people, euen when the Communalty had greatest liberty. Things afterward were so proportioned, that the receits and reuenewes should be answerable to the laying out. Indeed the couetousnes of the Farmers was to be moderated, lest things tolerated so many yeeres without complaint, should turne to further mischiefe and hatred, by their strange greedinesse. The Prince therefore by edict commanded, that the taxation of euery custome which hitherto hath beene concealed, should not be published: and that the Farmers should not after the yeere was expired demand any thing let slip or forgotten during that time: that in Rome the Prætor, in the Prouinces those which supplied the places of the Pretors and Consuls, should extraordinarily determine against the Farmers of common rents: that souldiers should keepe their immunity, those things excepted wherein they trafficked: and many other iust things, which obserued a short time, afterward came to nothing. Neuertheless the abolishing of one in forty and one in fifty continueth, and what other names the Farmers had inuented for their vnlawfull exactions. The carriage of Corne to parts beyond the seas was moderated: and ordained that Marchants ships should not be valued in the generall estimate of their goods, nor tribute paied for them. *Cæsar* discharged *Sulpitius Camerinus*, and *Pomponius Siluanus*, who had beene Proconsuls in Affrike, and accused by the Prouince, obiecting against *Camerinus*, rather cruell dealing against a few priuate men, then extortion in generall. A great number of accusers came about *Siluanus*, and required time to produce witnesses; but the defendant desired his defences might presently be heard: which being rich, childlesse, and old, he obtained; and ouerliued those by whose sute he had escaped. The estate of Germany was quiet vntill then, through the industry of the Captaines, who seeing the honour of triumph common, hoped for greater glory if they could continue peace. *Paullinus Pampeius* and *L. Vetus* had charge of the Army at that time; yet lest they should keepe the souldier in idlenesse, *Paullinus* finished a banke begun threescore and three yeeres before by *Drusus*, to keepe in the riuer of Rhene. *Vetus* went about to ioyne Mosella and Araris by a ditch cast betweene them, that the Armies conueighed by sea, then by Rhodanus and Araris by that ditch, anon after by Mosa into Rhene, in the end should fall into the Ocean; that all difficulties of the passages taken away, the West and North seas might be nauigable from the one to the other. *Aelius Gracilis* Lieutenant of Belgia enuied the worke, dehorting *Vetus*, least he should bring the Legions into an others Prouince, and seeke to win the hearts of the Gallois, affirming it to be dangerous to the Emperour: a pretext which often hindereth honest indeuours. Through the continuall rest of the armies a rumour was spred, that the Lieutenants were forbidden to lead them against the enemy.

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enemy. Whereupon the Frisians placed their youth in the woods and marishes; sent their feeble olde men to the banks of Rhene, planting them in voide grounds appointed out for the vse of souldiers; *Verritus* and *Malorigis* beeing the authors thereof, who then gouerned the countrey which the Germans were Lords of. Now they had built houses, sowed the ground, and tilled it, as though it had beene their natiue countrey; when *Dubius Auitus* hauing receiued the prouince of *Paullinus*, threatning to send the Roman forces, vnlesse the Frisians would returne to their old homes, or obtaine a new place of habitation of *Cæsar*, enforced *Verritus* and *Malorigis* to fall to intreate. And taking their iourney to Rome whilest they attended for *Nero*, busied in other matters, among other things woont to bee shewen to barbarous people, they went to *Pompeius* theater to behold the multitude of people. There at their leisure (for being vnskilfull in those plaies, tooke no great delight in them) whilest they inquired of many things touching the assembly, skaffolds, differences of degrees, which were gentlemen, where the Senators sate, they perceiued some in a strange attire in the Senators roomes: and asking who they were, when they vnderstood that that honour was done to the Embassadors of those countries which excelled in vertue, and friendship with the Romans; they cried that *There were none in the world more valiant and faithfull than the Germans*; and so went and sate among the Lords of the Senat, which was courteously taken of the beholders, as a forwardnes of their old good nature, and a commendable emulation of vertue. *Nero* gaue them both the priuileges of a citizen of Rome, and commanded the Frisians to depart the countrey they had possessed: who refusing to obeie, a troupe of aide horsemen sent on the sudden forced them to it, and those taken and slaine which most obstinatly resisted. The Ansibarians entred the same territorie, a stronger nation then the other: not onely by their owne strength, but by the pittie their neighbours take on them; because they being driuen out by the Chauci, and wanting dwelling places, they desired they might haue it as a sure place of exile. They had for their conduct a man of great reputation in that countrey, and vnto vs likewise trusty, called *Boiocalus*: who declared, how by the commaundement of *Arminius* he had beene taken prisoner, when the Cherusci rebelled: then how he had serued the Romans fiftie yeeres vnder *Tiberius* and *Germanicus*. He said further, He would put his nation vnder our dominion. What neede was there of such spatious waste grounds, to put at sometimes onely the souldiers heards and cattell to feed? That they might reserue those grounds they had receiued for their flocks (albeit men died with famine) so as they desired not rather a wilderies then an habitation of people their confederates. In times past those fields belonged to the Chamauorians; then to the Tubantians; and in the ende to the Vsipians. As the heauen was giuen the gods, so the earth to mankind; and that which was not possessed, was common. Then beholding the sunne, and calling vpon the rest of the stars, he asked as it were in their presence, whether they would see the land naked? That they would rather ouerwhelme the takers away of the earth with the sea. *Auitus* mooued with these speeches; answered that the commandement of their betters was to be obeied. It was the will of the gods whom they called vpon, that the arbitrement should belong to the Romans, what they should giue; and what take away; neither would they suffer any iudges but themselues. These things hee answered the Ansibarians in publicke, to *Boiocalus* hee would giue grounds in memory of his friendship. Which he as if it had beene a reward of treason contemning added: We may want land to liue in; but to die in we cannot: and so they parted both discontented. They called the Bructeri, and Tencteri, and other nations further off, their

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confederates to ioyne in war with them. *Auitus* hauing written to *Curtilius Mancia* Lieutenant of the vpper Army, that he ſhould paſſe ouer Rhene, and ſhew the forces behinde them; conducted the Legions himſelfe into the Tencterans Country, threatning their diſtruction vnleſſe they would breake with the Anſibarians. Theſe therefore deſiſting, the Bructeri daunted with the like feare, and the reſt fleeing from others perils, the Anſibarian Nation alone retired backe to the Vſipians and Tubantians: from whoſe Territories being expulſed, as they went to the Catti, then to the Cheruſci, by long wandering ſtrangers, poore, enemies, in a ſtrange Country, that youth that was left was ſlaine: thoſe that for age were vnfit for war, diuided for a pray. *cap. 57.* The ſame Summer there was a great battell fought betweene the Hermunduri and Catti, each ſide ſtriuing by force to be maſter of a Riuer which yeelded aboundance of ſalt, ſited in the confines of both their Countries. And beſides a deſire of ending all ſtrifes by war, they had a religion rooted in them, that thoſe places are aboue others neere heauen; and the praiers of mortal men no where ſooner heard, then from thence. For they were of opinion, that by the goodneſſe of the gods in that Riuer, and in thoſe Woodes came increaſe of ſalt, not as in other Countries, of the wooes of the ſea, when the water is dried vp; but by that water caſt vpon a pile of wood ſet on fire, by the vertue of two contrary elements, fire and water, which becommeth thicke and congealed. The war was proſperous on the Hermundurians ſide, but the vtter ruine of the Catteans, becauſe of a vow then made, that if they were conquerours, they would dedicate the contrary Army to *Mars* and *Mercury*, proteſting, horſes, men, all things ouercome, ſhould be put to the ſword; and truely thoſe deadly threats were turned againſt themſelues. But the City of the Iuhonians confederate with vs, was afflicted with a ſudden diſaſter: for fires iſſuing out of the earth, burned townes, fields, villages euery where, and ſpread euen vnto the walles of a Colony newly built; and could not be extinguiſhed, neither by raine, nor Riuer-water, nor any other liquor that could be emploied, vntill for want of remedy, and anger of ſuch a deſtruction, certaine Peaſants caſt ſtones a far off into it; then the flames ſomewhat ſlakning, drawing neere, they put it out with blowes of clubs, and other like, as if it had beene a wilde beaſt. Laſt of all, they threw in clothes from their backes, which the more worne and fouler, the better they quenched the fires. *cap. 58.* The ſame yeere, the Figge-tree called Ruminalis, in the place of aſſemblies, which aboue eight hundred and forty yeeres before had couered *Remus* and *Romulus* infancy, hauing his boughes dead, and the body beginning to wither, was held as a prodigious ſigne, vntill it began to flouriſh againe and thruſt out new ſhootes.

THE

THE FOVRTEENTH BOOKE OF THE ANNALS OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. Nero *abused by* Poppæa, *determineth to put to death* Agrippina *his mother.* Agrippinaes *vnchast life to maintaine hir greatnesse.*

Vipsanius and *Fonteius* being Consuls, *Nero* deferred no longer his long before intended wickednesse, his boldnesse by long rule being increased, and his lust to *Poppæa* more and more enflamed: who casting off all hope of marrying *Nero*, or seeing a diuorce betweene him and *Octauia* whilest *Agrippina* liued, sometimes tauntingly, and sometimes merily, began to finde hir selfe grieued with the Prince, and calling him a Ward, and subiect vnto others controulement, said he was so far from the gouernment of the Empire, that he wanted his owne liberty. For why was the marrying of hir delaied? forsooth hir beauty did not please his eie, nor the nobleness of hir Grand-fathers, who had so oft triumphed? Or did he misdoubt hir childe-bearing and true affection? or least being his wife, she should discouer the iniuries done to the Senat, and the anger of the people against the pride and couetousnesse of his mother? But if *Agrippina* could indure no daughter in law but such as hir sonne can woorst away withall, let hir be restored againe to *Otho* hir husband. She was content to goe any whither, were shee should rather heare of the contumelies done to the Prince then see them, and take part of his dangers. These and the like pearcing speeches with teares and cunning by the adultereresse vttered, no man hindered: all men desiring that the mothers authority were taken lower; and no man beleeuing that the sons hate would extend to hir death. *Cluuius* doth report that *Agrippina* through a burning desire of continuing hir authority and greatnesse grew to that shamelessnesse, that in the middest of the day, when *Nero* was well tippled and full of good cheere, shee offered hirselfe to him drunke as he was, trimly decked, and ready to commit incest: and the standers by noted hir lasciuious kisses and other allurements, messengers of hir vnchast meaning: And how *Seneca* hauing recourse to another woman for a remedy against their inticements, sent *Actes* a freed-woman priuily to him; who carefull as well of hir owne danger as *Neroes* infamy, gaue aduertisment, that the incest was commonly spoken of, by reason his mother bragged thereof; and that the souldiers would not endure the gouernment of so profane a Prince. *Fabius Rusticus* reported that not *Agrippina*, but *Nero* lusted after that; but was discouraged by the cunning of the same freed-woman. But what *Cluuius* had reported, is confirmed by other authors: and the fame inclineth that way; either because *Agrippina* had conceiued indeed so heinous a fact in hir minde, or that an intention of strange lust seemed more credible in hir, who in hir yongue yeeres blinded with hope of rule, forfeited hir honesty with *Lepidus*; and with the like lust abandoned hir bodie euen to *Pallas* will, as one hardned and shameless in all loosenesse of life, by marrying hir owne Vncle. Therefore *Nero* eschued hir secret company. And when she went to hir Gardens, or to Tusculanum, or Antiates, he praised hir that she draue away idlenesse. At last, whersoeuer she bestowed hir

cap. 1. An. 803.

cap. 2.

cap. 3

hir ſelfe, thinking hir troubleſome to him, determined to make hir away, whether by poiſon or by the ſword, or any other violence, that only was his doubt, and firſt he reſolued to doe it by poiſon. But if it ſhould be giuen hir at his table, it could not be attributed to chance, *Britannicus* already dying the ſame death: and to ſound the mindes of hir ſeruants ſeemed dangerous; and being a woman long practiſed in wickedneſſe, was alwaies armed againſt the like; and by taking counterpoiſons before hand, it was to be feared it would take no effect. To kill hir with the ſword, there was no inuention how to conceale the murder; and *Nero* feared leſt any choſen to ſo dangerous attempt, ſhould refuſe to obey.

II. Anicetus *worketh a meanes how to make away* Agrippina Neroes *mother.*

Anicetus a Freed-man, Captaine of the Nauie at Miſenum, one which had brought vp *Nero* in his child-hood, hating, and hated of *Agrippina*, found out an inuention for the purpoſe: which was, that there might a Gally be made looſe by arte in the bottome, that ſhould let hir fall into the ſea when ſhe ſuſpected leaſt. There is nothing more ſubiect to chance then the ſea, and if ſhe ſhould periſh by ſhipwracke, who is ſo vnreaſonable as to aſcribe that to any vngracious inuention, which was the fault of the windes and waues? And to colour the matter with all the Prince ſhould build a Temple in honour of the dead, erect Altars, and inſtitute other ceremonies, to ſhew a loue and reuerence towards hir. This ſubtill inuention pleaſed the Princes humor, and fell out at a fit time, becauſe *Nero* then celebrated the feaſt of *Minerua* fiue daies togethen at Baias. Thither by faire words hee brought his mother; affirming, that the diſpleaſure of parents was to be borne with, and meanes to be ſought to pacifie their anger: which he did to giue out a reconciliation betweene them, and ſo receiue *Agrippina* (as women by kinde are of eaſie beliefe) willing enough to ſee the ſport. Then going to meete hir on the ſhore of Antium, tooke hir by the hand and embraced hir, and lead hir to Baulos, which was a Country houſe betwixt the Promontory of Miſenum and the Baian Lake, hard by the ſea ſide, where a Gally trimmer and the reſt was ready prepared, as a thing among others to honour his mother: for ſhee had beene accuſtomed to the Gally, and to be carried by force of Rowers. After that, ſhee was inuited to a banket, becauſe the night might the better cloke the deuice. But ſure it was ſome one or other had bewraied the plot, and *Agrippina* vnderſtanding the practiſe, and doubtfull whether ſhe ſhould beleeue it, cauſed hir-ſelfe to be carried to Baias in a bearing-chaire: there *Neroes* careſſes leſſened hir feare, being courteouſly entertained, and placed about him; entertaining hir with much communication; ſometimes with a youthfull familiarity, againe as it were recalling himſelfe, and interlacing it with ſerious talke, made the banket holde a long time: and his eies fixed on hir as ſhee departed, embraced hir more ſtreightly then hee was accuſtomed; either becauſe hee would omit no complement of diſſimulation; or elſe becauſe the laſt ſight of his mother euen ready to periſh, did mollifie his heart though fell and cruell. A bright Starre-light night and quiet with a calme ſea, as it were to manifeſt the wicked practiſe, the gods themſelues did yeelde. The Gallie not farre gone, *Agrippina* hauing onely two of hir owne perſons with hir, the one *Crepereius Gallus*, which ſtood not farre from the ſterne, and *Aceronia* lying at *Agrippinaes* feete, with great ioy diſcourſed of hir ſonnes repentance, and the fauour ſhe had recouered. But the watch-word being giuen the couering of the place heauily loaden

loaden with lead, fell downe vpon *Crepereius* and preſt him to death immediately. *Agrippina* and *Aceronia*, the vppermoſt bearing of the couering, by fortune being ſtronger then the reſt though it ſhrunke with the waight, were ſaued, and the veſſell not looſed a ſunder: all being amazed, and ſome which were ignorant of the practiſe, hindered others which were priuy to it. Then the Rowers thought beſt to way the Gally on one ſide, and ſo to ſinke hir. Yet they could not agree vpon ſo ſudden an aduiſe; but ſome ſwaying to the contrary way, cauſed the veſſell not to ſinke on the ſudden, but by little and little. But *Aceronia* vnaduiſedly crying that ſhee was *Agrippina*, and that they ſhould helpe the Princes mother, with poles and oares, and ſuch implements in the Gally as came firſt to hand, was ſlaine. *Agrippina* not ſpeaking a word, therefore not knowen, receiued onely one wound in the ſhoulder: then ſwimming towards the banke, was ſuccoured by ſmall Barkes, and carried by the Lake Lucrinus to hir owne houſe. There caſting in hir minde how ſhee had beene ſent for by craft and falſe letters, entertained with eſpeciall honour: how the veſſell neither toſſed by windes, nor carried vpon rockes the vpper part fell as it had beene a Land-frame: noting *Aceroniaes* death, and beholding hir owne wound, thought it the onely remedy againſt the treachery, to make as though ſhee perceiued it not. And thereupon ſent *Agerinus* a Freed-man to tell hir ſonne, how by the goodneſſe of the Gods and his good fortune, ſhe had eſcaped a great danger; and praied him, that although he were affrighted with his mothers danger, yet that he would forbeare a time from viſiting hir, becauſe that for the preſent ſhe had neede of reſt. And in the meane while making ſhew of ſecurity, healeth hir wound, & chearisheth hir body. And commanded *Aceroniaes* teſtament to be ſought for, and hir goods to be ſealed vp, which was the onely thing wherein ſhe ſhewed no diſſimulation. But whileſt *Nero* expected meſſengers to certifie him that his plot had taken effect; tidings came that ſhee had eſcaped lightly wounded, but paſſed through great danger, the Author of it not once doubted. *Nero* ſtroken dead with feare, and crying ſhee would reuenge out of hand, either by arming hir ſlaues, or ſtirring vp the ſouldiers, or run to the Lords of the Senat or people, there complaine of the ſhip-wracke, hir wound, and the murder of hir friends; knew no ſhift, vnleſſe *Burrhus* and *Seneca* would beſtir themſelues, whom immediately he ſent for, doubtfull whether they had vnderſtood the matter before or not. They ſtood mute a long time, fearing leſt their perſwaſions ſhould take no effect; in the end concluded, that vnleſſe *Agrippina* were preuented, *Nero* ſhould periſh. Then *Seneca* hitherto forwarder of the two, looked vpon *Burrhus*, as though he ſhould haue asked, whether the ſouldier ſhould be commanded to execute the murder? But he anſwered, that the Guard being bound to all *Cæſars* houſe and ſo mindeful of *Germanicus*, would not vndertake ſo cruell an enterpriſe againſt his progeny, and that *Anicetus* ſhould accompliſh his promiſe. He nothing at all ſtaggering, demandeth the whole charge of the execution. At which ſpeech *Nero* profeſſed openly, that that day the Empire was beſtowed vpon him, and that the Author of ſo great a gift was his freed-man; and therefore that he ſhould make ſpeed, and take with him ſuch as were readieſt to fulfill his commandement. He hearing that *Agerinus*, *Agrippinaes* meſſenger was come, maketh a colour of his enterpriſe in this ſort: Whileſt *Agerinus* deliuered his meſſage, *Anicetus* let fall a ſword betweene his legges, and as it were taking him in the manner, as though he had come to kill the Prince, commandeth him to be caſt in priſon, that he might make the world beleeue, that the mother had pretended hir ſonnes death, and killed hirſelfe for ſhame that the plot was diſcouered. In the meane ſeaſon, *Agrippinaes* danger being ſpread abroad, as though it had happened by

by chance, euery man as he vnderstood it, ran to the sea shore; some clammered vp the sea dammes, some gat into the next boates, some waded as far as they could into the sea, some stretched out their hands to hir. The coast was filled with complaints, vowes and cries, of such as either asked diuers questions, or answered doubtfully. And a great multitude flocked thither with torches, who vnderstanding that she was escaped, set themselues in a readinesse, as it were to haue welcomed hir, vntill they were dispersed by the sight of a threatning armed company of souldiers. *Anicetus* besetteth hir house with a guard, and hauing broken the gate, laieth hand on all the seruants he meeteth, vntill he came to the chamber dores, where there stoode but a few, the residue terrified with those which burst in. There was but little light in the chamber and one maide onely, *Agrippina* more and more perplexed that she heard not from hir sonne, no nor of *Agerinus*. The face of the shore was now almost quite changed, euery man gone and on the sudden a great noise, and tokens of extreame danger. Then that one maide going away, speaking these words, *Thou doest also forsake mee*, she espieth *Anicetus*, accompanied with *Herculeus* Captaine of the Gally, and *Oloaritus* a Centurion of sea-souldiers, vnto whom she said, that if he came to visit hir, he should go and say that she was well recouered; if to execute any villany she suspected hir son no way, and that the parricide was not by him commanded. The murderers came about hir bed, and the Captaine of the Gally first strooke hir on the head with a cudgell. For to the Centurion drawing his weapon to kill hir, thrusting out hir belly she cried; strike my belly, and so hauing receiued many wounds, she was slaine. Thus many report with one consent. Whether that *Nero* beheld his mother when she was dead, and praised the feature of hir body, some there are which affirme, some which deny. She was burnt the same night in a banketting bed with base funerals; and whilest *Nero* raigned, neuer buried. Not long after by the care of hir friends, she had a tombe of small expenses neere the Misenian way, and *Cæsar* the Dictators house, which from a high place looked vpon a gulphe of the sea vnderneath. When the funerall fire was kindled, *Mnester* hir freed man thrust himselfe thorow; but whether for loue of *Agrippina*, or feare of death, doubtfull. That this should be hir end *Agrippina* many yeeres before did beleeue, but contemned it. For consulting of *Neroes* fortune, the Caldeans tolde hir that he should be Emperour, and kill his mother: and she answered, let him kill hir, so as he be Emperour.

cap. 9

III. Neroes *excuses in Senate for murdering his mother: the flattery of the people.*

cap. 10

BVt after this vnnaturall fact was committed, *Cæsar* began to weigh how heinous it was: and the rest of the night, now in dumme silence, often rising vp as affrighted, and out of his wits, looked for day as it had beene a messenger of death. But at *Burrhus* perswasion the first flattery of the Centurions and Tribunes did animate him to hope: who taking him by the hand, reioyced that he had escaped an vnlooked for danger, and his mothers wicked practises. Then his friends frequented the Temples, and the example begun the free townes adioyning to Campania, witnessed their ioy with sacrifices and Embassadours. He counterfeiting the contrary, sad and as it were an enemy to his life, wept and bewailed the death of his mother. Yet because the face of places is not changed like vnto the countenances of men, the grieuous sight of that sea and shore comming oft to his remembrance (and some there were which beleeued that there was heard a sound of a

Trumpet

trumpet in those high hils adioining, and lamentations at his mothers tombe) hee went to Naples and sent letters to the Senate, with contents as followeth. That *Agerinus* one of *Agrippinaes* deerest freed men, was found with a sword to kill him, & that she with the same remorse of conscience, had suffered the punishment, with which she had prepared her lewd enterprise against him. He added farre fet crimes, as that shee would haue beene equall with him in the Empire and that his guarde should haue sworn allegeance to her being but a woman, hoping to haue done the same dishonor to the Senate and people. And that perceiuing these deuises to want effect, offended with the souldiers, the Senators, and the people; she hindered a gift which should haue beene giuen the people, and sought the ruine of many noble men. How greatly laboured he, that she should not rush into the Senat, and giue forraine nations their answers? And by a by-glancing at *Claudius* raigne, cast vpon his mother all the lewd actions of his gouernment, affirming that she was dead for the common good of the estate. He declared her shipwracke likewise; the which to haue happened by chaunce, who was so blockish as to beleeue? or that one man alone should be sent from a woman that had suffered shipwracke to force a guarde and Emperors nauie? Therefore now that *Nero* whose crueltie surpassed all complaints, but *Seneca* was hardly spoken of, as one confessing the fact by that oration. Neuertheless processions were ordained with a wonderfull strife of forwardnes in euerie Temple, and a bed made in the Temples in honour of their gods; and also that the fiue daies feasts of *Minerua* called Quinquatrus, in which the trecheries were discouered, should be celebrated euery yeere. And that an image of gold of *Minerua* should be set in the Curia and the Princes by it. And that the day of *Agrippinae* natiuitie should bee accounted among the dismall daies. *Thrasea Paetus* with silence or short assent accustomed to passe ouer others flatteries, went out of the Senate, and procured danger to himselfe, and opened not the way of liberty vnto others. Many prodigious signes happened likewise, but of no effect. A woman brought forth a snake, and another companying with her husband, was striken dead with lightning. The sunne was darkened on a sudden, and fourteen places of the city damnified with tempest from heauen: which chanced so without the care of the gods, that *Nero* many yeeres after continued the Empire and wickednes. But to make his mother more odious, and shew his owne lenitie was augmented by her death, he recalled from banishment two noble women *Iunia* and *Calpurnia*, and *Valerius Capito*, and *Licinius Cabolus*, who had beene Pretors long before, banished by *Agrippina*. Hee permitted also that *Lollia Paulinaes* ashes should bee brought backe, and a sepulchre to be built her, and released the punishment of *Iturius* and *Caluisius*, whom not long before he himselfe had banished. As for *Silana* she died in comming backe at Tarantum; *Agrippinaes* malice, which was her ouerthrow, either appeased, or her credit beginning to waine. Whilest hee lingered in the townes of Campania, doubtfull how he should enter into the citie: whether his best way were to seeke the fauor of the Senat, or good will of the people; the lewdest conditioned, whereof there was no court better stored, perswaded him that the name of *Agrippina* was odious, and that by her death the fauour of the people was more bent towards him then euer: therefore that hee should goe boldly, and with his presence trie how he should be reuerenced. And withall they earnestly entreated him to set forward: and found all things in a greater readines then they had promised: the Tribes came to meete him; the Lords of the Senate in their holy-daie robes, wiues and children placed according to their age and sexe: and all the way he should goe builded with staires as in publicke shewes or triumphes. Thereupon puffed vp with

pride

pride, as a conquerour of publicke seruitude, he went to the Capitoll, and gaue thankes to the gods: letting loose the raines to all lusts and licentiousnesse of life which before badly restrained, yet the reuerence towards his mother such as it was, did in some sort bridle.

IIII. Neroes *exercises*.

cap. 14 IT was an old practise of his, neuer to be absent from the race of chariots: and no lesse vnseemely was that other delight of his, at supper to sing to the Harpe as Minstrels did, which he said to haue beene a custome of ancient Kings and Captaines; and a thing highly commended by Poets and attributed to the honour of the gods. For melody is sure dedicated to *Apollo*, and in that attire he doth stand, not only in the Cities of Greece, but also in the Temples at Rome: a principall deity and knowing things to come. Neither could he now be remooued, seeming good also to *Seneca* and *Burrhus* to yeeld him the one, least he should persist in both. And thereupon a space was inclosed in the valley of the Vatican to mannage his horses, and not to be seene indifferently of euery man: and not long after of his owne accord he called the people to see it, who highly extolled him; as the manner of the people is, to be desirous of pastimes, and very glad if the Prince draw them to it. And his shame published abroad, brought him not, as it was thought it would, any loathing therein, but a farther prouocation, thinking that the discredit would be shaken off, if he could dishonour many with the like. He brought to the skaffold many descended of noble houses, bought for pouerty, which because they be dead, I will not name, as hauing regard vnto their ancestors: being rather his fault to giue mony for ill doing, then lest they should commit that which is naught. He constrained also the chief Gentlemen of Rome with mighty gifts to promise their labour in the Theater: vnlesse you say that a reward giuen by him who may command, bringeth a
cap. 15. necessity in obeying. Yet least he should be discredited by the publicke Theater, he instituted Plaies called Iuuenalia, as it were for the health of youth, to which euery man willingly gaue his name; not any ones nobility, not his age, or office borne, being any hinderance vnto them, but that Greekes and Latines exercised the arte of a Stage-plaier, euen vnto gestures, and measures vnseemely for men. Yea noble women practised many gestures, and vnseemely to their calling. And in the wood which *Augustus* planted about the Lake, where he represented a sea-fight, Tauernes and meeting places were built, where all prouocations of wanton lusts were sold, where mony was giuen to the good to spend of necessity, and to the intemperate to glory and brag of. From thence sprang all lewdnesse and infamy, neuer at any time (not when there was great corruption in maners in times past) more dissolute lasciuiousnesse vsed then at those impure assemblies. Shame is scarse retained among men of honest example; much lesse among such which striued who should haue most vices, can chastity and modesty, or any good behauiour be maintained. Last of all, *Nero* himselfe entereth on the Stage, tuning and playing on his instrument with great care, and premeditating what to say; his familiars assisting him, and besides them a Cohort of souldiers, Centurions and Tribunes, and *Burrhus*, both grieuing, and praising him. Then also were first inrowled the Gentlemen of Rome called *Augustini*, men for their age and strength of body highly esteemed: part of them shamelesse and saucy in behauiour, and part hoping thereby to rise to greater authority, day and night with clapping of hands made all to ring of them, commending the feature, and voice of the Prince with tearmes attributed to

the

the gods, and were respected by him as honorable personages for their vertue. And yet lest the Emperours skill on stage onely and musicke should be published, he desired to be well accompted of for versifying, hauing gathered about him such as had any cunning therein, much more such as were excellent. They sate together*, and made those verses hang together which he made there or elsewhere, and supplied his words how soeuer they were vttered, which the fashion it selfe of his verses doth declare, not running with one and the same vehemency, and vaine of writing. He bestowed also some time after meat with Philosophers, taking pleasure to heare how euery man defended his owne opinion, and ouerthrew the contrarie. Neither wanted there some, which with their voice and graue countenance desired to bee thought pleasant with the Emperour. cap. 16.

V. *A strife betweene the inhabitants of Nuceria, and the Pompeians.*

ABout the same time, of a light quarrell rose a great murder betweene the inhabitants of Nuceria, and Pompeians at a shew of fencers, which *Liuineius Regulus* put from the Senate as before I haue rehearsed, represented to the people. For first prouoking one another with bitter termes, as it is often seene in malapert and saucie townesmen, they came to stones, and last of all to weapons; the Pompeians being the stronger, with whom the shew was set forth. Many of the Nucerians were brought lame and wounded to the Towne, and many wept for the death of their children and parents: the determining of which the Prince referred to the Senate, the Senate to the Consuls. And the cause beeing againe brought to the Senators, the Pompeians were forbidden to assemble any such companies for tenne yeeres, and their corporations erected against the lawes dissolued. *Liuineius* and such others as raised the sturre, were banished. *Pedius Blæsus* also was put from his Senators roome, at the information of the Cyrenensians: who laid to his charge that he had robbed the treasure of the god *Æsculapius*, and mustered souldiers for money and suite. The same Cyrenensians accused *Acilius Strabro* sometime Pretor, and sent by *Claudius* as arbitrator of certaine lands which once belonging to King *Apio*, and left to the people of Rome with the kingdome, their neighbours possessed and occupied, and by long licence and iniurie defended them to be theirs by right and equity. The lands therefore beeing giuen from them by sentence they enuied the iudge; and the Senate answered they were ignorant of *Claudius* pleasure, and that they should aske the Princes aduise. The Prince approoning *Straboes* sentence, wrote neuertheless that he would aide the allies, and giue them that which they had vsurped. There died not long after, *Domitius Afer*, and *M. Seruilius*, two notable personages, which flourished with great honours and eloquence: he in pleading of causes, *Seruilius* famous for long frequenting the Forum, and then for writing the Roman histories, carriage of himselfe, and neatnes of life, which made him more renowned; as equall to the other in wit, yet different in conditions. cap. 17. cap. 18. cap. 19.

VI. *Whether it be conuenient to haue often plaies to entertaine the people.*

NERO being the fourth time Consull, and *Cor. Cossus*, the plaie called Quinquennale was ordeined to be plaied at Rome, after the maner of the Greeke cap. 20. An. C. 808.

combat, wherof there went diuers reports, as almoſt it happeneth in all new things: for ſome there were which ſaid that *Gn. Pompeius* was blamed by the ancient men "for building a permanent Theater. For in times paſt the playes were wont to be ſet "forth on a ſcaffold built for that time, and ſeats to continue no longer then the play "laſted. Or if thou wilt looke into more ancient times, the people beheld them ſtan- "ding, leaſt if they ſhould ſit, they would continue in the Theater whole daies in idle- "nes. Neither ſhould the ancient faſhion of plaies bee obſerued, when,* as oft as the "Pretors ſhould ſet them forth; no neceſſity was laid vpon any of the citizens to fight "or looke on. But the cuſtomes of the countrey being by little and little aboliſhed, "were now vtterly ouerthrowne by diſorders fet from ſtrange countries; that whatſo- "euer elſewhere might corrupt, or was corrupted, was ſeen in the city; and the youth "vnlike to that it hath beene, through ſtrange manners, wreſtling naked; idlenes, and "licencious loue, the Prince and the Senate being authors thereof, who haue not on- "ly giuen licence to vices, but alſo giuen them ſtrength and force. The noblemen of "Rome vnder colour of making orations and verſes are diſcredited by ſtage-playing. "What remaineth then but onely to vncloath themſelues ſtarke naked, and take the "cæſti in hand, and practiſe that fight in ſtead of armes, and exerciſes of warre? Or "doe they thinke they ſhall better vnderſtand the knowledge of ſouthſaying, be more "skilfull in the decuries of gentlemen, accompliſh the honorable charge of Iudica- "ture, if they vnderſtand cunningly broken tunes, and ſweetneſſe of voices? whole "nights alſo were added to thoſe ſhames, becauſe no time ſhould be left honeſt: but "in that confuſe multitude what euery perſon moſt diſſolute deſired by day, durſt "venter on by night. That licence pleaſed many, and yet they cloaked it with honeſt termes. That the ancients likewiſe did not abhorre the delight of plaies and ſhews "according to their calling at that time, and that ſtage-players were ſent for, from "Thuſcia. The horſe-race was repreſented by the Thurians: but ſince Achaia and "Aſia was poſſeſſed by vs, playes haue beene more exactly ſet foorth. Neither hath "there beene any one in Rome nobly deſcended, which by reaſon of ſtage-players "hath diſcredited the ſtocke from whom he came theſe two hundred yeeres, ſince *L.* "*Mumius* triumphed, who firſt ſet forth that kinde of ſhew in the citie. Farther, there "was a regard had vnto thrift, in erecting a continuall ſtanding Theater, rather then "with infinite charges euery yeere ſet vp and build a new. Neither ſhould the magi- "ſtrates waſt their goods as they haue done; or the people haue cauſe to be ſo impor- "tunate with them for the combates according to the Greekes manner, ſeeing the "Common-wealth did defray the charge. The victories of Orators and Poets, would "be an incouragement vnto wits: neither could it bee offenſiue to any Iudge to lend "his eares to honeſt ſtudies, and allowable paſtimes. To mirth rather then laſciuiouſ- "nes, a few nights in fiue yeeres were giuen, in which there is ſuch great lights of fires, "that no vnlawfull acte can be hidden. In very deede that ſhew paſt without any no- "table diſhoneſt part committed, neither did the people ſhew any great inſolencie, although the common vices were reſtored to the ſtage, and forbidden to ſhew themſelues in ſuch playes as were repreſented in honor of the gods. The praiſe of e- loquence none carried away, but *Cæſar* was pronounced victor: and the Greekiſh attire which many wore in thoſe dayes, was layd aſide.

Cap. 21

VII. Nero

VII. Nero *falleth ſicke.*

DVring theſe things, there appeared a blaſing ſtarre, which in the opinion of the common people, betokeneth the change of a Prince. Therfore as though *Nero* had already beene driuen out, they were buſie to know who ſhould ſucceed him: *Rubellius Plautus* being famous in euery mans mouth, by the mothers ſide deſcended from the Iulian familie. He was an obſeruer of the old manner of liuing vpright, graue and ſeuere, liuing with all honeſtie, as one retired in his own houſe: and the more ſecret he was for feare of being accounted of; ſo much the more his reputation increaſed. An interpretation of a lightning begun by the like vanity, augmented the rumor. For *Nero's* meare being ſtriken with lightning, and the table thrown down at the lakes of Simbruuium, in a place called Sublaqueum, in the confines of Tiburtum, from whence *Plautus* had his beginning by his Fathers ſide; al men beleeued that he was deſtined by the prouidence of the gods to the Empire: and thereupon many fawned and courted him: which by a greedy and for the moſt part deceitfull ambition, admire new things, doubtfull and vncertaine. *Nero* moued with theſe rumors writeth to *Plautus*, aduiſing him to look to himſelfe, and his aſſemblies, and rid his hands of thoſe which lewdly defamed him: and that in Aſia he had poſſeſſions by deſcent from his Anceſtors, in which he might paſſe his youth ſafely and without troubles. Whereupon he went thither with *Antiſtia* his wife, and a few of his familiars. At the ſame time too greedy a deſire of pleaſing his will in all he liked, bred *Nero* both infamy and danger: for ſwimming in the fountaine of the Martian water which was brought to the City; it was conſtrued that he had defiled the holy drinkes, and ceremony of the place with his whole body; and falling dangerouſly ſicke thereupon, it was conſtantly beleeued that it proceeded as a puniſhment from the wrath of the gods. cap. 22.

VIII. Corbulo *conquereth all Armenia; ouer which* Nero *ſendeth* Tigranes *to be King.*

BVt *Corbulo* after the raſing of Artaxata, thinking it his beſt to make profit of the freſh terrour: for the eaſilier forcing of Tigranocerta, by deſtroying of which, he ſhould augment feare in the enemy; or by ſparing it, purchaſe the reputation of clemency: marcheth thither, vſing no hoſtility by the way, leſt hee ſhould take from them all hope of pardon: yet with no remiſneſſe or careleſſe proceeding, as one knowing that that Nation is eaſily ſubiect to change: as ſlow to perill, ſo faithleſſe when occaſion is offered. The Barbarians euery man according to his wit, ſome entreated; ſome forſooke their villages and conueighed themſelues to inacceſſible places; ſome hid themſelues, and the things they made moſt reckoning of in Caues. The Roman Captaine therefore, vſing diuers policies, ſhewed mercy towards the humble; vſed celerity in purſuing thoſe which ranne away; and cruelty againſt thoſe which fled to the dennes and caues, ſtopping the mouthes of them with vine branches and ſmall wood, and after ſet them on fire. And paſſing by the confines of the Mardians, a people well practiſed in theeuing and robbing; they ſet on him but fled to their Mountaines for their defence, when they ſaw he turned towards them. But *Corbulo* ſent an Army of Hiberians to waſte them, reuenging by that meanes with the blood of ſtrangers the audacionſneſſe of the enemy. Himſelfe and his Army, albeit he receiued no hurt by the battell; yet began to faint for want of victuals and ouer great trauel, hauing no meanes to driue away hunger, but with the fleſh of beaſts. All this, with the want of water, feruent heat, long iourney, was mitigated by the onely patience of the Captaine; himſelfe enduring more cap. 23. cap. 24.

then a common souldier. Then wee came into tilled grounds, but where harueſt was in: and of two caſtles into which the Armenians had fled, the one was taken by force; and the other which had reſiſted the firſt aſſault was forced with ſiege. From thence paſſing into the countrey of the Taurantians he eſcaped an vnlooked for danger: for not farre from his pauilion, there was found a Barbarian of no ſmall reputation with a weapon; which by torture diſcouered the order of a treaſon (himſelfe the inuentor of it) and all his complices: and they were conuicted and puniſhed which vnder colour of friendſhip went about treaſon. Not long after embaſſadors ſent from Tigranocerta, bring tidings that the gates are open, and the inhabitants willing to obey the Romans. Withall, they preſented him a crown of gold as a gift to honour a ſtranger: which honorably he accepted, and tooke away no priuilege from the towne, becauſe they ſhould more faithfully retaine their obedience.

cap. 25. Neuertheleſſe the Kings fortreſſe, which the fierce youth had ſhut themſelues in, was not gotten but by fight: for they came foorth and skirmiſht before the wals, but driuen into their rampires, and no longer able to reſiſt, at the laſt yeeld to the forces of the aſſailers. All which the Roman atchieued ſo much the eaſlier, becauſe the Parthians were hindered with war againſt the Hyrcanians: who had ſent to the Romane Prince to craue their alliance, declaring that for a pledge of their friendſhip, they had ſtopped *Vologeſes*. *Corbulo* fearing leſt thoſe Embaſſadours in returning backe, hauing paſt *Euphrates* ſhould be ſurpriſed by the ambuſh of the enemy, with a good guard conducted them to the red ſea: whereby hauing eſcaped the confines

cap. 26. of the Parthians, they returned ſafe to their countrey. Beſides this *Corbulo* droue away *Tiridates* farre off: and from all hope of warres entering the confines of Armenia by the Medes; by ſending before the Lieutenant *Verulanus* with the confederats, himſelfe following with vncombred legions: and hauing waſted with fire and ſword thoſe he knew to be our enemies, and adhere to the King, put himſelfe in poſſeſſion of Armenia: when as not long after came *Tigranes* choſen by *Nero* to take the kingdom, one of the nobility of the Cappadocians, and King *Archelaus* nephew: but by beeing kept a long time an hoſtage in the city, was humble, and lowly euen vnto ſeruile patience: neither accepted by conſent, ſome ſtill fauouring the Arſacides: but the moſt part hating the pride of the Parthians, deſired rather the King giuen by the Romans. He had alſo a garriſon ſent him by the Romans, a thouſand legionary ſouldiers, three bands of allies, and two wings of horſemen. And to the end he might the eaſlier defend the new kingdom, part of Armenia, as it is adioyned to Nipolis*, Ariſtobulus, and part Antiochus had charge of. *Corbulo* came into Syria, which by the death of the Lieutenant *Vinidius* was without a gouernour and committed to his charge.

IX. *An earth-quake in Laodicea. An order for appellations.*

cap. 27. THe ſame yere, Laodicea one of the moſt famous cities of Aſia, deſtroied by an earth-quake, without any helpe of ours by her owne welth, recouered her ſelfe againe. But in Italie the auncient towne of Puteolum, got of *Nero* the priuileges and ſurname of a colonie. The olde ſouldiers aſſigned to inhabite Tarentum and Antium, did not furniſh the lacke of people in thoſe places: many of them being ſent into Prouinces, where they ended their ſeruice. And not accuſtomed to marrie, nor bring vp children, they left their houſes without poſteritie: for whole legions were not brought as in times paſt with Tribunes and Centurious and ſouldiers of the ſame band, that by conſent and loue they ſhould make a common-welth:

but

but strangers the one to the other, of diuers companies, without a gouernour, without mutuall loue, as it were gathered on the sudden, of another kind of people, rather a number than a colonie. The election of Pretors wont to be chosen at the will of the Senat, which was now done by suit and briberie; the Prince assumed to himselfe, and gaue the charge of a legion to each one of the three which sued extraordinarily. And augmented the honour of the Senate, by ordaining that such as from ordinary Iudges appealed to the Senators should incurre the same penalty, as they did which appealed to the Emperour: for before that was free to euery man, and not punishable, In the end of the yeere *Vibius Secundus* a Roman gentleman, at the suite of the Moores, was condemned of extortion and banished Italie, and supported by the fauour of his brother *Vibius Crispus*, that hee had no grieuouser a punishment. cap. 28.

X. *Warre in England.* Suetonius Paullinus *conquered the Ile of Anglesey.* *The Queene* Boudicea *abused by the Romans.*

WHen *Cesonius Paetus*, and *Petronius Turpilianus* were Consuls, there was a very great ouerthrow receiued in Britannie: where neither the Lieutenant *Auitus* as I haue already saide, could doe no more but keepe that which was already gotten; and his successour *Verannius* with small inrodes hauing wasted the Siluri *, was hindered by death from making any long warre: a man whilest he liued, famous for seuerity, but in his last will shewed himselfe openly ambitious. For after much flattering of *Nero*, added, that hee would haue subdued the Prouince to his obedience, if he had liued the two next yeares. At that time *Paulinus Suetonius* gouerned Britannie, in skill of seruice, & opinion of the people (which suffereth no man without a concurrent) comparable with *Corbulo*, desiring to match his honour of recouering Armenia by subduing the enemy of this country. He maketh all preparation to inuade the Ile of Mona* strong with inhabitants, and a receptacle of fugitiues; and buildeth flat bottomed vessels, because the sea is shallow, and landing vncertaine. So the footemen hauing passed ouer, the horsemen followed by the foord, or by swimming, if the waters were high. Against them the enemies armie stood on the shore, thicke in array, well appointed with men and weapons, and women running among, in mourning attire, their haire about their eares with fire brands in their hands like furies of hell: and the Druides round about, lifting vp their hands to heauen, and powring out deadly curses: with the newnes of the sight amazed the souldier, and stood stock still close together, not once mooving a foote, as though they had presented themselues to the wounds. Then by the encouragement of the captaine, and animating each the other, that they should not feare a flocke of women, and frantike people, they displaied their ensignes and marched on; ouerthrew such as encountered them, and thrust them among their owne fires. Which being done, they placed garrisons in their townes, and cut down their woods; which through their execrable superstitions among them were reckoned holie. For they accounted it lawfull to offer sacrifice at their altars with the blood of captiues, and aske counsell of their gods by the aspect of mans intrales and fibres. Newes came to *Suetonius* as he atchieued this enterprise, of a sudden rebellion of the Prouince. *Prasutagus* King of the Icenians*, verie famous for his riches a long time gotten, made *Cæsar* with two of his daughters his heire by will, thinking that by that flatterie his kingdome and house should haue beene warranted from iniurie, cap. 29. An. Do. 809. *Southwales. *Anglesey. cap. 30. * Suffolke, Norfolke, Cambridgeshire, Huntingtonshire. cap. 31

iury, which fell out otherwise: for his kingdome by Centurions, his house by slaues was wasted and spoiled as lawfull booties. And to begin withall, his wife *Boudicea* was whipped, and his daughters defloured. And the chiefest of the Icenians, as though they had receiued the whole Nation for a pray, were dispossessed of all their ancient inheritance and the Kings kindred reputed as slaues. By reason of which contumely and feare of worse (after that they were reduced into a forme of a Prouince) they take armes againe: the *Trinobantes being sturred to rebellion also and others not yet broken to the yoke of seruitude, by secret conspiracies had vowed to recouer their liberty, bearing a bitter hatred against the old souldiers. For those which were lately brought into the Colony of *Camalodunum, thrust out of their houses the ancient inhabitants, tooke their liuings from them calling them captiues and slaues: the new souldiers fauouring the insolent fiercenesse of the old, as well for likenesse and conformity of life, as hope of like licence. Besides a Temple erected in honour of *Claudius* of famous memory, was an eie-sore, and an Altar of perpetuall dominion ouer them: and the Priests which were chosen vnder colour of religion, wasted all the wealth of the inhabitants. Neither did it seeme any hard matter, to extirpate that colony vndefensed and vnfortified which was not circumspectly foreseene by our Captaines, whilest they had a greater care of pleasure then good gouernment. Amongst these things the image of Victory set vp in Camalodunum fell downe without any apparant cause why, and turned backe, as though it would giue place to the enemy. And the women distempered with fury, went singing, that destruction was at hand. And strange noises were heard in their court, and the Theater gaue a sound like to a howling, and a strange apparition in an arme of the sea was a foretelling of the subuersion of the Colony. Further the Ocean bloudy in shew and dead mens bodies left after an ebbe as they brought hope to the Britans, so they droue the old souldiers into a feare; who because *Suetonius* was far off, craued aide of *Catus Decianus* Procurator. He sent not aboue two hundred men, and those badly armed and the number not great which was there before, trusted to the franchise of the Temple. And those hindering which were confederates of the secret conspiracy troubled their designments: for they neither made trench nor dich, nor sending away the old men and women, and keeping the yong men only, being as secure as it had beene in a full peace, they were surprised with a multitude of barbarous people, and all ouerthrowne, and wasted with violence, or consumed with fire: the temple only excepted, into which the souldiers had fled, which also within two dayes was besieged, and taken. And the Britan being thus conqueror, and meeting with *Petus Cerealis* Lieutenant of the ninth legion which came to succour them, put to flight the legion, and slew all the footemen. *Cerealis* with the horsemen escaped to the campe, and defended himselfe in the fortresses. Through which ouerthrow, and hate of the prouince, driuen to take armes through the auarice of the Romanes, *Catus* the procurator being afraid, sailed to Gallia. But *Suetonius* with wonderfull constancie passing euen among the enemies, went on to London, not greatly famous by the name of a colony, but for concourse of Merchants, and prouision of all things necessary, of great fame and renowne: and being come thither, stoode doubtfull whether he should choose that for the seate of warre or not: and considering the small store of souldiers he had, and how *Petilius* had well payed for his rashnes, he determined with the losse of one towne to preserue the rest whole. Neither was he won by weeping and teares to giue aide to such as demaunded it, but gaue signe of remouing, and receiued such as followed as part of his armie. If imbecility of sexe, or wearisomnes of age, or pleasantnes of the place kept any backe, they were all

*Middlesex and Essex.

Maldan in Essex.

cap. 32.

cap. 33.

all put to the sword by the enemie. The free towne of * Verulamium receiued the like ouerthrow, because the barbarians forsaking their Castels and forts, and being well manned, spoiled the richest and fattest, and carrying it to a sure place, glad of the bootie, went on to places more notable. It is certaine there were slaine in those places I haue spoken of, to the number of seuenty thousand citizens and confederates. Neither did they sell or take any one prisoner, or vse any entercourse of trafficke of warre, but kill, hang, burne, crucifie, as though they would requite the measure they had suffered, and as it were in the meane time hasten to anticipate reuenge. * S. Albons.

XI. Suetonius *vanquished the Britaines, which* Boudicea *conducted: her stoutnes and death.*

NOw *Suetonius* hauing with him the fourteenth legion, with the Standard-bearers of the twentith, and the aides from places adioyning, which came all to the number almost of ten thousand armed men, resolued to lay aside al delay, and try the chance of a maine battell. And chooseth a place with a narrow entrance, and inclosed behind with a wood, being well assured that hee had no enemies but before him; and that the plaine was wide without feare of ambush. The legionary souldier then marshalled together in thicke and close rankes, and the light harnessed closely about them, the horsemen made the wings. But the Britaines forces triumphed abroad in troupes and companies, by such multitudes that the like had not beene seene; and of such fiercenes of courage, that they brought their wiues with them, and placed them in carts in the vtmost parts of the plaine, as witnesses of the victory. *Boudicea* hauing her daughters by her in a chariot, now going to one, now to another: Told them that the Britaines were wont to make warre vnder the conduct of women. But at that time, not as though she had descended of such noble auncestors, shee sought neither for kingdome nor wealth, but a reuenge as one of the common people, of their lost libertie, of her bodie beaten with stripes, and the chastitie of her daughters violated. That the desire of the Romanes was growen to that passe, that they left none, of what age soeuer, nor any virgin vndefiled. Neuertheles that the gods fauored iust reuenge; that the legion which durst vndertake the battell was slaine; the rest had either hid themselues in their camp, or sought meanes by flight to saue themselues: that they could not indure the noise and cry of so many souldiers, much lesse their furie and strength. If they would waigh with themselues the strength of the souldiers; if the cause of the warre, they should resolue either to vanquish in that battell or die. That, for her own part being a woman, was her resolution, the men might liue if they pleased, and serue. *Suetonius* held not his toong in so great danger, who although hee trusted in the valour of his souldiers, yet enterlaced exhortations and prayers. That they should contemne the lowde and vaine threats of the barbarians; that there were more women seene in their armie then yong men; that beeing vnwarlike and vnarmed, they would presently yeeld when they should once come to feele the weapons and valour of the conquerors, who had so oft ouerthrowne them: yea where many legions haue beene, a few haue carried away the glory of the battell, and it should be an augmenting to their glory, if with a small power they could win the praise of a whole armie: that they should only continue the slaughter and butchery close together, by throwing of darts; then with their swords and pikes of their bucklers, not thinking on bootie; for the victory once gotten, all should fall to their share. Such

cap. 34.

cap. 35.

cap. 36.

a feruencie and edge followed the captaines words; the olde souldier experienced in many battels so besturred himselfe, and shewed such forwardnes in lancing his
cap. 37. darts, that *Suetonius* assured of the euent, gaue the signe of battell. And first of all the legion not stirring a foote, but keeping within the streight, as in a place of defence; after that the enemy was come neerer, and had spent his darts to good purpose, the legion in the ende sallied out in a pointed battell. The auxiliarie souldier was of the like courage, and the horsmen with long lances breaking before them all they met, or made head against them. The residue shewed their backs, hardly fleeing away, by reason the carts placed about the plain had hedged in the passages on euery side. And the souldiers spared not from killing so much as the women; and their horses and beasts thrust through, increased the heape of bodies. That was a day of great renowne, and comparable to the victories of olde times: for some there are which report, that there were slaine fewe lesse in number then fourscore thousand Britaines, of our souldiers fower hundred slaine, and not many moe hurt. *Boudicea* ended her life with poison. And *Pœnius Posthumus*, Campemaster of the second legion, vnderstanding of the prosperous successe of the fourteenth and twentieth Legions, because he had defrauded his legion of the like glory and contrary to the order of seruice, refused to obey the Captains commandement,
cap. 38. slew himselfe. After this gathering the armie together, they encamped againe, ready to end the residue of the warre. And *Cæsar* augmented his forces by sending out of Germany two thousand legionaries, eight cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thousand horse; by whose comming the ninth legion was supplied. The cohorts and wings were lodged in new winter garrisons, and al those which were either openly against vs, or doubtful, were wasted with fire and sword. But nothing so much distressed that nation as famine, being negligent in sowing of corne, and of all ages giuen to warre: and assuring themselues to liue on our prouision, being a fierce nation slowly gaue eare to any peace. For *Iulius Classicianus* sent to succeed Catus, and at variance with *Suetonius*, hindred the common good with priuate grudges: and had bruted abroad that the new Lieutenant was to be expected, who without any hostile rancour, and pride of a conqueror, would entreat such as would yeeld with all clemency. He sent word likewise to Rome that they should looke for no end of the warres, vnlesse some other should succeed *Suetonius* attributing his peruerse luck, to his own ouerthwartnes; and the prosperous, to the good lucke of the commonwealth. Whereupon to
cap. 39. see what state Britanny stood in, *Polycletus* a freed man was sent, *Nero* greatly hoping, that by his authority there should not only an agreement bee made betweene the Lieutenant and Procurator; but also the rebellious minds of the Barbarians bee won to a peace. Neither failed *Polycletus* with his great host to seem burdensome to Italie and Gallia; and after he had passed the Ocean sea, shew himselfe terrible euen to our souldiers. But to the enemies he was but a laughing stocke, who being in full possession of liberty, knew not what the power of freed men was: and began to maruell that a Captaine, and an army which had atchieued so many great exploits could yeeld to obey a bondslaue: all things neuertheless were made the best to the Emperor. And *Suetonius* being occupied in dispatching of busines, after he had lost a few galleies on the shore, and the gallie-slaues in them, as though the warre did continue, was commanded to deliuer the armie to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who had lately giuen vp his Consulship; who neither prouoking the enemy, nor egged by him gaue his lasie and idle life, the honorable name of peace.

XII. Balbus *a Senators testament forged: and* Pedanius Rufus *killed by his bondmen.*

THe same yeere two notable lewd parts were committed at Rome: the one by a Senator; the other by an audacious bondman. *Domitius Balbus* sometime Pretor, being aged, without children, and of great wealth, lay open to much treacherie. One of his neerest kinsmen, *Valerius Fabianus*, and Consull elect, forged a false testament in his name, hauing called thereunto *Vinius Rufinus*, and *Terentius Lentinus* gentlemen of Rome: and they associated vnto them *Antonius Primus*, and *Asinius Marcellus*. *Antonie* was readie and bold; *Marcellus* nobly descended, and nephew to *Asinius Pollio*; of a good carriage and behauiour; sauing that hee thought pouerty the woorst of all things. *Fabianus* then sealed the testament with those which I haue named, and others of lesser calling: whereof he was conuicted before the Lords of the Senate, with *Antonius*, and *Rufinus*, and *Terentius* and condemned by the law Cornelia against forgery. But *Marcellus* the memorie of his auncestors, and *Cæsars* entreaty, acquited rather from punishment, then infamie. The same day ouerthrew *Pompeianus Aelianus*, a yong man, who had been Quæstor and priuie to *Fabianus* practise, and was banished Italy and Spaine his natiue countrey. *Valerius Ponticus* sustained the like ignominy, because that eschuing the iudgement of the Prouost of the citie, hee had informed against some before the Pretor first vnder colour of some laws, then by preuarication to escape punishment. Wherupon a decree of Senate was ordained, that hee who should either buy or sell any such actions, should sustaine the same punishment, as he who was publickly condemned for forging of crimes in false accusations. Not long after *Pedanius Secundus* Prouost of the citie was slaine by his bondman, either becausse hee had denied him his liberty, which for money he had couenanted; or hating himselfe for the vnnatural lust of a youth, as not induring his Lord to be his riual. But when al the bondslaues of the house according to the old custom should haue beene condemned for that fact; through the flocking thither of people, which defended so many innocent persons, they grew almost to a mutiny, and euen in the Senate it selfe; among which there was a faction, some condemning that ouergreat seuerity; and many on the cõtrary side holding it necessary that nothing should be changed. Among which, *C. Cassius* vttered his opinion as followeth. I haue oftentimes been present in this assembly, Lords of the Senate, when new decrees haue beene demanded, contrary to the lawes and ordinances of our auncestors: neither haue I euer gainesaide them; not that I doubted but that in times past they foresaw and tooke better and more vpright order for all affaires then now; and that those things which were altered were changed into the worse: but lest I should seeme by sticking too much to old customes, to extoll the thing I affected: withall I thought it not conuenient with often contradiction, to ouerthrow this our authoritie whatsoeuer it be, to the end it might remaine strong and entire, if at any time the common-wealth should neede of counsell. Which this day hath appeered, a Consull being murdered in his owne house, by treason of his slaues, which none either hindered or bewraied, although the decree of Senate be yet in force, which in this case threatned punishment to the whole familie. Decree in good truth impunitie. But whom shall any mans dignitie warrant, seeing the Prouostship of the citie auailed not? whom shall a multitude of slaues defend, seeing foure hundred haue not protected *Pedanius Secundus*? Whom shall any ones familie help, if standing in feare of lawes our seruants care not

cap. 40. cap 41 cap 42. cap 43.

not what danger we fall into. Shall we say; as some are not ashamed to inuent, that this murderer reuenged his owne priuat iniurie, because he had compounded for his fathers inheritance; or that some old slaue had beene taken from him? Let vs pronounce sentence without any further adoe, that *Pedianus* seemeth to vs to haue bin
ap 44. iustly slaine. Giue me leaue to reason of that point, that hath been determined by wiser men: If we were now first of all to consider of the matter, do you thinke that a slaue had had the hart to murder his Lord, if no threatning word had before escaped him? if he had vttered nothing rashly? forsooth he concealed his intention, hee prepared a weapon amongst such as knew nothing of it. Could he passe the watch, open the chamber dores, bring in light, commit the murder, all of his fellowes ignorant of it? If slaues would bewray such attempts, they can giue many signes: which if they discouer, we alone may be safe among many lewd persons: in the end if we must needs dye, yet not vnreuenged of the wicked. The disposition of slaues hath alwaies beene feared by our ancestors; yea although they were borne in the same countrey and houses, and haue iust occasion presently to loue their lords. But seeing wee haue nations of them in our families; vsing diuers rites and customes,
ap 44. strange or no ceremonies of religions at all, this rascality thou shalt not be able to bridle but by fear. But some innocents shall be cast away. When an army is discomfited, and euery tenth souldier is culled out and beaten with a cudgell, the lot falleth also vpon the valiant. Euery exemplary punishment hath somewhat in it which is
ap 45. vniust, which being in particular to the préiudice of some, yet is recompensed by the generall good of the whole. As no one man durst gainsay *Cassius* opinion, so many confusedly answered together, that there should commiseration be taken, of the number, age, sexe, and vndoubted innocency of many. Yet that opinion preuailed, which concluded they should be punished; but it could not be executed, a multitude being flocked together, threatning with stones and fire. Then *Cæsar* rebuked the people by an edict, and beset all the way, by which the condemned parties were ledde to punishment with a guard of souldiers. *Cingonius Varro* aduised that the freed men which liued vnder the same roofe with their master slaine, should be banished Italy. But that was withstood by the Prince, lest the ancient custome which
ap 46. clemency had not diminished, should by cruelty be made worse. The same men being Consuls, *Tarquitius Priscus* was condemned for extortion, at the suite of the Bithynians, the Senators greatly reioycing thereat, who bare in minde that *Statilius Taurus* their Proconsull had beene accused by him. The people were numbred and valued in Gallia by *Q. Volusius*, and *Sext. Africanus*, and *Trebellius Maximus*; and whilest *Volusius* and *Africanus* content for worth and nobility, and both disdaining
ap 47. *Trebellius*, they preferred him before themselues. That yeere died *Memmius Regulus*, in authority, constancie, fame, as much as might be, the imperiall highnes shadowing him, greatly renowmed: in so much that *Nero* being sick, and such as were about him flattering him, and saying that the Empire was at an end if he should miscarry, made answere; that the common-wealth had a support and stay. Then they demanding in whom especially? he added, in *Memmius Regulus*. Neuertheles *Regulus* liued after this shrowded by his quiet life, and because he was of new nobility, and not enuied for his wealth. The same yeere, a place of all kinde of exercise called Gymnasium was dedicated by *Nero*, and oyle giuen when they wrestled naked to the gentlemen and Senate, according to the courtesie of the Greekes.

XIII. Libel-

XIII. Libellers *punished: of* Veiento *which sold* Neroes *fauour.*

P. *Marius* and *L. Asinius* being Consuls; *Antistius* the Pretor, who as I haue said before behaued himself licentiously when he was Tribune of the people, made opprobrious verses against the Prince, and published them in a solemne banket at *Ostorius Scapulaes* house. Whereupon he was accused of treason by *Cossutianus Capito*, not long before receiued into the number of Senators at the request of his father in law *Tigellinus*. It was thought that then first of all that law was put on foote, which wrought not so great an ouerthrow to *Antistius*, as glory to the Emperour: by which the condemned partie, by the Senate was deliuered from death, by the negatiue voice of the Tribune. And albeit *Ostorius* protested he had heard nothing to beare witnes of; credit was giuen to the testimony of his aduersaries, and *Iunius Marullus* Consull elect gaue his censure, that hee should be deprined of the Pretorship, and put to death according to the auncient custome. The rest after that yeelding their assent, *Paetus Thraseas* hauing saide somwhat in the commendation of *Cæsar*, sharply rebuked *Antistius*, and declared: That it was not expedient, that the extremity of punishment should be vsed vnder a good Prince, and when the Senat was by no necessity bound to ordaine it: that there was no vse now of an executioner and halter: and that there were penalties ordained by lawes, and punishments inflicted without note of the seuerity of the Iudges, and infamy of times. With the losse of his goods he should be confined in some Iland, whereby how much the longer he drew his guilty life, by so much the more miserable it should be to himselfe in particular; and in time to come a notable example of publike clemency. *Thraseas* liberty of speech broke the silence of the rest. And after that the Consull had permitted the going aside to agree in their opinions, all of them (a few excepted) condescended to *Thraseas* opinion: amongst whom the forwardest in flattery was *A. Vitellius*, brauling and contending with euery one of the better sort, but neuer replying to an answere: a certaine note to know a timorous and faint heart. But the Consuls not daring to put the decree in execution, with common consent wrote to *Cæsar*: who wauering betwixt shame and anger, in the end wrote againe: That *Antistius* no iniurie before offered him, had vsed most contumelious speeches against the Prince, whereof a reuenge was demaunded of the Senat. And it was conuenient that a punishment should be ordained answerable to the greatnes of the offence. As for himselfe as he would haue hindered the seuerity of their resolution, so he would not bee against the moderation of the punishment: therefore they might determine as they thought good, giuing them power if they lusted to acquite him. These or the like speeches recited, and his dislike manifestly perceiued: yet for all that neither did the Consuls alter their relation, or *Thraseas* shrinke from his opinion; or the rest goe from that which they had once allowed; part of them lest they should seeme to haue exposed the Prince to enuy; many throwding themselues vnder the number of voices; *Thraseas* by his accustomed stoutnes of courage, and because he would not fall from his glory already gotten. *Fabricius Veiento* was accused of the like crime, for vttering many slanderous speeches against the Lords of the Senate, and Priests, in those bookes which he called Codicillos. *Talius Geminus* his accuser added further of him, that he had sold offices and fauours of the Prince, and the right of obtaining honours: which was the cause why *Nero* vndertooke the hearing of that iudgement. Who after conuiction banished *Veiento* out of Italie, and commanded

cap. 48. An. 810

cap. 49.

cap. 50.

ded his bookes to be burnt, which as long as the reading and getting of them was dangerous, were much sought for; then liberty of hauing them graunted they were forgotten.

XIIII. *The death of* Burrhus: *and who* Tigellinus *and* Rufus *his successours were. The decay of* Senecaes *credit, with an oration of his to* Nero, *with* Neroes *answer.*

cap. 51 AS publike calamities daily increased; so the remedies against them grew scarse. And *Burrhus* ended his life, but whether by sickneſſe or poiſon, vncertaine. It was coniectured by ſickeneſſe, becauſe that his winde-pipe within ſwelling by little and little, and in the end ſtopped, he yeelded vp the ghoſt. Moſt men affirme, that by *Neroes* commandement, making as though he would haue applied a remedy to the palat of his mouth annointed it with poiſon; and that *Burrhus* vnderſtanding the practiſe, when *Cæſar* came to viſite him turned his face from him: and asking him how he did, anſwered onely, I am well. He was much lamented in the City for the memory of his vertue: and harmeleſſe ſloth of one of his ſucceſſors, and enormous wickedneſſe, and adulteries of the other. For *Cæſar* had made two Captaines of the Guard: *Fenius Rufus* through the fauour of the people, becauſe he dealt in Corne matters without gaine; and *Sofonius Tigellinus*, who held on his old courſe of vncleane and infamous life, which by cuſtome was another nature in him. *Tigellinus* was more inward with the Prince, choſen as one priuy to his ſecret pleaſures. *Rufus* was of good reputation and fame with the people, and accepted of the cap. 52 ſouldiers, which he found by experience to breed *Neroes* millike. The death of *Burrhus* weakned *Senecaes* authority, becauſe his good artes wanted the ſtrength they had: hauing loſt one as it were of their guides: and *Nero* inclined to the worſer ſort.

" Which with ſundry ſorts of calumniations ſet vpon *Seneca*, ſaying: That he continu-
" ally heaped vp wealth aboue the calling of a priuate man, and ſought to win the
" peoples hearts; that in pleaſant gardens, and ſtately buildings he did almoſt exceed
" the Prince. They obiected alſo that he attributed to himſelfe onely, the praiſe of e-
" loquence and made verſes often, after he ſaw that *Nero* tooke a likeing to them. For
" ſhewing openly a diſlike of the Princes pleaſures; hee detracted from his skill in ri-
" ding and ſcoffed at his voice when he ſang; to what other purpoſe, but that nothing
" ſhould ſeeme excellent in the Common-wealth, which was not thought to be his
" inuention? *Nero* was now out of his child-hood, and in the ſtrength of his youth; he
" ſhould ſhake off his maſter, being already inſtructed with ſufficient teachers, to wit
cap. 53 " his anceſtors. But *Seneca* knowing of theſe accuſations, by ſome which had a care
of honeſty; and *Cæſar* more and more eſtranging himſelfe from his familiarity: de-
" ſireth a time to be heard; and hauing obtained it, beginneth thus. It is foureteene
" yeeres *Cæſar*, ſince I haue beene put to thee as a guide to thy hope; and eight ſince
" thou haſt gouerned the Empire. From that time vntill this, thou haſt heaped on me
" ſo many dignities and ſo much wealth, that there wanteth nothing to my felicity,
" but the moderation of them. I will alleage great examples; not of mine owne cal-
" ling, but of thine. *Auguſtus* thy great great grandfathers father licenſed *M. Agrip-*
" *pa* to with-draw himſelfe to Mitylenum to liue a priuate life, and *C. Mecenas* to abide
" in the City, yet at eaſe as if he had beene in a forraine country. Whereof the one a
" companion of his warres; the other toſſed and wearied with many trauels at Rome,
" had receiued large rewards, but anſwerable to their manifold deſerts. As for my
" ſelfe, what was there in me for the requitall of thy munificency, ſaue onely my ſtu-

dies:

as I may say, nourished in the shadow? By which I haue gotten credit and reputation, because I seemed to haue beene at hand and directed the youth with instructions: a great recompence in very deed of my travell. But thou hast done me besides this, great fauours, and inriched me with infinite wealth; in so much that I do oft debate the matter with my selfe, saying: Am I, being but a gentleman onely, and borne out of the citie, reckoned amongst the chiefest peeres of the citie? Can it be that my new rising can shine among noble men honored with the marks of auncient antiquity? Where is that mind of mine which once was contented with a little? What, doth he make such goodly gardens; & walke in such manner houses neer the wals of the citie: doth he abound in such scope of grounds, and vsury in so many places? One defence commeth to mind for all, that is, that it was not in my part to striue against thy gifts, but both of vs haue filled our measure, thou by giuing as much as a Prince could bestow vpon a friend, and I in taking as much as a friend could take of a Prince. That which is aboue this augmenteth enuy, the which no doubt, as all mortall things doth lye vnder thy greatnes, but lye heauily on my shoulders; therefore I need helpe: and as weary in seruice of warre, or on the way, I would craue succour; so in this iourney of my life, olde and vnable to wade through the smallest cares, seeing I cannot sustaine the burden of my riches any longer, I craue thy aid and helping hand; command them to be managed by the procurators, and be receiued as thy owne goods. Neither will I thrust my selfe into pouertie, but giue vp those things, whose brightnes dimmed and dazeled me: that time which I was wont to bestow in my gardens and houses of pleasure, I will imploy in recreation of minde. Thou art in the floure of thy age, and the regiment of thy Empire established and setled many yeeres, and we thy old friends may betake our selues to rest. This also shall redound to thy glory, that thou hast raised such to great honors as could haue contented themselues with a meane estate. Vnto which, *Nero* answered almost as followeth. That I am able extempore to answere thy premeditated oration, I am principally indebted to thee, who hath instructed me how not onely to acquit and discharge my selfe of things premeditate, but also of such as happen on the sudden. My great great grandfathers father *Augustus* suffred *Agrippa* & *Mecenas* after great labour to take their ease; but in such an age that his authority might maintaine whatsoeuer had been bestowed; yet he neuer tooke those rewards from them he had once giuen them. In warre and dangers they had deserued them, for in these things *Augustus* youth was employed: neyther would thy weapons and hands haue beene wanting, if I had beene in armes. But as the present state of times required, thou diddest with reason, and counsell traine vp first my childhood, then my youth: and therefore the gifts which thou bestowed vpon me, whilest life lasteth shall remaine with me. Those things which thou hast receiued of me, thy orchyards, vsury, countrey houses, are subiect to casualties; and although they seeme much, yet many not equall with thee in knowledge haue possessed more. I am ashamed to speake of such as haue been slaues, which seeme richer then thou. And therefore I blush that thou, who in affection art decrest vnto me, dost not surpasse all men in wealth and fortune. And thou art of thy age a lusty man, and able to inioy thy wealth and commodity thereof, and wee enter into the first steps of the Empire; vnlesse perdie thou doest preferre thy selfe before *Vitellius* thrise Consull, or mee before *Claudius*. But how much *Volusius* scraped by long sparing, so much my liberality cannot fulfill towards thee. If the slipperines of our youth be ouerprone to that it should not, thou drawest it backe, and tempereſt carefully with aduise our vnseemly and vnruly courage. Not thy moderation if thou shouldest restore thy wealth, not thy ease if thou

cap. 54.

cap. 55.

cap. 56.

" shouldest forsake the Prince: but my couetousnesse, and the feare of my cruelty
" shall be in euery mans mouth. And although thy continencie should bee highly
" commended, yet were it not seemely for a wise man, from whence he procureth
" infamie to his friend, from thence to seeke glorie to himselfe. To these his speeches
he ioyned embracements and kisses, framed by nature, and practised by custome, to
cloake hatred with false flattering speeches. *Seneca* (which is the conclusion of all
speeches had with Princes) gave him thanks, but changing the course and maner
of life which he vsed in authoritie, forbidding the multitudes which came to salute
him, and auoiding such as would follow him; shewing himselfe seldome in the
citie, as though he had kept home, either through sickenesse, or busie at his studie.

XV. Tigellinus *credit.* Plautus *and* Syllaes *death.*

cap. 57. *Seneca* being thus puld downe, it was an easie matter to abate *Rufus Fenius*
credit, in accusing him of the friendship he had with *Agrippina*: but *Tigellinus* credit daily grew greater, and thinking that his lewde practises, wherein
onely he was his crafts-master, should be more acceptable, if he could oblige the
Prince by a league of naughtie dealing; he began diligently to search out all his
feares, and perceiuing that *Plautus* and *Sylla* were suspected aboue others, *Plautus*
being banished of late into Asia, and *Sylla* into Gallia Narbonensis, he entreth
into the consideration of their nobilitie, and how the one was too neere the armie
" of the East, and the other that of Germanie. That he for his owne part had not in
" his head as *Burrhus* had, contrarie hopes to the Emperours, but regarded only his
" safetie, which in some sort might be secured by his presence from citie practises:
" but by what means could tumults far off be redressed? The Galli became prechant
" at the name of a Dictator, and the people of Asia no lesse to be suspected through
" the renowme of *Drusus*, *Plautus* grandfather. *Sylla* was poore and needie, and there-
" fore bold and venturous, counterfeiting a lazines, vntill he found a fit opportuni-
" tie to shew his rashnesse. *Plautus* abounding in wealth, did not so much as pretend
" a desire of a quiet life, but made open shew of imitating the old Romanes: hauing
" taken vpon him the arrogancie and sect of the Stoicks, which maketh them busie
" headed, and desirous to beset aworke. Neither was there any further delay vsed
but *Sylla* (those which were to doe the feat arriuing at Marsils the sixt day) before
feare or rumor, was slaine being set at table, and *Nero* skoffed when his head was
cap. 58. brought him, as euilfauoured by vntimely hoarinesse. But it was not so secretly kept
that *Plautus* death was intended, because many had a care of his safetie, and the distance of the iourney and sea, and the time between, had spread it abroad; & giuen
out among the common sort, that he went about to stur vp *Corbulo* then Lord generall ouer great armies, saying, that if noble and innocent personages were thus
murdered, he was most likely to come into danger. Further, Asia had taken armes
in fauour of this yong man, and the souldiers sent to go forward with the enterprises, being neither strong in number, nor in courage stout, seeing they could not
performe that which they were enioyned, turned altogether to new hopes. These
speeches were common in idle persons mouths. But *Plautus* freed man hauing a
prosperous winde, preuented the Centurion, and deliuered him a message from
" *L. Antistius* his father in law, which was: That he should auoide a cowardly death,
" and not trust a lazie life, nor seeke starting holes; as to thinke that he should be pi-
" tied for his nobilitie: he should finde good men and of courage ready to take his
" part; in the meane time that no aide was to be reiected. If he had driuen backe

three

threescore soldiers (for so many came) whilest the messenger could returne to *Nero*, and another power be sent backe, many things will follow, which may prosper and grow euen to a warre. To be short, either he must prouide for his safetie by such counsell, or at all aduenture there can come no worse to him by stoutnesse then cowardise. But those perswasions did nothing moue *Plautus*, either foreseeing he wanted sufficient meanes, as being vnarmed, and a banisht man, or for the irkesomnes of doubtfull hope, or for the loue of his wife and children, to whom he thought the Prince would be more milde, if he troubled him not with care. Some report, that other messengers came to aduertise him, that there was no cruell matter intended; and that two Philosophers *Cœranus* a Greeke, and *Musonius* a Tuscane borne, perswaded him to abide a constant death, for an vncertaine and fearefull life. True it is, as he was found naked in the middle of the day, exercising his body, the Centurion killed him in the presence of *Pelago* an Eunuch, whom *Nero* had made ouerseer of the Centurion, and of a band of men which serued for the retinue of him which executed the Kings commandement. His head being brought to *Nero*, at the sight thereof he vttered these very words: Why dost thou not *Nero* (quoth he) hasten the marriage of *Poppæa* hitherto deferred by such feares, and put from thee thy wife *Octauia*, although of good and modest behaviour, yet for the memorie of her father, and affection of the people disliked and ill thought of? Neuertheles, he wrote letters to the Senate, not confessing the murdering of *Sylla* and *Plautus*, but that both of them were of a busie and turbulent humor, and that hee had a care of the safetie of the common wealth. Thereupon processions were ordained, and that *Sylla* and *Plautus* should be put from the Senate, a matter of greater skorne and mockery then hurt.

cap. 59

XVI. Nero *putteth away* Octauia, *and marrieth* Poppæa: *and her complaints against* Octauia: *and her death.*

HAuing thus receiued a decree of Senate, and perceiuing that all his vngracious actes were taken for woorthie exploits, hee putteth away *Octauia*, saying she was barren, and marrieth *Poppæa*. She long a concubine, and hauing power ouer him as an adulterer, then as her husband, procureth one of *Octauiaes* seruitors to accuse her that she was in loue with one *Eucerus* a bondman, a minstrel, borne at Alexandria. Thereupon many bondwomen were tortured, some of them ouercome by extremitie of torment, yeelded to falshood; and many stood stoutly in defence of their mistres innocencie. Amongst whom, one of them, *Tigellinus* earnestly vrging her, answered, that *Octauiaes* secret parts were chaster then his mouth; yet at the first she was put from him vnder colour of a lawfull diuorse, and *Burrhus* house and *Plautus* possessions assigned her, both presages of ill lucke. Then she was driuen into Campania, with a gard of souldiers; whereof grew many complaints and lamentations, and those not in secret among the people, as hauing small wisedome, and little to lose, so subiect to fewer dangers; by reason whereof, though no whit sory of that he had done, *Nero* recalleth his wife *Octauia*, and the people very ioyfully went vp to the Capitoll, and worshipped and thanked the gods, threw downe *Poppæas* images, and bare *Octauiaes* on their shoulders, strawed floures on them, and placed them in the Forum and Temples, praised and honored the Prince for taking her againe. And now they had filled the pallace with multitudes and cries, when as companies of souldiers sent, with blowes and threats, thrust and scattered them some one way, some another; and changed all that the people had done by

cap. 60.

cap. 61.

by ſedition, and reſtored *Poppæas* images to their places againe. Who alwaies fell and cruell with hatred towards *Octauia*; and then with feare, leaſt a more forcible violence of the people ſhould fal vpon her; or *Nero* be changed, ſeeing how the peo-
" ple were affected, caſting her ſelf at his knees, ſayd: That ſhe ſtood not now on thoſe
" termes that ſhe might reaſon of her marriage, (although ſhe eſteemed it more then
" her ſafety) but that ſhee was brought into danger of her life by *Octauias* clients and
" ſlaues, which ſhadowing themſelues vnder the name of the people, durſt venter
" that in peace, which could hardly haue hapned in warre. Thoſe armes were taken a-
" gainſt the Prince: there wanted only a Captaine, which in a tumult would eaſily be
" found. *Octauia* might now leaue Campania, and go to the citie, ſeeing that at a beck
" in her abſence ſuch tumults were raiſed. What fault had ſhe committed? whom had
" ſhe offended? Whether is it becauſe ſhe was likely to bring forth a true and lawfull
" progenie to the houſe of the *Cæſars*? would the people of Rome there ſhould be ra-
" ther brought into the imperiall highnes the iſſue of a minſtrell of Ægypt? To bee
" ſhort, if that be conuenient for the ſtate, he ſhould rather willingly then conſtrai-
" nedly call his miſtres, or looke to his ſafety with iuſt reuenge. The firſt tumults are
" appeaſed by eaſie meanes: but if they did deſpaire of hauing *Octauia* for *Neroes*
cap. 62 " wife, they would prouide her a husband. This doubtfull ſpeech appliable to feare and anger, did both terrifie *Nero*, and incenſe him. But the ſuſpition of the ſlaue was of ſmall credit, and the torture of the bondwomen had made the matter cleere: therefore it was thought conuenient, to haue the confeſsion of ſome one, which might be charged with ſome practiſe againſt the ſtate. *Anicetus* the executioner of his mothers death ſeemed to bee a fit inſtrument for the purpoſe, as I haue alreadie ſaid, Captaine of the nauie at Miſenum, in ſome ſmall fauour after the villanie committed, but anon after moſt odious, becauſe the miniſters of great villanies are looked on as vpbraiders of the ſame. *Cæſar* then cauſing him to be ſent for, putteth him in minde of the former ſeruice, and telleth him that hee only had beene the ſafegard of his eſtate againſt his mothers treaſon, and that there was now an opportunitie of no leſſe fauour, if hee could rid him of his wife, which greatly diſliked him. Neither ſhould he need hand or weapon, but only confeſſe he had committed adultery with *Octauia*: and promiſeth him great rewards, though for the preſent the world ſhould not know them, and pleaſant dwellings; or if hee ſhould denie it, threatned him death. He like a blockhead as he was, his firſt villany making an eaſie way to this, inuenteth more than was commanded, and confeſſeth it to ſuch of the Emperours friends, whoſe counſell as it were he had vſed in the plot. Then he was baniſhed into Sardinia, where hee endured no poore exile, and died naturally.
cap. 63 But *Nero* accuſed her that ſhe had corrupted the captaine of the gallies, in hope of winning him to her deuotion: and forgetting that not long before he had accuſed her of barrenneſſe, publiſheth by edict, that to hide her licentious life, ſhe had deſtroied the children ſhe had had by others than by him, and that thereof he was aſſured, and therefore baniſhed *Octauia* to the Iland Pandateria. No baniſhed woman did euer moue the beholders to greater pitie than ſhe. Some did yet remember *Agrippina* exiled by *Tiberius*; and *Iulia* baniſhed by *Claudius* was freſher in memorie: but both beſides the ſtrength of age, had taſted of ſome pleaſure, and comforted their preſent cruell hap with the remembrance of a better eſtate. Vnto this woman, her firſt day of marriage was inſtead of a graue, being brought into a houſe in which ſhe could finde nothing but what was dolefull and lamentable: her father poiſoned, and her brother anon after. Then the maid greater than the miſtreſſe, and *Poppæa* married for no other end, but to ruine her; and laſt of all a crime obiected

more

more grieuous then any death. But this yoong princesse of the age of twenty yeeres, being betweene the Centurions and souldiers as it were already depriued of life, with the presage of so many miseries, yet could not yeeld to death. A few daies after she was commanded to be put to death, although she protested she was no wife but a widdow onely, and a sister of the Emperours, calling to *Germanicus* ghost to aide hir and *Agrippinaes* likewise, in whose life time she should indeed haue indured an vnhappy marriage, but without danger of death. Notwithstanding she was shut vp in prison, and all the veines of hir body opened; but because the bloud stopped with feare issued forth slowly, she was killed with the vapor of a very hot bath. And a deadlier cruelty also added, that *Poppæa* saw hir head cut off, and brought to the City; for all which it was decreed, that gifts should be offered in the Temples. Which we haue vttered, that whosoeuer shall either by vs, or other writers, vnderstand the euents of those times, may be assured, that as oft as the Prince commanded either banishment, or murder, so oft thankes were giuen to the gods; and those things which in times past were markes of prosperity, were then badges of publicke calamity. Yet neuertheless we will not hold our tongue if any decree of Senat hath beene ordained, new and strange by flattery, or by base and abiect sufferance. The same yeere, it was thought he empoisoned his chiefest freed-men, *Doryphorus* as being against *Poppæas* marriage, and *Pallas* because he kept from him infinite wealth by liuing too long. *Romanus* by secret informations accused *Seneca* as a confederat of *Pisoes*: but he was touched more neere the quick by *Seneca* for the same fault, which droue *Piso* in a feare, and that commencement of great, but vnprosperous treason against *Nero*.

cap 64

cap 65

THE FIFTEENTH BOOKE OF THE ANNALS OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. Vologeſes *King of Parthia crowned King of Armenia by his brother.* Tiridates *is hindered by* Corbulo *to enioy it, and expulſed by* Tigranes.

Cap. 1

WHileſt theſe things thus paſſed, *Vologeſes* King of the Parthians, vnderſtanding what ſucceſſe *Corbulo* had in his affaires: and how *Tiridates* his brother being expulſed, and *Tigranes* a ſtranger made King of Armenia; reſolued to reuenge the contempt offered the greatneſſe of the Arſacides: yet conſidering the great power of the Romans, and alliance a long time continued, was diuerſly perplexed, as one of his owne diſpoſition ſlow and lingering; and then intangled with many warres by the reuolt of the Hyrcanians, a ſtrong and mighty Nation. And as he thus wauered, he was further exaſperated by the newes of freſh iniury: for *Tigranes* gone out of Armenia, had waſted and ſpoiled the Adiabenians, a Nation bordering, farther and longer than any rodes of enemies heretofore. Which grieued not a little the chiefe Noble men of that Nation, that they were growen to that contempt that they ſhould be forraged and robbed not of a Roman Captaine, but by the raſhneſſe of an hoſtage, ſo many yeeres held and eſteemed no better than a bond-ſlaue. *Monobazus* Gouernour of the Adiabenians augmented their griefe, asking them what remedy, or from whence? Armenia was already gone, and the Country adioyning would goe ſhortly after: and vnleſſe the Parthians would defend them, thoſe which yeelded to the Romans ſhould finde an eaſier ſeruitude, then thoſe which were taken. *Tiridates* chaſed out of the kingdome by ſilence complayning not a little, was no ſmall griefe, telling them that great Empiers were not maintained by cowardlineſſe; but they muſt trie the valour both of men and armes. For among great Princes, he ſeemed to haue moſt reaſon and right, who had moſt ſtrength. And it was the praiſe of priuate houſes to keepe their owne; but the glory of a King to warre for other nations.

Cap. 2

Vologeſes being mooued with theſe ſpeeches, calleth a Counſell, and placed *Tiridates* hard by him and thus began. This man, borne of the ſame father that I am, ha-
" uing yeelded vnto me the name of the King in regard I am his elder, I did put in poſ-
" ſeſſion of Armenia, which is reckoned the third part of my kingdome. For the Medes
" *Pacorus* had before poſſeſſed; making account that in ſo doing I had taken away the
" inueterate hatred which raigneth betweene brothers and fully ſetled the ſtate of our
" family. The Romans hinder this, and now breake the peace alſo to their owne
" ruine, which they neuer yet diſturbed but to therr owne deſtruction. I will not deny
" but I had rather hold things gotten by my anceſtors, by equity then blood, by rea-
" ſon then armes. If I haue offended by lingering, I will amend with valour. Your
" ſtrength and glory is intire with fame of modeſty; which neither ought to be con-
" temned of the higheſt, and is eſteemed of the gods. Hauing thus ſaid, he put the Di-
" ademe on *Tiridates* head; and gaue *Moneſes* a noble Gentleman a gallant company of Horſe-men, which vſually followed the King, and withall the aide of the Adiabenians;

abenians; and commaunded *Tigranes* to be chased out of Armenia; Whilest hee pacifying the sedition of the Hyrcanians, draweth his whole forces together and vtmost power of warre, threatning the Roman Prouinces. Whereof *Corbulo* being aduertised by certaine messengers, sendeth two legions with *Verulanius Seuerus*, and *Vettius Bolanus* to aide *Tigranes*, with a secret charge they should proceed rather orderly and aduisedly, then hastily: for hee had rather entertaine then make warre. And wrote to *Cæsar* that it was needfull to haue a Captaine of purpose to defende Armenia; and that Syria by *Vologeses* approch was in great danger. And in the meane time he lodgeth the rest of the legions by the banke Euphrates: leuieth and armeth in haste a power of the country people, and intercepteth the enemies passages with a garrison. And bicause the countrey is scarce of water, he fortified hard by the fountaines, & couered certain small brookes with mounds of sand. Whilest *Corbulo* vsed this preparation for the defence of Syria, *Moneses* becaule he wold preuent the rumour of his comming, marched with all speed: but yet found not *Tigranes* vnaduertised or vnprouided; who had put himselfe into Tigranocerta, a verie strong towne, well manned and walled. Besides this, the riuer Nicephorius of a reasonable bredth, enuironeth part of the wals; and a huge ditch cast in length, where the riuer was distrusted as not sufficient. There were souldiers within to man it, and prouision of necessaries: for conueying whereof, some hauing beene too forward in venturing, and on the sudden surprised by the enemy, enflamed the rest rather with anger, then feare. But the Parthian wanting courage to performe the assault at hand, spent a few arrowes a loose; lost his labour; and put the besieged into no feare at all. The Adiabeni, as they began to raise ladders and other engines, were easily thrust backe, and by a sallie made by our men, hewd in peeces. Yet *Corbulo*, notwithstanding things prospered on his side, thinking it his best to vse fortune moderately, sent some to *Vologeses*, finding himselfe greeued; that violence should be offered the Prouince: and that a King confederate and a friend should besiege the Roman cohorts; therefore that hee should giue vp the siege, or else he would encamp in the enemies countrey. *Casperius* a Centurion chosen for that Embassie, went to the King at a towne called Nisibis, seuen and thirty miles distant from Tigranocerta, and deliuered his message very stoutly. *Vologeses* had long resolued with himselfe to auoide warres with the Romans: neither went things currantly with him for the present; the siege tooke no effect; *Tigranes* was strong in men and prouision; the besiegers put to flight; certaine Legions were sent to Armenia; and others in a readinesse for Syria to assaile him in his owne Country. That he had but a weake company of Horse-men; want of stower; for a multitude of Locusts had eaten vp all grasse and leaues. Therefore concealing his feare, and making shew of more mildenesse, answereth that he would send Ambassadors to the Emperour of Rome, to demand Armenia and establish a peace. And commandeth *Moneses* to depart from Tigranocerta and himselfe turned backe. These things many extolled as proceeding from the Kings feare, and *Corbuloes* threatnings. Some construed it that they had priuily agreed to forbeare war on both sides; and that *Vologeses* departing, *Tigranes* should also depart from Armenia. For why (said they) went the Romans forces from Tigranocerta? Why were those things abandoned in time of rest, which they » had defended in warre? Could they haue wintered better in the remote parts of » Cappadocia, in Cabbins erected on a sudden, than in the chiefe seate of the King- » dome lately possessed? Doubtlesse the warres were put off, that *Vologeses* might ra- » ther fight with some other, then *Corbulo*. *Corbulo* would not indanger his glory so » many yeeres already gotten. For as I haue already said, he had demanded a spe- »

ciall

ciall Captaine to defend Armenia ; and notice came that *Cesennius Pætus*, was at hand, and by that time he was come. Their forces were so diuided, that the fourth and twelfth Legions, and withall the fift which was lately called from the Mœsians, and the aides of Pontus, Gallatia, and Cappadocia should obey *Pætus* : the third, sixth, and tenth Legions, and the souldiers which before remained in Syria should continue with *Corbulo*. The rest they would ioyne or diuide as occasion serued. But neither *Corbulo* could indure a concurrent, and *Pætus* vnto whom it was sufficient glory, if he were reckoned the second, made small account of the seruice already done, saying : that there hath beene no slaughter made, no booty gained ; and that he had woon townes only with words, and not with deedes. He would impose tributes and lawes vpon them and instead of a shadow of a King, he would force them to liue like conquered people vnder the Roman law. About the same time *Vologeses* Ambassadors, as before I haue rehearsed, sent to the Prince : returned and nothing done. And the Parthians openly made war ; neither did *Pætus* draw backe, but with two Legions, wherof the fourth *Famisulanus Vectonianus* conducted, and the twelft *Calauius Sabinus*, he entered Armenia with an vnlucky presage. For hauing made a bridge and passing ouer Euphrates, without any manifest cause, the Horse which bare the Consulary ornaments fled backeward, and escaped. And the beast ready for sacrifice, neere to the Winter-campes which were a fortifying, the worke halfe finished, brake loose, and leapt ouer the trench : and the souldiers Iauelins and darts were on a fire ; the woonder so much the more to be noted, because the Parthians fight with weapons throwen with the hand.

cap. 7.

II. Pætus *goeth into Armenia : and his vnskilfulnesse in seruice.*

cap. 8.

BVt *Pætus* setting nought by ominous signes, nor hauing sufficiently fortified his wintering Campes, nor prouision of Corne made, conducteth his Army in all hast ouer the hill Taurus, to recouer (as he said) the Tigranocertians, and to Forrage the Countries which *Corbulo* had left vntouched. And some Castles he tooke, and some glory and some booty he wan, if he had vied his glory with moderation, and his booty with circumspection. Hauing by long iournies ouerrun those places which he could not keepe, and that the prouision of victuals was spoiled and corrupted which he had taken, and the Winter now at hand, he brought his Army backe againe : and sent letters to *Cæsar* as though the warre had beene ended, in words magnificent ; but voide of matter. In the meane season *Corbulo* hauing had alwaies a speciall care of the bankes of Euphrates ; lodged on them now a greater strength of Garrisons, then before he had : and least the enemies troupes should hinder the making of a bridge (for they braued it with a gallant shew in the Champion which lay vnder them) he brought vp the riuer vessels of huge bignesse, ioyned together with timber-worke, and built Towers on them ; beating off the Barbarians with stones and speares out of Balistas and other engines, let flie farther, then that the Countrey shoot of arrowes, could match vs with the like againe. The bridge continued and finished, the opposite hils were seased by the Cohorts of allies, and afterward possessed by the Camp of the Legions, with such great celerity and shew of puissant forces, that the Parthians, all preparation of inuading Syria omitted, turned al their hope against Armenia. There *Pætus* ignorant what was at hand, had the fifth Legion far from him in Pontus : and had weakned the rest by inconsiderate licensing the souldiers to depart, vntill newes was brought that *Vologeses* came with a great army resolutely bent to do great mischief. The twelfth Legion was sent for hoping

cap. 9.

cap. 10.

ping that thereby it would be noised that his forces were increased; but indeed that bewrayed his weakenes, with which neuertheleſſe he might haue incamped: and the Parthian deluded by drawing the warre in length, if *Paetus* had bene constant either to follow his owne, or others counsels. But hee by men experienced in warre being counselled what was best against imminent casualties, least he should seeme to haue neede of their aduise, would do quite contrary and much worse. And then forsaking his standing camps, crying that he had no trench and rampire giuen him against the enemy, but bodies and weapons, issued out with the legions, as though hee would fight a field. And hauing lost a Centurion and few souldiers, sent before to view the enemies forces, came back againe greatly affrighted. And because *Vologeses* came on but coldly, resuming againe a vaine hope, lodged three thousand chosse men on the top of the hill Taurus hard by, to hinder the King to passe. Hee placed also certaine cornets of Pannonians, which were the strength and sinewes of his horsemen, in one part of the plaine. His wife and sonne were shut vp in a castle called Arsamosata, and a cohort appointed to guarde them; and thus dispersed the souldiers, which vnited in one, would much better haue made head against the straggled and rouing enemy. It is reported that he was hardly brought to confesse vnto *Corbulo* that the King was at hand: neither did *Corbulo* make any great haste, to the end that the dangers growing great, his owne praise in succoring might be the greater. Neuertheleſſe hee commanded three thousand to bee set forward out of the three legions; eight hundred horse, and the like number out of the auxiliarie cohorts. But *Vologeses* although hee had vnderstood that the passages were shut vp by *Petus* on the one side with footmen, and on the other with horsemen, nothing altering his determination; what with violence, what with threatnings, hauing put the horsemen to flight, broke the legionaries; one onely Centurion *Tarquitius Crescens* hauing courage to defend himselfe in a towre wherein he had a garrison: making often sallies, and slaying such Barbarians as came neere, vntill he was forced by fire to yeeld. Of the footemen if any was vnhurt he fled to bye-places a farre off, the wounded returned to the campe; extolling the valour of the King; the crueltie and number of his souldiers, and all else for feare; such easily beleeuing them as were in the like perplexity. The Captaine himselfe not once endeuouring to remedy the calamitie, neglected all duties of seruice, and sent again to intreat *Corbulo*, that he would come away in all post haste, to defend the ensignes and standarts, and the onely name left of the vnfortunate armie: he for his owne part would whilest life lasted remaine faithfull.

III. Corbulo *goeth to Syria to aide* Pætus: *who in the meane space maketh a dishonorable peace with* Vologeses.

Corbulo daunted nothing at all, leauing part of his forces in Syria to defende the fortresses built vpon the shore of Euphrates, tooke his iourney as the neerest way and plentifullest of victuals, by the Comageniens; then by Cappadocia, and from thence to Armenia. There followed the army, besides the vsuall furniture and prouision of warre, a multitude of camels loaden with corne, to driue away both the enemy and hunger. The first he met of those which were throughly affrighted was, *Pactius* the Centurion of the first ensigne; then many other soldiers, who pretending diuers and sundry causes of their flying away, he admonished to returne to their ensignes, and trust to *Paetus* clemency. As for himselfe hee was rigorous to none, but to the conquerers. Withall, hee went to his legions, encouraged them

them, put them in minde of their old valour, and what occasion they had to win
" new glory. That they sought not now villages and towns of Armenia for a reward
" of their trauels, but Roman camps, and amongst them two legions. If vnto every
" common soldier, the crowne was giuen by the Emperors hands, as a speciall honor
" to him who had saued one citizen onely, how great and worthy an honor shall it be
" when the like number shall be seene of the succourers & succoured? And with these
and the like incouragements generally cheered (and some there were whom their
brothers perils and neere kindered inflamed of their owne proper motions) they
cap. 13. hastned their iourney day and night. *Vologeses* so much the more eagerly pursueth
the besieged, now assailing the trench of the legions, now the fort, where the feare-
full or aged had fled for defence, approching neerer then the Parthians custome is,
to allure by temeritie his enemies to battell. But the Romans hardly haled out of
their cabines, did but defend their rampires, part at the commandement of the cap-
taine and others by their owne cowardlines, looking for *Corbulo*, and if they should
be put to any distresse; purposed to shift for themselves by the example of the ouer-
throw at Caudian and Numantina. Neither had the Samnites people of Italie,
nor the people of Carthage which contended for greatnesse with the Romans, so
great power as the Parthians. Their auncestors also, both valiant and commended
of all, when fortune crossed them prouided for their safetie. By which desperation
Paetus, the generall of the army vtterly cast downe, yet sent not his first letters to *Vo-*
" *logeses* in humble sort, but in maner of a complaint: That he vsed hostilitie against
" the Armenians, subiect alwaies to the Romans, or to a King chosen by the Empe-
" rour. That peace was alike profitable to both. That he should not regard things
" present onely. That he was come against two legions with al the power of his king-
" dome, but the Romans had the whole world besides at commandement to aide the
cap. 14. " warre. *Vologeses* answered nothing touching the matter, but that he was to expect
his brothers *Pacorus* and *Tiridates*, and that that place and time was appointed to
consult of Armenia. *And that the gods had fauoured them so much, being a mat-
ter woorthy of the Arsacides greatnes, that with all they could determine of the
Roman legions. After that, *Paetus* sent messengers to intreat a parly with the
King, who commanded *Vasaces* captaine of the horse to go. Then *Paetus* beginneth
with the *Luculli*, *Pompei*, and such other Captaines as had conquered and gi-
uen away Armenia. *Vasaces* answered, that the Romaines had but a shadow of
holding and giuing away of Armenia, and that the right and power was with the
Parthians. And hauing sufficiently debated the matter on both sides, *Monobazus
Adiabenus* the next day was called a witnes of their agreement: which was, that the
legions should no longer be besieged, and all the souldiers depart out of the bounds
of Armenia, and all forts and prouisions to be deliuered to the Parthians: which
done, that *Vologeses* should haue licence to send Embassadors to *Nero*. In the meane
space, *Paetus* built a bridge ouer the riuer Arsamites, which ran by the campe, vnder
colour of passing that way: but the Parthians had commanded it to be done as a
token of the victorie, for it serued their turne, and our men went another way.
And the rumor went, that the legions were sent *sub iugum*, with other disgra-
ces which the Armenians were woont to vse against the vanquished. For they
entered the trench before the Romaine campe was departed, and beset the way,
challenging and leading away their horses, and such as had beene their slaues.
Their apparell also and weapons were taken from them, and the souldiers yeelded
them for feare, least any occasion of quarrell should be giuen. *Vologeses* hauing ga-
thered together our weapons and dead bodies, to witnesse the ouerthrow of our
people,

* Speares pitcht a crosse like gallowes, vnder which enemies vanquished were forced to go in despight. *Sed vt exp. i. mature tandem confessio, subactam dominatum, esse gentem sub iugum abituros, &c. Liu. lib. 3.*

people, forbare from seeing the running away of the legions. A fame of moderation was sought for, after he had satisfied and filled his pride. He passed the riuer Arsamites on an Elephant, and euery man neere the King on horseback because a rumor was spread that the bridge would fall vnder the burden, by the deceit of the makers. But such as ventured to go ouer it, found it strong and sure.

IIII. Pætus *cowardlines.* Corbuloes *diligence to succour him.* *An agreement with the King of the Parthians.*

MOst certaine it was, the besieged had such store of corne left, that they fired their storehouses; and on the other side *Corbulo* declared, that the Parthians were in want of all necessary prouision, and their stouer all consumed, ready to haue forsaken the siege, and himselfe but three daies iourney off. He added farther, that *Pætus* had promised by oath before the ensignes, in the presence of such as the King had sent to beare witnes, that no Romane should enter into Armenia, vntill it appeared by *Neroes* letters whether he agreed to the peace or not. Which things as they haue beene inuented to increase infamie, so the rest is not vnknowne, that *Pætus* went in one day forty miles; leauing the wounded scattered behind him: which fear of the fleers away was no lesse ignominious, then if in fight they had turned their backs to the enemie. *Corbulo* meeting him at the banke of Euphrates with his forces, made no such shew of his ensignes and armes, that he should seeme to vpbraide him of his cowardlines. For his common souldiers sad, and bewailing the case of their fellowes, could not forbeare weeping. They scarse saluted the one the other for teares. Strife of valour there was none, no ambition of glory, the onely desire of men in prosperity. Pity only bare sway, and most of all with the meaner sort. The captaines vsed few words, and those complaining that their labour was lost, that the warre might haue beene ended with the flight of his enemie. *Pætus* answered, that all was whole and in good state to them both, that they should turne their ensignes, and ioyntly invade Armenia, weakened by *Vologeses* absence. *Corbulo* answered he had no such commission from the Emperour: that he had gone out of the prouince mooued with the danger of the legions; and seeing that the Parthians attempts were vncertaine, he would returne to Syria. And that he was to pray for good fortune, that his footmen wearied with trauelling so farre afoote, might ouertake the Kings horsemen going before cheerefully, hauing the aduantage of the countrey. From thence departed *Pætus* to winter in Cappadocia. But *Vologeses* Embassadors sent to *Corbulo*, warned him to pull downe his forts beyond Euphrates, and leaue the riuer indifferent to both. *Corbulo* demaunded on the other side, that the garrisons should depart out of diuers parts of Armenia. And in the end the King yeelded to it, and the fortresses which *Corbulo* had made beyond Euphrates were pulled downe, and the Armenians left to their will. But at Rome, trophees and triumphant arches were erected in signe of victorie ouer the Parthians, in the middle of their Capitol, by order of Senate, the war yet fresh and not finished, only for a faire shew, no conscience made whether by desert or not. Yea *Nero*, to dissemble the cares of forren affaires, did cast corne into Tyber, corrupted by the peoples ouer-long keeping it, to shew thereby a securitie and plentie of victuals: the price nothing enhanced, although almost two hundred ships were cast away by tempest in the very hauen, and a hundred brought vp Tyber consumed by casual fire. After that, he appointed three Consuls, *L. Piso, Duconnius Gusinus, Pompeius Paullinus.*

cap. 16.

cap. 17.

cap. 18.

Paullinus, to take charge of the tribute, with an inuectiue against other Princes, which by excesse of expenses, spent more then the reuenewes came to, and he would bestow yeerely on the common-wealth * threescore millions of sesterces. There was a very bad custome commonly practised at that time when the chusing of officers was at hand, or casting lots for gouernment of Prouinces; which was, that many which were without children, colourably adopted some, and being thereby admitted amongst the Lords to draw lots for Pretorships and Prouinces, immediatlie after manumised those they had adopted. Whereupon, those which had children went to the Senate with a great complaint, declaring the lawe of nature, the labor in bringing vp of children, against the fraud and deceit & short time of adoption. That it was a sufficient recompence to the childlesse, that with great security without charge, they had credit, honors, and all things else offered them. That to them the promises of lawes long expected were turned into a iest, when a man without care, a father, without mourning, childlesse, would on the sudden be equal with the long desires of fathers. Whereupon a decree of Senat was made, that fained adoption should not benefit in any part to any publicke charge, nor yet to succeed in others inheritances.

cap. 19 * About 468750 pound.

V. *Magistrates sent into Prouinces no more rewarded. The Gymnase burnt.* Pompeius *towne sunke with an earthquake.*

cap. 20

After this *Claudius Timarchus* of Candie, was accused of all the crimes, that rich gouernours of Prouinces are woont to be touched with; and growne insolent with ouer great wealth to the oppression of the meaner sort. One speech of his reached to the disgrace of the Senate, which was, that it lay in him whether the Proconsuls of Candie should haue thanks giuen them, or not. Which occasion *Paetus Thrasea* turning to the common good, after he had giuen his opinion that the accused should be banished Candie; added these words. It is prooued by experience, Lords of the Senate, that most excellent lawes, and honest examples haue their beginning by good men, from others offences. So the licence of Orators was cause of the law Cincia; the suing of Competitors of the Iulian lawes; the couetousnesse of Magistrates of the Calpurnian decrees. For the fault goeth before the punishment, and the remedy commeth after the offence. Therefore against the new pride of Prouinces let vs take some aduise woorthy of the Roman integrity and constancie, that nothing may be derogated from the protection of the allies, or the opinion conceiued of vs weakned, or a citizen be else-where iudged, than before vs, or reputed other than he is esteemed by vs. In times past not onely a Pretor or Consull, but priuate men also were sent to visite the Prouinces which should report, what was thought of euery ones duty and loyalty: and the people were afraid of a particular mans estimation and iudgement. But now wee adore strangers and flatter them: and as at the pleasure of one, thanks are now a daies giuen, so the accusation of one more readily receiued. Let the decree continue, and let the Prouinces haue power to shew their authority by such meanes: but let false praise, and wroong out by praiers be restrained, no lesse than malice and cruelty. For there are more offences committed whilest we go about to win fauour, than whilest wee doe offend: yea some vertues are odious, obstinate seuerity, and an inuincible minde against fauour. Hereupon the beginnings of our Magistrates are for the most part better, and the end declineth, whilest we hunt after suffrages: which if they were forbidden, the Prouinces would be gouerned more iustly and constantly. For as couetousnesse

cap. 21

thousneſſe is brideled through feare of being accuſed of bribery and extortion; ſo thankes giuing being forbidden, ambition would be reſtrained. This opinion was approoued with great conſent of all: yet a decree of Senat could not be eſtabliſhed, the Conſuls denying the matter to haue beene propounded. Anon after by authority of the Prince they ordained, that none ſhould propound it in the Councel of the allies, that thankes ſhould be giuen before the Senate, the Propretors or Proconſuls, and that no man ſhould doe that meſſage. Vnder the ſame Conſuls the place of exerciſe called Gymnaſium was burnt with a flaſh of lightning, and *Neroes* image melted to a ſhapeleſſe lumpe of braſſe. And by an earth-quake, the famous towne of *Pompey* in Campania was ruined in a great part. And *Lælia* a virgin Veſtall died; in whoſe place was choſen *Cornelia* of the Coſſian family. cap. 22

VI. *The birth of* Nero *and* Poppæas *childe. The death of the ſame daughter. The Parthian Ambaſſadors receiue no anſwer: and* Corbulo *made Lieutenant Generall of the war.*

M *Emmius Regulus*, and *Verginius Rufus* being Conſuls, *Nero* had a daughter by *Poppæa*, which he tooke as a matter aboue all mortall ioy, and called hir *Auguſta*, and gaue the ſame ſurname to *Poppæa*. The place where ſhe was brought to bed was Antium a Colony, where he himſelfe was borne. The Senate had already commended *Poppæas* wombe to the gods, and had made publicke vowes; which were multiplied and performed. And their were added proceſſions, and a Temple to the goddeſſes Fecunditati; and combate ordained to the imitation of the Athenians. And that the golden images of Fortunes ſhould be placed in the Throne of *Iupiter* Capitoline: and that as the Circenſian play ſhould be exhibited in the honour of the Iulian family at Bouillas; ſo at Antium of the Claudian and Domitian: all which were vaine and fleeting things, the girle dying within fower monthes. Which gaue occaſion of new flatterings; ſome being of aduiſe that ſhe ſhould be honored like a goddeſſe, with a bed, a Temple, and a Prieſt. And *Nero* himſelfe as before he was without meaſure glad; ſo now moſt ſorrowfull. It was noted that when all the Senat ran to Antium at the new birth of the childe, and *Thraſeas* forbidden: he tooke the contumelious repulſe with a ſtout courage, as a preſage of his imminent ouerthrow. It was reported, that *Cæſar* bragged to *Seneca*, that he was reconciled to *Thraſea*, and that *Seneca* was glad thereof. From whence grew at once glory and danger to worthy men. In the meane time in the beginning of the ſpring, the Ambaſſadors of the Parthians brought King *Vologeſes* meſſage and letters to the ſame effect. That he would now forgoe all the former challinges ſo oft debated for obtayning of Armenia: becauſe the gods, although arbitraters of puiſſant nations, had deliuered the poſſeſſion to the Parthians, not without the ignominy of the Romans: that hauing of late beſieged *Tigranes*, then *Pætus* and the Legions; when he could haue ruined them, yet ſuffered them to depart in ſafety. His force was ſufficiently tried, and a proofe giuen of his lenity. Neither would *Tiridates* refuſe to come to the City to receiue the Diademe; if hee were not hindred by a religion of prieſt-hood: he would goe to the inſignes and images of the Prince, where in preſence of the Legions he would luckily begin his gouernment. *Vologeſes* letters being of this effect, becauſe *Pætus* had written the contrary, as though all had beene well, the Centurion which came with the Ambaſſadors was demanded, in what ſtate Armenia ſtood? he anſwered that all the Romans were departed from thence. Then the Barbarians ſcoffe being vnderſtood, who demanded that which they had aiready die cap. 23. An. 811. cap. 24. cap. 25.

die taken by force; *Nero* consulted with the chiefest of the Citie, whether it were best to make a doubtful war with the enemy, or peace. It was not doubted but war. And *Corbulo* so many yeeres practised in the wars, knowing the souldiers and the enemies, had the general charge giuen him, least there should be a new errour committed by some other vnskilfulnesse: for of *Pætus* bad gouernment, they were sorry and repented. Whereupon they were sent backe without any conclusion, yet with gifts; wherby it might be hoped that *Tiridates* should not aske in vaine if he came by way of intreaty. The gouernment of Syria was committed to *Cintius*: the strength of war to *Corbulo*; and the fifteenth Legion vnder the conduct of *Marius Celsus* was brought out of Pannonia. Letters were sent to the Tetrarches, Kings, Prefects, and Procurators, and Pretors, which ruled Prouinces adioyning, that they should obey *Corbulo*: augmented almost like vnto that, that the people of Rome gaue *Pompey*; when he was to war against the Pirates. When *Pætus* at his returne feared greater matters; *Cæsar* thought it inough to scoffe and iest at him almost with these words. "That he would pardon him presently; least being so easily brought into a feare, hee cap. 26 "should be sicke with longer pensiuenes. But *Corbulo* sent the fourth and twelfth Le- "gion, which seemed vnable for war, because they had lost the valianteſt among them and the rest affrighted into Syria; and conducteth the six and third from thence into Armenia, all entire and whole and accustomed to often and prosperous successe: and added the fift Legion, which was in Pontus not daunted with the ouerthrow of the others: Withall, the fifteenth newly arriued, and some chosen in Illyricum and Ægypt, and all horsmen and footmen with aides of Kings allies, drawen together to Melitenes, where he purposed to passe the riuer Euphrates. Then hauing taken a suruey of the Army making an oration vnto them, beginneth with many stately and magnificall discourses of the Emperors gouernment and his owne exploits, auoiding the memory of *Pætus* vnlucky vnskilfulnesse; which he vttered with great authority, cap. 27. that it serued a war-like man insteed of eloquence. Then taketh his iourny that way which *Lucullus* had once passed, opening the passages which long continuance of "time had shut vp. And not disdayning *Tiridates* and *Vologeses* Ambassadors comming "to intreat of peace, sent Centurions to accompany them with no rough charge: For "matters were not yet growne to that head, that they should neede a maine battell. "That to the Romans many things had sorted luckily and some to the Parthians; a les- "son against pride. Therefore it behooued *Tiridates* to accept as a gift the kingdome "vnwasted: and that *Vologeses* should better further the Parthians being confederate "with the people of Rome, than mutually endomaging the one the other. Hee knew "what discord they had within themselues and what a fierce and vnruly nation he had "to rule: contrariwise, that his Emperor had euery where a firme peace, and no war but that. Besides his counsell he stroke them into a feare, droue the Megistanas Armenians which first reuolted, out of their houses: battered downe their castles; filled cap. 28. with like feare the plaines; the hils; the strong and weake. *Corbuloes* name was not yet hatefull vnto the Barbarians, much lesse did they pursue him like an enemy, and therefore credit his counsell as faithfull. *Vologeses* therefore was not implacable head strong*, and demanded truce vnto some gouernments. *Tiridates* requireth place and day of parley. A short time was assigned; the place, where of late the Legions were besieged with *Pætus* seeing it was chosen by the Barbarians in remembrance of their ioyfull hap, was not refused by *Corbulo*; that the diuersity of fortune might augment his glory. Neither was *Pætus* infamy increased; which appeered plainely, in that he commanded his sonne who was Tribune, to appoint certaine bands to bury and coner the dead bodies of the vnfortunate conflict.

VII. Tiridates

VII. Tiridates *speaketh with* Corbulo: *and yeeldeth vp the crowne of Armenia in the Roman campe.*

THe day appointed, *Tiberius Alexander*, a noble gentleman of Rome, giuen as an aide to the warre, and *Viuianus Annius*, *Corbuloes* sonne in law, not yet of age to be Senator; but assigned in the place of the Lieutenant of the fift Legion, came to *Tiridates* campe to doe him honour; and that hauing such pledges hee should feare no trechery. And then were taken twenty horsemen on each side. And the King seeing *Corbulo*, lighted first from his horse; and *Corbulo* did the like immediately, and both of them on foote, ioyned right hands. Then the Roman praised the yoong Prince, that leauing dangerous vncertaintie, hee would imbrace sure and wholesome counsell. *Tiridates* hauing spoken much of the noblenes of his stocke, in the rest was temperate, saying: that he would go to Rome, and bring *Cæsar* newe glory: *Arsacides* humbly intreating, the Parthians beeing daunted with no aduerse encounter. Then seemed it good that *Tiridates* should lay his royall crowne before *Cæsars* image, and not take it againe but at the hand of *Nero*; and so the speech was ended with a short salutation. A few daies after, with a great pomp on both parts, they shewed themselues, his horsemen ranged into troupes on one side, with the ensignes of his Country; and on the other the army of the Legions marshalled in order with glittering standards, and ensignes and images of the gods in maner of a Temple. In the middle was planted a Tribunall, and in it a chaire of estate, with *Neroes* image; vnto which *Tiridates* went, and sacrifices offered according to the custome, taketh the crowne from his head, and laide it vnder the image; which troubled the mindes of such as had yet before their eies the slaughter and besieging of the Romane armies. But now fortune was changed, and *Tiridates* a spectacle to the people; how much better then a Captiue? *Corbulo* added to his glory courtesie and feastings: and as the King marked any strange thing, and asked the cause; as the beginnings of the watches brought by the Centurion, the banket ended with a trumpet, the pile of wood before the Augurall altar lighted with a torch: *Corbulo* made him answer, extolling euery thing more then it was, to draw the new Prince into an admiration of the old custome. The last day when he was to take his iourney, he desired time to visit his brothers and mother before his departure, and left his daughter for an hostage in the meane space, and letters of submission to be sent to *Nero*. And departed thence, he found *Pacorus* with the Medes, and *Vologeses* at Ecbatanes, not vnmindefull of his brother: for he had requested of *Corbulo* by speciall messengers, that *Tiridates* might not shew any token of seruitude, or deliuer vp his weapons, or be barred from imbracing the Gouernours of Prouinces, or attend at their dores; but haue the same honour at Rome that the Consuls had. Being accustomed to forren pride, he was vnacquainted with our maners, with whom the Law of rule and dominion beareth sway, vanities being laid a side. The same yeere *Cæsar* honored the Nations of the sea Alpes with the rights and priuiledges of the Latians, and in the Cirque placed the Gentlemen of Rome before the people. For vntill that day they sate indifferently, because the law Roscian had taken no order but for fourteene orders. A shew of Fencers was represented that yeere with like magnificence as others before: but many Noble women and Senatours wiues were discredited in the Theater.

cap. 29. cap. 30. cap. 31. cap. 32.

VIII. Nero *singeth on the stage. The fall of the same stage.* Torquatus Silanus *death.* Nero *attired like a woman weddeth* Pythagoras.

cap. 33. Ann. 812. C. *Lecanius*, and *M. Licinius* being Consuls, *Nero* more and more desired to frequent the stage without any respect: for as yet he had not long but in his house, and gardens in plaies of youth, which now he despised as not frequented, and too meane for such a voice. Yet hee durst not begin at Rome, but chose Naples as a Greecke citie, thinking that that might serue for a commencement to go to Achaia, where hauing obtained the famous, and in times past reputed sacred crowns, and by that meanes grown in credit, he thought he should stir a great desire in the citizens of Rome to heare him. The common rabble flocked together, or such as the fame of those plaies had drawn from the next colonies and towns, and such as followed him either to doe him honor, or sundry other occasions; yea companies of
cap. 34. souldiers filled the Theater of Naples. There hapned as most men thought, a dolefull chance, but yet as he construed it, foretokening good luck, and sent by the fauorable prouidence of the gods. For the people were no sooner gone, and the Theater emptie, but it fell downe without hurt done to any. Therfore with songs composed for the purpose, thanking the gods, and celebrating the fortune of the late chance, going to the Adriatike sea, hee stayed in the meane time at Beneuentum, where, by *Vatinius* was exhibited a notable play of Fencers. *Vatinius* was one of the shameleast monsters of his court; brought vp in a coblers shop, misshapen of bodie, and a scurrile iester: and therefore first employed in that practise; then by pickthanking and informing against the better sort, grew to such authority, that in credit and
cap. 35. wealth, and power of doing hurt, he was worse then the worst. *Nero* then comming to the play he had set forth, no not at their pastime did they abstaine from doing of mischiefe. For the selfe same day *Torquatus Silanus* was constrained to dye, because that besides the nobleneſſe of the *Iulian* familie, hee sayd, that he was in the fourth degree lineally descended from *Augustus* of famous memory. The accusers were commaunded to lay to his charge, that he was prodigall in gifts, and that all his hope lay in the alteration of the state. And that hee had noble men about him which he called his secretaries, maisters of requests, & Auditors, which were names of imperiall dignitie, and deseignments of great attempts. Then the chiefest of his freed men were bound and carried away. And when *Torquatus* condemnation was at hand, hee cut the veines of his armes, and *Nero* as his manner was, made an oration after: that although hee had beene culpable, and worthily distrusted his purgation, yet he should haue had his life granted him, if he would haue expected the
cap. 36. Iudges clemencie. Not long after forsaking Achaia for the present (the causes were vncertaine) he came againe to Rome, hammering greatly with himselfe of going to the prouinces of the East, and especially Ægypt. Then by an edict witnessing his absence should not be long, and that all should go well with the common-wealth, he went to the Capitoll to worship the gods. And as he entered the temple of *Vesta*, taken suddenlie with a shaking ouer all his bodie, either the goddesse of the place terrifying him; or the remembrance of his villanies alwaies accompanying him with
" feare, he changed his determination: affirming, that all cares were nothing to him,
" in regard of the loue of his countrey; that he had seene the sad countenances of the
" citizens, heard their secret complaints, why he should go about so great a iourney,
" whose short and reasonable absence they could not indure; as men wont to bee

comfor-

comforted with the ſight of the Prince againſt all croſſes and aduerſities. Therefore „ as in priuate friendſhips, the neereſt pledges and kindered are moſt deereſt; ſo the „ people of Rome had great power ouer him, and that he muſt obey them, ſeeing they „ kept him from going. Theſe and the like ſpeeches were pleaſing to the people, deſi- „ rous of paſtimes and which was their chiefeſt care fearing want of corne if he ſhould be abſent. The Lords of the Senate and the Nobility knew not whether hee were more cruell far off, or neere: then as the nature of all great feare is, they beleeued that which hapned to be worſt. He to win an opinion that he was no where ſo merry as in the City, made bankets in publicke places, and vſed the whole City as it had beene his owne houſe. Thoſe bankets were moſt ſpoken of for riot and fame, which *Tigellinus* prepared, which I will lay downe as a paterne of all, leaſt the ſame waſtfulneſſe ſhould be often repeated. In *Agrippaes* lake therefore hee built a boat, whereon the banket was drawne with other boates. The boates were beſet with gold and Iuory. The rowers were ſtale Catamites, placed according to their age and skill of vnnaturall vncleanneſſe. He had prepared Fowle, and wilde beaſts out of diuers Countries, and out of the Ocean. On the brinke of the Poole were brothell houſes, filled with Noble women: and ouer againſt them were common ſtrumpets naked, vſing filthy geſtures and behauiour. And when the night was come, all the wood and houſes about rang with ſinging, and ſhined with lightes. *Nero* himſelfe defiled with vnlawfull, and vnnaturall luſts, left no wickedneſſe vndone, becauſe he would be moſt corrupt. And a few daies after, hee was wedded as it had beene ſolemnely to one of that polluted crew, called *Pythagoras*. The Emperour was couered with a yellow vaile. There went before him thoſe which gaue him in mariage, the wedding bed was prepared, and wedding Torches: all was ſeene, which euen the night doth hide in a married woman. cap. 37.

IX. *Diuers parts of Rome burnt by chance, or by the malice of* Nero.

THere followed a great misfortune, but whether by chance, or deuiſe of the Prince, vncertaine: for Authors haue affirmed both: but of all, the greateſt and moſt grieuous that euer chanced to this City, by violence of fire. It began in that part of the Cirque that ioyneth to the hils Palatine and Cælian: then taking in the ware-houſes wherein was marchandiſe, which nouriſhed the fire, increaſing more and more by the blowing of the winde, burnt all the length of the Cirque. Neither were the houſes compaſſed with any defences, or Temples walled, or any thing elſe to ſtay the fury of it. But ſpreading with violence, conſumed firſt the plaine, then riſing to the hils, againe waſting the low places, by ſwiftneſſe of hurt preuented the remedies, the City being ſubiect to it by reaſon of the narrowneſſe of the ſtreetes, turning and winding lanes on euery hand, and vnorderly as it was in old Rome. There withall the lamentations of fearefull women, of aged men, and vnskilfull youth, helping themſelues, and ſuccouring and leading the weake and impotent, or tarrying for them, ſome haſtning, ſome abiding, encombred, and hindered all the reſt: and often whileſt they looked behinde them, the fire had hold on them, either on the ſide, or before them: or if they had eſcaped to the next places, there was all on a light fire likewiſe: yea, thoſe places which were thought far from danger, were found to be in the ſame caſe. In the end, doubtfull what to eſchue, or whither to flee, they filled the ſtreetes, and lay in the fieldes: ſome all their goods loſt, and wanting daily foode; other for loue of ſome which they could not ſaue, caſt themſelues away, although they had eaſie meanes to eſcape. Neither was there cap. 38.

any

any man which durſt to quench it, through the often threatning of many which hindered them: yea ſome openly threw burning fire-brands into it, and cried aloud, that they had a warrant for it, either becauſe they might rob and ſteale more licentiouſly, or becauſe they were ſo commanded. *Nero* being then at Antium, came not to the City vntill the fire was come neere his owne houſe, on that ſide that it ioined with the pallace and *Mæcenas* Orchards. Yet it could not be hindered from burning his houſe and pallace, and all elſe round about. But to giue ſome comfort to the chaſed and fugitiue people, he opened Campus Martius, and the monuments of *Agrippa*, and his owne gardens: and erected buildings in haſte to receiue the needie multitude. Vtenſiles were brought from Hoſtia and other neere townes, and the price of corne brought down vnto * three nummos. All which although done in fauour of the people, yet was not accepted; becauſe a rumor was ſpread, that at the verie time that the citie was on fire, he went to the ſtage in his houſe, and ſang the deſtruction of Troy, comparing preſent calamities with old diſaſters. At laſt, on the ſixt day, the fire ended at the bottom of the Eſquilin hill, by beating downe a huge number of buildings, that the field and as it were the open heauen, might withſtand and encounter the continuall rage. And before the feare was paſt, it began afreſh, but not ſo terrible in open places of the citie, and therefore the hurt of people the leſſe: but the Temples of the gods, and galleries deuoted to pleaſure, were almoſt all ruined. The obloquie of that fire was the greater, becauſe it burſt out to *Tigellinus* houſes of pleaſure, ſometimes belonging to the Aemylians. And it ſeemed that *Nero* ſought the glory of building a new citie, and calling it by his name. For Rome was diuided into fourteene wardes: whereof fower were vntouched; three conſumed to the ground: of the other ſeauen, ſome markes of buildings remained, but rent and halfe burnt. It were no eaſie matter to reckon the number of houſes, and buildings ſtanding by themſelues, called Iles, and Temples which were conſumed: but the ancienteſt in regard of religion, as the Temple which *Seruius Tullius* built in honor of the Moone; and the great altar and Temple which *Arcas Euander* conſecrated to *Hercules*; the Temple of *Iupiter Stator*, vowed by *Romulus*; *Numaes* pallace; and the Temple of *Veſta* with the peculiar gods of the people of Rome, were conſumed and burnt to aſhes. Now wealth gotten in ſo many victories, excellent workes of the Greekes inuentions, then old and perfect monuments of rare wits, which in ſo beautifull a citie, and flouriſhing more and more, with many other notable antiquities, auncient men haue obſerued and ſpoken of, which could not bee recouered. Some there were which noted, that this fire began the fourteenth Kalends of Iulie, on which the Senones burnt the citie after they had taken it. Some were ſo diligent therein, that they counted iuſt ſo many yeeres, and moneths, and daies betweene both the fires.

cap. 39.

cap. 40.

cap. 41.

* Fiue pence ob q.

X. Nero *buildeth a ſumptuous houſe. Order taken for the building of houſes.* Nero *puniſhed the Chriſtians as though they had ſet the citie a fire.*

cap. 42.

YEt *Nero* vſed the deſtruction of his country to his benefit; and built a houſe, in which precious ſtones and gold were not ſo much woondered at (as a thing long vſed, and by ſuperfluous riot common) as for the fields and pooles, in manner of wilderneſſes; on one ſide woods, on the other ſpacious fields, and proſpects. The maſters and contriuers of the worke were *Seuerus* and *Celeris*, men of wit and

and audacity to entetprise that by Arte which nature had denied, and foolishly cast away the Princes wealth. For they had vndertaken to make a nauigable ditch from the lake Auern, vnto the mouth of Tyber along the rough & hard shore, or through the opposite mountaines. Neither is there any other moisture to feede the waters, but the marshes of Pomptina: other places being vneuen craggie grounds, or drie; and if they could be wrought through, it would be an intollerable labour, and no cause why. *Nero* notwithstanding, desirous to bring incredible things to passe, laboured to digge the hils adioyning to Auerne: where remaine the markes of his vaine hope to this day. But the houses which were ruinated were not built without order, heere and there as when the Galli had fired them: but the streetes drawne by measure and proportion, with spatious and large waies; the buildings restrained to a certaine height, and the courts made wide; and galleries added to defend the front of the houses called Iles: which galleries *Nero* promised to builde at his owne charges, and deliuer them to their maisters, the courts and floores made cleane. And gaue rewards according to euery mans degree and wealth: and prefixed a time, within which the housings finished, or Iles, their maisters should receiue them. The marishes of Hostia were appointed to receiue the rubbish: and that the vessels which brought corne vp the riuer Tibris, should be loaden downe with rubbish: and that some part of the buildings themselues, without timber should bee built with stone of Gabi and Albanum, which cannot be damnified with fire. Now, that water intercepted by priuate men to their owne vse from the citie, might more aboundantly flowe in maine publicke places, there were watchmen appointed to ouersee it: and that euery man should haue some prouisions to quench fires: and that euery house should be inuironed with his owne wals, and not common to his neighbour. Which being ordained for the publicke commoditie, brought ornament to the new citie. Yet some were of opinion that the olde fashion of building was more wholesome, because the narrownes of the waies, and hight of the houses, could not so easily be pearced with the heat of the sunne. But now the streetes being open and wide, and vndefended from shadow, they are scorched with greater heat. And these things were prouided by mans counsell. Anon after, purging sacrifices were sought for of the gods, and the Sibyls bookes perused; by aduertisement of which, praiers were offered to *Vulcane* and *Ceres*, and *Proserpina*; and *Iuno* made fauourable by the matrons, first in the Capitoll, then at the next sea. From which hauing drawn water, the Temple and the image of the goddesse was sprinkled, and the married wiues prepared banqueting beds, and watcht in the Temple in honour of the same goddesse. But the infamie was not wiped away, neither by mans helpe, nor largesse of the Prince, or pacifying of the gods; but that it was thought the fire came by commandement. Therefore to extinguish the rumour, *Nero* falsly accused and punished most grieuously certaine people, hated for their wickednes *, which the common sort called Christians. The author of that name was Christ, who in *Tiberius* raigne was put to death vnder *Pontius Pilat*, Procurator of Iudæa. And their dangerous superstition suppressed for the time burst foorth againe: not onely thorough Iudæa where it first began, but in the citie also: whether all wicked and shamefull things runne from all parts, and are solemnised and esteemed. First they were apprehended which confessed that religion; then by their derection, an infinite multitude were conuicted, not so much for setting the towne on fire, as for the hate of all men against them. Such as were condemned, were skorned and mocked, and couered in wilde beasts skins, and torne in peeces with dogs, or fastened on crosses; or burnt in fire: and when the day failed, they were burnt in the night to giue light.

cap. 43.

cap. 44.

* The author being no Christian, calleth Christian religion *Maleficium*.

Nero

Nero had made the prospect of his gardens fit for that spectacle, and caused shewes to be set foorth in the Cirque,& himselfe either apparelled like a wagoner, shuffled among the people, or ranne the race with them. Whereupon pittie was taken on those persons,though guilty and deseruingexemplarie punishment; seeing they suffered not for any publicke good,but to satisfie one mans cruelty onely.

XI. Nero *raketh money on all hands, and robbeth the Temples. Prodigious sights, and their meaning.*

cap. 45 IN the meane time Italy was wasted by contributions and borrowing of money; the Prouinces ruined;and the confederates of the people of Rome empouerished and the cities which were called free.Yea the gods themselues were not priuileged from being made a pray: but the temples in the city were robbed,and the gold carried away,which the people of Rome in al ages,either in triumphes or vowes, in prosperity or feare, had dedicated to the gods. Yea in Achaia and Asia, not onely gifts,but the images of the gods were taken away, *Acratus*, and *Secundus Carinates* being sent thither of purpose. The one a freed man ready to all villanies: the other exercised in the Greekish learning,in words onely, but his minde not seasoned with any good artes. It was reported that *Seneca*, because he would shake from himselfe the infamie of sacriledge,desired licence to depart to some countrey house a far off: which not being granted,he fained himselfe sick of the gout and kept his chamber. Some haue giuen out that poison was prepared him at *Neroes* commandement,by a freed man of his own,called *Cleonicus*,and auoided by *Seneca*, as forewarned by the freed man,or by his owne fear,sustained his life with a simple diet, Crabbes, and if cap. 46 he were a thirst with running water. About the same time the Fencers at Preneste offering to make an escape, were hindered by a guarde of souldiers which watched them;the people both fearful and desirous of nouelties,& now muttering and whispering of *Spartacus*, and calling to minde the hurts which happened in times past. Not long after newes came of a great misfortune by sea; not by warre (for a more firme peace was seldome seene) but *Nero* had commaunded the nauy to returne by a certaine day to Campania, not excepting the hazards of the sea. The Pilots therefore although the sea were rough put from Formium; and the Southwest winde blowing strongly, whilest they stroue to winne the Promontory of Misenum, they dasht against the Cumanian shores, and lost almost all the gallies, and many other cap. 47 smaller vessels. In the end of the yeere prodigious woonders were noised as messengers of imminent misfortunes. Great and often flashes of lightnings, and a blazing starre alwaies purged by *Nero* with the blood of noble men. Monsters of men and beasts borne with two heads and cast into the streetes, or found in the sacrifices when the custome is to slaie them when they be great with yoong. And in the territory of Placentia neere the way a calfe was brought foorth with a head in the leg. The Soothsaiers interpretation of it was, that the Empire was to haue another head but neither strong nor hidden,because stifeled in the panch, and brought foorth by the way side.

XII. *A conspiracie against* Nero *by* L. Pisoes *friends.*

cap. 48. An. Chr. 813 AFter that *Silius Nerua*, and *Atticus Vestinus* entered the Consulship, a conspiracie was begun, and growen strong against *Nero*: vnto which Senators, gentlemen, souldiers, and women gaue their names auie,as well for the hatred

tred they bare *Nero*, as good wil to *L. Piso*. He was descended from the Calphurnians and of great nobilitie by his fathers side; in high reputation with the people for his vertue, or apparances like vnto vertue: his eloquence he had imployed in defence of the citizens: vsed liberalitie towards his friends; and to strangers courtesie and affabilitie. He had also the gifts of fortune: was of a tall stature, and comely countenance; but grauity in behauior he was farre from, or moderation in pleasures. Hee gaue himselfe to courtesie, bountie, and sometimes to dissolutenes: which many allowed of, thinking it not necessarie, that in so great sweetnes of vices, he, who was destined to highest rule, should be streight-laced, or ouer seuere. The beginning of the conspiracie proceeded not from his own desire: yet can I not easily tell, who was the first author, or at whose instigation that was begun, which so many enterprised. The forwardest to haue bin *Subrius Flauius*, Tribune of the Pretorian cohort, & *Sulpitius Asprus*, a Centurion, the constancie of their end doth shew. And *Lucanus Annæus*, and *Plautius Lateranus*, Consull elect, came with deadly hatred against him. Peculiar causes enflamed *Lucan*, because *Nero* suppressed the fame of his verses, and had forbidden him to publish them, vainely comparing his own vnto them. *Lateranus* Consull elect, no iniurie, but loue of the common-wealth associated vnto them. But *Flauius Sceuinus*, & *Afranius Quinctianus*, both Senators, vndertooke the action, contrary to the opinion which was had of them. For *Sceuinus* bare a lasciuious mind, & therefore led a lazie & drowsie life: *Quinctianus* infamous of his bodie, and defamed by *Nero*, by reprochfull verses, sought to reuenge his iniurie. Therefore discoursing among themselues, or with their friends, of the Princes wickednes; that the Empire drew to an end; and that choise was to be made of one to support the afflicted state, associated vnto them *Tullius Senecio*, *Ceruarius Proculus*, *Vulcatius Araricus*, *Iulius Tugurinus*, *Munatius Gratus*, *Antonius Natalis*, *Martius Festus*, gentlemen of Rome: among which *Senecio* hauing been of *Neroes* inward familiaritie, and then retaining a shadow of friendship, was perplexed with the imagination of many dangers. *Natalis* was a partaker of all *Pisoes* secrets. The rest hoped after a change. Besides *Subrius* and *Sulpitius*, whom I haue spoken of for greater strength, there were drawne in *Granius Siluanus*, and *Statius Proximus*, Tribunes of the Pretorian cohorts, *Maximus Scaurus*, and *Venetus Paullus* Centurions. But for chiefest strength, they relied on *Fenius Rufus*, captaine of the gard, who being for life and reputation worthie praise: *Tigellinus* through his crueltie and vncleane life, surpassed in credit and fauour with the Prince, and charging him with many false accusations, brought *Cæsar* oft into a feare, as if he had plaied the adulterer with *Agrippina*, and therefore for loue of her, carefully plotting a reuenge. Therefore when the conspirators were fully assured by his owne often speeches, that the captaine of the gard was one of their faction, they were now more ready to consult of the time and place of the murder. It is reported that *Subrius Flauius* had a sudden motion to set vpon *Nero* singing on the stage, or running hither and thither in the night vngarded, his house being on fire: on the one side the opportunitie of finding him alone; on the other, the company of people, witnes of so worthy an exploit pricked forward his most valiant courage, if the desire of escaping (an enimie to all great attempts) had not kept him backe. In the meane time, betweene hope and feare lingering and deferring, one *Epicaris*, vnknowne by what meanes shee came to the knowledge of the attempt (and before that time careless of all that honest was) began to incense & blame the conspirators: and in the end grieued with their slacknes, being then in Capania, went about to corrupt the chiefe of the nauy which lay then at Misenum, and bind them to consent to the practise with this begin-

cap. 49.

cap. 50.

cap. 51.

beginning. There was in that nauie one *Volusius Proculus*, a coronell of a thousand men, and among others an instrument in murdering *Neroes* mother, and as it was iudged not sufficiently rewarded according to the greatnes of the fact. He acquainted of olde, or newly growne into friendship with this woman, and shewing how much he had deserued of *Nero*, and yet how his labour was lost, complaining much, and declaring a purpose of reuenge, if meanes were offered; put *Epicharis* in hope he might be induced to conspire and draw others with him to the same confederacie. Neither was the help of the sea small, but offered many occasions, because *Nero* tooke great pleasure on the sea at Puteolum and Misenum. Whereupon *Epicharis* added more, and opened all the Emperours villanies: and that the Senate *had prouided, how he should be punished for ouerthrowing the common wealth: that he would only prepare himselfe, bestow all indeuour, draw to his side the valiantest of the souldiers, and assure himselfe of worthy recompense. Neuertheles, shee concealed the names of the conspirators, whereby *Proculus* betraying the matter, tooke no effect, although he had caried all he had heard to *Nero*. For *Epicharis* sent for, and brought face to face before the appeacher, supported by no witnesses, easily confounded him. Neuertheles she was kept in prison, *Nero* suspecting that those
cap. 52 things were not false which were not prooued true. Yet the conspirators, for feare of being betraied, thought it conuenient to change the place of the murder, and execute it at Baias, in a house of *Pisoes*; whether *Cæsar* came oft, as delighted with the pleasantnes of it; and there vsed to bath and to banket without any gard, careless of the greatnes of his estate. But *Piso* refused, pretending it would breed him enuie, if the solemnities of his table, and gods of hospitality should bee distained with the murder of any Prince whatsoeuer. Therefore that it might be better performed in the citie, in that hatefull house built with the spoiles of the citizens, or in publicke place, seeing it is vndertaken for the publick weale. Thus they debated the matter in common, but yet with secret feare, lest *L. Silanus*, a man of great nobilitie, and by *C. Cassius* discipline, vnder whom hee was brought vp to all renowne, should lay hold on the Empire; all which were free from the conspiracy ioining to help him, and such also as would pitie *Nero* as slaine by trechery. Some beleeued, that *Piso* would not meddle with *Vestinus* the Consuls fierce courage, least hee should attempt the bringing in of liberty; or if another Emperour should be chosen ascribe the bestowing of the state to himselfe; for he was not priuie to the conspiracie, although *Nero* to satiate his inueterate hatred layd it to his charge, though
cap. 53 guiltles. At last, they resolued to accomplish their deseignment on that day that the Circensian plaies were represented in honour of *Ceres*; because *Cæsar* shewing himselfe then little abroad, or shut vp in his house or gardens, came to the plaies at the Cirque; and therefore might easlier be come vnto, because he tooke delight in the pastime.

XIII. *The order of the conspiracie. How it was discouered.* Epicharis *constancie: and cowardlines of some of the conspirators.*

THey concluded the order of their conspiracie to be, that *Lateranus* vnder colour of making request for some aide of maintenance of his estate, should fall at the Princes knees; and being of a stout courage, and great stature ouerthrow him vnawares, and keepe him downe. Then as hee lay along and hindered from rising, that the Tribunes and Centurions according to each mans boldnes should run

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in and murder him; *Sceuinus* requesting to be first, who had taken a rapier out of the Temple of Health in Etruria; or, as others report of Fortune, in Ferentanum; & carried about him as some sacred thing to doe some notable act. *Piso* in the meane time should stay in *Ceres* Temple, from whence the Captaine *Fenius* and the rest should carrie him to the campe; and *Antonia*, *Claudius Cæsars* daughter followed him, to winne the peoples fauour, as *C. Plinius* doth report. Our meaning was not to conceale this, howsoeuer it hath beene left vs; although it should seeme absurd and friuolous (vnlesse the desire of dominion surpasse all other passions and affections) that *Antonia* should lend her name, or endanger her selfe for him, or that *Piso* (the loue towards his wife so well knowen) should binde himselfe in marriage to any other whatsoeuer. But it was strange how all was kept close, among so many of diuers callings, degrees, ages, sexes, rich and poore; vntill the detection beganne in *Sceuinus* house: who the day before the feate should be effected, long conferring with *Antonius Natalis*; then returning home, sealed his testament; hauing drawen the rapier (of which I haue spoken) out of the scabberd; and angry that it was dull with long keeping, commanded it to be sharpned at the point and scoured; giuing the charge of that care to his freed man *Miticus*. Withall hee made a more sumptuous banquet then his custome was: and made some of his bondmen he best liked free; and vnto others gaue money. And he himselfe was sad and easily seene, his head was fraighted with great imaginations, although hee dissembled mirth with impertinent talke. In the ende warned the same *Milichus* to prepare rowles to binde vp wounds, and things necessary to stanche blood; either as one knowing the conspiracie, and vntill then trustie; or ignorant of it, and then first took hold of suspitions, as some haue thought by the consequents. For [when this seruile minde, waighed with himselfe the rewards of his falshood, and represented to his owne imagination huge summes of mony and great authoritie, honesty gaue place; and his masters safety, and the memorie of his receiued liberty. Hee tooke also the counsell of his wife (a womans counsell indeed, and the woorser) which droue him into a further feare, affirming that many freed men and slaues were by, which sawe as much as he: the silence of one auailed nothing; but ones should be the recompence, if he preuented the rest in detecting it. Whereupon as soone as it was daie, *Milichus* goeth to the Seruilian gardens: and being driuen from the doores, said, he brought heinous and great matters to discouer, and thereupon lead by the porters to *Epaphroditus Neroes* freed man; and anon from him to *Nero*, declareth: that there was imminent and dangerous strong conspiracies at hand, and all the rest which he had either heard or coniectured. He sheweth also the weapon prepared to kill him, and commanded the partie accused to be sent for: who drawen by the souldiers, and beginning his purgation, answered: That for the rapier he was accused of, his father in times past made great reckning of it, and therfore he had it in his chamber, and that it was stolne away by the fraud of his freed man. That his testament had beene often sealed by him, not keeping the daies when in memorie. Mony & liberties he had heertofore giuen to his slaues: but then more bountifully, because his estate was decaied, and his creditors being eager on him, he distrusted his testament. Indeed he was alwaies wont to make liberall bankets, and lead a pleasant life, not well liked of seuere and hard Iudges. Hee commanded no medicaments for wounds, but because the rest of his accusations were plainly vaine, he thought good to adde this crime, and make himselfe accuser and witnes. He confirmed his speech with constancie, and rebuked *Milichus* as one not to be admitted to beare witnesse, being a leaud and naughtie person; and that with such a resolution in words and

cap. 54.

cap. 55.

countenance

countenance, that the accusation had come to nothing, if his wife had not put him in minde, that *Antonius Natalis* had had much secret conference with *Sceuinus*,
cap. 56. both of them being most inward familiars of *Piso*. *Natalis* therefore was sent for, and both of them seuerally examined what their speech was, and touching what matter. Then grew a suspicion because their answers agreed not. And being put in to irons, they were not able to endure the sight and threatnings of the torture. Yet *Natalis* as better acquainted with the whole conspiracy, and withall skilfuller in accusing, first confesseth of *Piso*; then added *Annæus Seneca*, either because hee was a messenger betweene him and *Piso*, or because he would purchase *Neroes* fauour: who bearing deadly hatred to *Seneca*, practised all inuentions to bring him to destruction. *Natalis* confession knowen, *Sceuinus* with the like imbecillitie, or beleeuing that all had beene discouered, and that no profit could rise by keeping counsel, appeached the rest. Among which *Lucanus*, and *Quinctianus*, and *Senecio* long denied the matter. And afterward corrupted by promise of impunitie, to excuse their backwardnes, *Lucanus* named *Atilla* his mother; *Quinctianus*, *Glicius Gallus*; *Senecio*,
cap. 57. *Annius Pollio* their chiefest friends. And *Nero* calling to minde in the meane while that *Epicharis* was in indurance through *Volusius Proculus* information; thinking that a womans body was not able to indure much griefe, commandeth her to bee rent with tortures: but her; neither stripes, nor fires, nor the rage of the tortures, which so much the more cruelly racked her lest they should be contemned by a woman, could ouercome: but she denied the crimes obiected, and so the first day of torture was contemned. The next day when she was brought to the same tortures in a bearing-chaire (for her members out of ioynt and broken, she could not put foote to ground) fastning a lace which shee drew from her breast to the bow of the chaire, in maner of a sliding knot, put her necke into it; and waighing downe with the heft of her bodie stopped that little breath she had left. A notable example that a freed woman should defend in such great cruelty of torture strangers, & almost vnknowen to her; when as men, and free-borne, and gentlemen of Rome, and Senators not touched with tortures, detected the deerest of their kindred. For *Lucanus*, *Senecius*, and *Quinctianus*, stucke not indifferently to bewray their confederates; *Nero* grow-
cap. 58. ing more and more fearefull, although he had doubled his guard. Further, he filled the city and the wals with bands of souldiers, & beset both sea and riuer with watch & wards. And to and fro, by the Forum, the houses, the fields, and towns adioyning, footmen and horsemen scoured vp and downe, intermingled with Germans, whom he best trusted, because they were strangers.

XIIII. *Accusations continued.* Piso *would not take armes: his death with* Lateranus *and* Seneca.

AFter that, continuall troupes one after another were drawne to their answere, which lay before the gates of the gardens. And when they had entered in, to defend themselues euery man triumphed ouer the conspirators. If they had spoken together by chance; if met one another on the sudden; if at a shew, or banket they had beene seene together, it was accounted a crime: and besides *Neroes* and *Tigellinus* bloudy interrogatories, *Fenius Rufus* not yet detected, vrged also vehemently: and to winne an opinion that he had not beene consenting to the attempt, was cruell against his confederates. The same *Fenius* held backe *Subrius Flauius* then present, and nodding with the head, whether in the verie hearing of the matter he should draw his sword, and execute the murder; and brake his heart euen then

putting

putting his hand to his weapon. Some there were which seeing the conspiracie detected, whilest *Milichus* was examining, and *Scevinus* doubteth whether he should confesse or not, perswaded *Piso* to goe to the fort of the guard, or goe vp to the Rostra, and sound the affection of the souldiers and people, saying; That if the confederates would ioyne together, the rest which were not priuie would follow them: that the fame of an attempt was a great matter, & could doe much in new enterprises. That *Nero* had made no prouision to withstand him; stout men were daunted with sudden enterprises; much lesse would that stage player, accompanied with *Tigellinus* and his concubines take armes against him. Many things are done by venturing, which to the faint-harted seeme hard. It was a folly to hope for silence and fidelity in so many mindes and bodies of partakers: by torment or reward all things are made easie. And some would come to clap irons on him and put him to a shamefull death. How much more commendable were it for him to dye, embracing the common-wealth, and seeking aid for liberty. Although the souldier should faile him and the people shrinke from him, if it should cost him his life, his death would bee glorious as well to his auncestors, as his posterity? But nothing mooued with these speeches, shewing himselfe little abroad, then keeping within doors, confirmeth his mind against death: vntill a band of souldiers came, which *Nero* had chosen among the yoong souldiers, and such as lately were receiued into seruice; suspecting that the old were made on *Pisoes* side. And cutting his veines, yeelded vp the ghost. His testament was full of filthy flatteries toward *Nero*, through the loue of his wife, whom commendable only for her beauty, & nothing suitable to his calling, he tooke from a friend vnto whom shee was married. Her name was *Arria Galla*; her first husband, *Domitius Silius*: hee by patience, shee by vnchastnes spread abroad *Pisoes* infamie. Next followed the death of *Plautus Lauteranus* Consul elect, and that with such haste, that he suffered him not to imbrace his children, nor haue so much as that short time of choosing his death: but led away to a place where slaues were executed: was killed by the hand of *Statius* the tribune: full of constant silence neuer once reproching the guilt of the same fact to the Tribune. Then followed the death of *Annæus Seneca* most ioyful to the Prince: not because he had found him manifestly priuie to the conspiracy, but because he would shew cruelty with the sword, seeing poyson tooke no effect. Onely *Natalis* thus farre did vtter, that hee was sent to *Seneca* being sicke to visit him and complain, why he barred *Piso* from hauing accesse to him: and that it would bee better to entertaine their friendship by familiar conuersation. And *Seneca* to haue answered, that their interchange of speech and often communication was profitable for neither of them; yet that his safety did depend on *Pisoes* welfare. These things *Granius Siluanus* Captaine of the guarde, was commanded to carrie to *Seneca*, and aske him whether he acknowledged *Natalis* speeches, and bring *Senecaes* answere. *Seneca* by chance, or of purpose, returned that day from Campania, and remained in a countrey house foure miles from the citie. Thether came the Tribune the next euening, and besetteth the house with a company of souldiers: then openeth vnto him the Emperors charge as hee sate at meate with *Pompeia Paullina* his wife, and two other friends. *Seneca* answered, that *Natalis* had beene indeed sent to him, and complained in *Pisoes* behalfe that he was forbidden to visit him: and that he excused himselfe with sickenesse, as being desirous of quietnes. Why he should preferre the welfare of a priuate man before his owne safety, he had no cause. Neither was his inclination much giuen to flatterie, as *Nero* best knew; who had oftner tried *Senecaes* liberty of speech, then seruile pleasing. When these speeches were brought back by the Tribune in presence

of *Poppæa*, and *Tigellinus*, who was of the cruell Princes inward counsell, hee asketh whether *Seneca* prepared himselfe any voluntary death? The Tribune affirmed, hee found no signes of feare in him, nor tokens of sadnesse in words or countenance: and therupon he was commanded to go back, & give him warning he should die. *Fabius Rusticus* doth report, that he returned not the same way he came, but turned aside to *Fenius* the captaine: and hauing imparted vnto him *Cæsars* commandement, asked him whether he should obey it or not; who aduised him to do his commandement; which was a cowardlines fatall vnto them all: for *Siluanus* was one of the conspirators, and was now a furtherer of the cruelty, to whose reuenge hee had before consented: yet hee spared both his toong and presence, and sent to *Seneca* one of the
cap. 62. Centurions, to denounce him the last necessity. He nothing amazed, called for his
" testament, and the Centurion denying it, turned to his friends, and said: That seeing
" he was not suffered to requite their merits, hee protested he left them yet one thing
" which of all other hee held most pretious, which was the patterne of his life: of
" which if they were mindfull, they should carry away the fame of good learning, and
" of so constant friendship. Withall, hindereth their teares, now with speech, now more earnestly as it were rebuking them, and calling them backe to constancie, Asking where were the precepts of wisedome? where the resolution so many yeares
" premeditated against imminent dangers? vnto whom was *Neroes* cruelty vnknowne? neither did there remaine any thing to be done after he had murdered his
" mother and his brother, but that hee should adde the death of his bringer vp and
cap. 63. " maister. When he had discourssed this or the like, as it were in generall, he imbraced his wife, and hauing somwhat confirmed her against present feare, praieth & intreateth her to temper her griefe, lament no longer, but in the contemplation of her former life spent in vertue, beare the lack of her husband with honest comforts. Shee on the contrary side assured him, that shee was resolued to dye, and demandeth the hand of the executioner. Then *Seneca* loth to hinder her glory, and deerely louing her, lest hee should leaue her, whom so tenderlie he affectioned, to the iniuries of
" others, sayd: I had taught the comforts of life, but thou hadst rather the glory
" of death. I will not enuie thy example, let there be of this so short a death, an e-
" quall constancie in both; but thy renowne will be farre greater. After which words they both cut the veines of their armes at one time. *Seneca* because his old body, and leane with a slender diet, gaue the bloud slow passage, cut also the veines of his legges, and hams, & being wearied with cruell torments, least he should discourage his wife with his griefe, and himselfe descend to impaciencie, by seeing the torment she indured, perswadeth her to go into another chamber. And in the very last moment, his eloquence not failing him, calling him to dictat his speech, deliuered many things, which published in his owne words, I purpose not to altar or change
cap. 64. with other termes. But *Nero*, hauing no peculiar hatred against *Paullina*, lest the odiousnesse of his crueltie should grow greater, commandeth her death to be hindered. Whereupon her bonde and freedmen at the souldiers commandement, bound her armes, and stopt the bloud. But whether she knew it or not, is vncertain: for (the common people being alwaies ready to speake the worst) there wanted not some which beleeued, that as long as she feared *Nero* to be implacable, she sought to haue the glory of accompanying her husbands death; then a milder hope offered, that she was ouercome with the sweetnes of life, vnto which she added a few yeeres after, with a laudable memory towards her husband: but her face and other parts of her body were growne so pale and wan, that it easily appeared her vitall spirits were much diminished. *Seneca* the meane time perceiuing himselfe to linger

and

and pine away with a long death, intreateth *Statius Annaus* his knowne friend, and expert Physition, to giue him of that poison with which the condemned by publicke iudgement at Athens are put to death, whereof long before he had made prouision: which being brought him he dranke in vaine, the parts of his body already cold and the conduits stopped against the force of poison. In the end he went into a bath of hot water, and sprinkling his slaues next about him, saying, That he offered vp that liquor to *Iupiter* the deliuerer. Then put into the bath, and with the vapour of it hauing yeelded vp the Ghost, was burnt without any funerall solemnity, as hee had commanded in his last will, when very rich and in authority he disposed of his minde. The report was, that *Subrius Flauius*, with the Centurions in secret counsell, yet not without *Senecaes* priuity, had determined, that after *Nero* should haue been slaine by the helpe of *Piso*, *Piso* should also haue beene slaine; and the Empire deliuered *Seneca*, as one iust and vpright, chosen to that high authority only for the excellencies of his vertues: yea, and *Flauius* owne words were pubished to be these. It skilleth not for the shame of the matter, if a Minstrell be remoued, and an actor in a tragedy succeed him: for as *Nero* had sung with the instrument, so *Piso* in tragicall attire. cap. 65.

XV. *Many souldiers punished.* Fenius *death.* Flauius Subrius, *and* Sulpitius Afers *answer to* Nero.

THe conspiracy of the souldiers could be no longer kept close, the deuecters being very eager to bewray *Fenius Rufus*, whom they could not indure should both be of counsell to the plot, and an examiner of others. Therefore vrging and threatning * *Scuinus*, shewing himselfe obstinate, told him that no man knew more then himselfe: and exhorted him, that he would shew himselfe willing to requit so good a Prince. *Fenius* could neither answer this, nor hold his tongue, but entangling himselfe in his owne words, shewed a manifest feare; and the rest, but especially *Ceruarius Proculus* a Gentleman, laboring all they could to conuict him by commandement of the Emperour, *Cassius* a souldier which stood by, and was of exceeding strength of body, laid hold on him, and bound him. Not long after, by their appeaching, *Subrius Flauius* Tribune was ouerthrowne, first alleaging the dissimilitude of his maners and life for his defence, and that he being a man of armes, would neuer in so dangerous an enterprise, associate himselfe with vnarmed effeminate persons: after that farther prest, imbracing the glory of confession, and demanded of *Nero* for what reasons he had proceeded so farre as to forget his oath. I hated thee (quoth he:) neither was there any of the souldiers more faithfull vnto thee then I, whilest thou deseruedst to be loued. I began to hate thee after thou becamest a parricide of thy mother, and wife; a wagoner, a stage-plaier, and a setter of houses a fire. I haue reported his very words, because they were not published as *Senecaes* were: neither was it lesse conuenient to know the vnpolished, but waighty words of this souldier. It is certaine there hapned nothing in all that conspiracy more grieuous to *Neroes* eares: who as ready and prompt to all mischiefes, so vnaccustomed to heare of that he had done. The punishment of *Flauius* was committed to *Veianus Niger*, Tribune. He in the next field commanded a pit to be digged, which *Flauius* finding fault with as not deepe inough, said to the souldiers standing by, This is not according to the order of seruice. And being willed to stretch out his necke stoutly, I would to God (said he) thou wouldest strike so stoutly. Who cap. 66. cap. 67.

quaking very much, when he had scarse cut off his head at two blowes, bragged to
cap. 68. *Nero* of his cruelty, saying, that he was killed with halfe a blow. The next example
" of constancy the Centurion *Sulpitius Asper* did shew; for *Cæsar* asking him why he
" had conspired his death? answered briefely: That so many his villanies could not otherwise be redressed. Then he sustained the punishment commanded. Neither did the rest of the Centurions degenerate in bearing their punishments. But *Fenius Rufus* had not the like courage, but set downe his griefes and lamentations in his testament. *Nero* expected that *Vestinus* the Consull should also be drawen into the action, iudgeing him violent, and an enemy to him: but the conspirators would not communicate their deseignments with him; some by reason of old grudges; but more, because they thought him rash, heady and insociable. Furthermore, *Neroes* hatred against *Vestinus* proceeded of their inward familiarity, the one contemning the Princes knowne cowardlinesse; and the other fearing the fel courage of his friend often iesting at him with bitter skoffes: which when they carry much truth with them, leaue behinde them a biting memory. Besides, there was a fresh cause of malice betweene them, because *Vestinus* had married *Statilia Messallina*, not ignorant
cap. 69 that *Cæsar* kept vnlawfull company with hir. Therefore no crime, no accuser appearing, because hee could put on no shew of accusation, hee fled to his absolute power, and sendeth *Gerelanus* the Tribune with a band of souldiers, and inchargeth him to preuent the Consuls deseignments, seise vpon his house, which was as it were his fortresse: and slew his chosen company of youth, because *Vestinus* had his house looking ouer the market place, and handsome slaues all of one age. He had fulfilled that day all the duties of a Consull, and making a banquet, fearing nothing, or else dissembling his feare, the souldiers entred in; and when word was brought him that he was called by the Tribune, he rose without any delay, had all things prepared him in a trice, shut himselfe vp in his chamber, and had his Physition at hand which cut his veines; and being yet lusty, was caried to a Bath, put in hot water, not once vttering a word, which could argue either griefe, or compassion on himselfe. Those which were at table with him, were in the meane time beset with a guard, and not dismissed till the night was far spent; and then *Nero* imagining and laughing at the feare they were in, as looking for their imminent ruine, said, they had paied enough for the Consuls good cheere.

XVI. Lucanus *and* Quinctianus *death.* Neroes *liberality to the souldiers. Who* Nymphidius *was. The Senators flattery toward* Nero.

cap. 70. After that, he commanded the death of *M. Annæus Lucanus*, who perceiuing as his bloud went out, his feete and hands to wax cold, and his spirits by little and little to forsake the exterior parts of his body: his heart yet strong, and his wit fresh, remembring verses made by himselfe, in which he represented a souldier wounded, and dead with the like kinde of death, rehearsed the verses themselues, which were the last words he spake. After that *Senecio* and *Quinctianus*, not according to their former effeminate life, and the residue of the conspirators, were put
cap. 71 to death, neither speaking nor doing any thing worthy memory. But in the meane time the Citie was filled with funerals, the Capitoll with sacrifices, one hauing his brother, another his sonne put to death, or friend, or neere kindred, gaue thankes to the Gods, deckt his house with Baies, fell downe at the Emperours knees,

and

and wearied his right hand with kisses. And he thinking it to be done for ioy, rewardeth with impunity *Antonius Natalis*, and *Cerularius Proculus* speedy detection: and *Melichus* enriched with recompences, tooke vnto him a name, which in the Greeke signifieth a sauiour. And *Granius Siluanus* the Tribune, although quit, yet slew himselfe. *Statius Proximus* frustrated the pardon which he had receiued of the Emperour by the vanity of his death. After this, *Pompey*, *Cornelius Martialis*, *Flauius Nepos*, and *Statius Domitius*, were depriued of the Tribuneship, not because they hated the Prince, but yet supposed so to doe. *Nouius Priscus*, for the friendship he had with *Seneca*, and *Glitius Gallus*, and *Annius Pollio*, diffamed rather then conuicted, were sent into banishment. *Antonia Flacilla Priscus* wife followed him: *Egnatia Maximilla* did the like with *Gallus*: at the first all their wealth, which was great, left them: then taken away, both which increased their glory. *Rufus Crispinus* was banished also, vnder colour of the conspiracy; but hated of *Nero* because he had beene *Poppeas* husband. *Virginius Rufus* great reputation was cause of his exile: for *Virginius* furthered the studies of youth with eloquence; and *Musonius* with precepts of Philosophy, *Cluuidienus Quietus*, *Iulius Agrippa*, *Blitius Catulinus*, *Petronius Priscus*, *Iulius Altinus*, as it were an Army to make vp a number, were banished to the Iles of the Ægæan sea. But *Cadicia Sceuinus* wife, and *Cesenius Maximus* were banished Italy, knowing by the punishment onely that they were called in question. *Annæus Lucanus* mother *Atilla*, though not acquitted, yet was let goe without punishment. These things done *Nero*, and calling the souldiers together to an Oration, he bestowed by pole vpon euery souldier vnder bands two thousand Nummi *; and Corne without price, which they had before, according to the rate it was sould. Then as though he would declare some exploit done in warre, assembled the Lords of the Senate, and bestowed the ornament of triumph vpon *Petronius Turpilianus* Consull; *Cocceius Nerua*, Prætor elect; *Tigellinus* Captaine of the Guarde: and so extolling *Tigellinus* and *Nerua*, besides their triumphall Images in the Forum, hee placed their Images also in the Pallace. Hee gaue *Nymphidius* also the Ornaments of a Consull, of whom I will speake a little, because now is the first occasion offered: for he also was part of the Romane miseries. He therefore sonne of a Freed-woman, which had abandoned and made common hir comely body to Princes bond and Freed-men, affirmed hee was begotten by *C. Cæsar*, because by some chance hee was tall of personage, and of a stearne grimme countenance: or else *C. Cæsar* being desirous of light-women, had abused his mother also. But *Nero*, the Senatours assembled, and an Oration made among them, published an Edict to the people; and added the informations and confessions of the condemned; because hee was often diffamed in the peoples mouth, as though hee had executed innocent persons for enuy or feare. Neuertheless, those which had a care of knowing the truth, did neither then doubt, but the conspiracy was begun, growne to ripenesse, and set on foote againe; as those which returned to the City after *Neroes* death confessed. But in the Senate, all of them according to each mans griefe abiecting themselues to flattery: *Alienus Clemens* bitterly inueighed against *Iunius Gallio*, amazed with the death of his brother *Seneca*, and intreating for his owne life, calling him enemy and parricide: vntill the whole Senate shewed their dislike therein; lest hee should seeme to abuse publike calamities, and make them occasion of his priuate grudge; or draw the Prince to new crueltie, forgotten, and tempered with clemencie. Then order was taken, that giftes and

cap. 72.

cap. 73.

cap. 74.

 thankes

thankes should be rendered the gods, and peculiar honour done to the Sunne, vnto whom there is an old Temple in the Cirque, in which the enterprise should haue beene accomplished; who disclosed by his diuine power, the secrets of the confederacy: and that the Circensian pastime in honour of *Ceres* should be exhibited with more horse-races; and that the moneth of Aprill should beare the surname of *Nero*: that a Temple should be built to *Salus*, in the place from whence *Sceuinus* had taken the Rapier, which he himselfe had offered vp in the Capitol, and wrote vnder it, *To Iupiter the reuenger*. Which presently was not noted, but after that *Iulius Vindex* had taken armes, it was interpreted as a foretelling and presage of future reuenge. I finde in the commentaries of the Senate, that *Cerealis Anicius* Consull elect, gaue his censure, that a Temple should be built with all speed at the common charge to diuine *Nero*; which he thought conuenient, as though exceeding the highest mortall degree, he had deserued to be worshipped of men: which after was knowen to be a token and foretelling of his end. For the honour of the gods was neuer giuen the Prince vntill he were dead, and gone out this mortall life.

THE SIXTEENTH BOOKE OF THE ANNALS OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. Nero *consumeth much in seeking out a hidden treasure which* Cesellius Bassus *dreamt of. The death of* Bassus. Nero *contendeth on the Stage for the prise of playing on the Harpe.*

AFter that time, Fortune began to delude *Nero* through his owne vanity, taking hold of a promise made by *Cesellius Bassus*: who being an African borne, and busie headed, built an assured hope vpon the shadow of a dreame which he had in the night. And come to Rome, hauing bought accesse to the Prince, declareth that there was a Caue in his ground of a huge depth, wherin was contained great quantity of gold vncoyned and vnwrought in a masse, as in old time it was wont to be hidden. For there lay a wall of very heauy bricks on the one side; and on the other, pillars standing vpright: all which had laine hidden many yeeres to increase the wealth of the present time. And as coniecture doth shewe *Dido* the Phenissian, fleeing from *Tyrus*, after she had built Carthage, hid that treasure there; least the newe people with ouer-great wealth should become wanton and riotous: or the King of the Numidians their olde enemie, for greedines of their gold sometime be incensed to make warre against them. Whereupon *Nero*, not well assured of the credit of the Author, or certaintie of the busines, nor any sent to view and learne whether a truth were reported: of himselfe encreaseth the rumour, and sendeth some to bring away all, as it were a pray already gotten. Galleies and choise vessels were appointed to helpe to hasten the matter: the people hauing no other speech in their mouth, but that treasure; through the credulousnes of the discouerie, though not reporting of it all alike. And it fell out by chaunce that the Quinquennale pastime, which euery fift yeere being represented, was then the second time celebrated: which ministred the orators their chiefest subiect to commend the Prince; saying: That the earth did not now bring forth only the vsuall fruits, nor gold mingled with other mettals; but a new plentie; and that the gods themselues bestowed wealth in all aboundance: and many other things with great eloquence, and no lesse seruile and base flattery they fained; being assured of easie beliefe in the hearer. Riotousnesse in the meane time grew greater by vaine hope; and the old wealth was consumed, as though the other had been offered, prodigally to waste many yeeres. Yea from thence largesses were bestowed: and the expectation of that wealth, was a cause in part of the publicke pouerty. For *Bassus* hauing digged his ground, and large fields round about; auouching boldly this or that to be the promised caue: not onely souldiers followed him; but the countrey people were taken to dig and labour; at length leauing his fortifies, and marueling that his dreames neuer prooued false before, and that he was neuer deceiued vntill then, ridde himselfe of shame and feare by killing himselfe. Some haue reported that he was imprisoned, and set at liberty againe incontinently, his goods first taken to the Princes treasure. In the meane time the Senate, the Quinquennale pastime drawing neere, to shadow his shame, offereth the victory of singing

cap. 1.

cap. 2.

cap. 3.

cap. 4.

and

and withall the crowne of eloquence to colour the reproch of his singing on the Stage. But *Nero*, saying that he needed not the authority and fauour of the Senate in that respect; as able of himselfe to make his party good with his concurrents, and little doubting but that by the vprightnesse of the Iudges he should obtaine his deserued praise; sang first of all a verse on the Stage: then the people instantly craving that he would publish all his studies (for those were their words) he entereth the Theater, and obserueth all the orders of the Harpers: as that being weary, yet he should not sit downe; that he should not wipe off his sweate, but with the garment he wore; that no excrements should be seene at his mouth or nose. And last of all kneeling, and shewing a reuerence to the assembly with his hand, expected the Iudges sentence with a counterfeit feare. And the City-people accustomed also to approoue the gestures of the Plaiers, answered him with a certaine measure and artificiall applause. Thou wouldest haue thought they had reioyced, and perhaps they did, for the iniury of the publicke discredit. But those which from townes far off, retaining as yet the ancient seuerity and custome of Italy; and from remote Prouinces vnacquainted with dissolute behauiour, came either as Ambassadors, or for priuate businesse, could neither indure that sight, nor applaud any way so dishonorable a labour: but aweary with their vnskilfull clapping of hands, and troubling the skilfull, were often beaten by the souldiers, placed in thicke aray, least any moment of time should be lost by an vntuned and disproportionable crie, or slothfull silence. It is certaine that many horsemen which laboured to passe through the crowd and thicke multitudes were troden vnder feete; and others whilest they continued day and night in their places, were striken with deadly sickneſſe. And yet if they should haue beene absent their feare was greater; many openly, and more priuily obseruing the names and countenances, cheerefulnesse and heauinesse of the lookers on. Whereupon punishments were inflicted vpon the poorer sort foorth-with; the hatred against Noblemen dissembled for the time, shewed it selfe within a short space after. And it is reported that *Vespasian* was rebuked by *Phœbus* a Freed-man, as though he had been somwhat drousie with sleepe, and was hardly defended by the intreaty of the better sort: and afterward escaped imminent ruine by a greater chance.

cap. 5.

II. *The death of* Poppæa. *Banishment and death of others.*

cap. 6.

AFter the pastime was ended, *Poppæa* died by a sudden anger of hir husbands striking hir with his foote being with child. Neither do I beleeue that she was poisoned, although some writers do so report, of hatred rather than truth: for he was desirous of children and blinded with the loue of his wife. Hir body was not burnt as the Roman manner was, but embalmed according to the custome of forreine Kings, stuffed with sweet odors, and buried in the tombe of the Iulians. Yet publicke funerals were solemnised, and he himselfe praised hir beauty before the people assembled; that she had beene the mother of a diuine daughter; and other gifts of fortune he commended in steed of vertues. The death of *Poppæa* as in shew sorrowfull; so to the remembrers of hir loose life and cruelty ioyfull; *Nero* made more odious by giuing new matter of hatred, by hindering *C. Cassius* from being present at hir exequies; which was the first token of his ruine, not long deferred. And *Silanus* bare him company for no crime committed, but because *Cassius* for his ancient riches, and grauity of manners, *Silanus* for nobleneſſe of birth and modest youth, were woorthy praise aboue the rest. Hauing therefore sent an Oration to the Senate, declared that they were both to be remooued from the Common-

cap. 7.

wealth.

wealth. And layd to *Cassius* charge, that among the images of his auncestors, hee had done honour also to the image of *C. Cassius*, which had this written vnder it: *To the Captaine of the parts.* For seedes of ciuill warre, and a reuolt from the house of *Cæsars* might haue beene intended by those words. And least he should vse the memorie onely of a hatefull name to ground a quarrell on; he ioyned *L. Silanus* a yoong man of a noble stocke, rash and heady, vnder a pretence and colour of moving newe broiles. Further, he rebuked *Silanus* for the same matters, as before he had done his vncle *Torquatus*, as though he did alreadie dispose of the cares of the Empire, and giue his freed men charge of the accounts, requests and secretaryships: things both vaine and false. For *Silanus* was warie and fearfull, and by the death of his vncle circumspect in his actions. After this hee induced some vnder the name of accusers, which falsly charged *Lepida*, *Cassius* wife, *Silanus* aunt, of incest with her brothers sonne; & with certain execrable rites of sacrifices. There were drawn in as priuy therto, *Vulcatius Tullinus*, and *Marcellus Cornelius*, Senators; and *Calphurnius Fabatus*, a gentleman of Rome: who appealing to the Prince, and disappointing the present condemnation; anon after *Nero* being busied about some great mischiefes were forgotten as men of small reckoning. Then banishment was decreed against *Cassius* and *Silanus* by order of Senate; and that *Cæsar* himselfe should dispose of *Lepida*. *Cassius* was exiled to the Iland Sardinia, * expecting their further order from the Lords of the Senate. *Silanus* conueighed to Hostia, as though he should be carried to Naxus; was after shut vp in a towne of Apulia, called Barium. And there, wiselie bearing his most vnwoorthy aduersitie, a Centurion sent to kill him laying hands on him; perswaded him to cut his veines: who answered, that hee had a mind resolute and ready to dye, but he would not permit an executioner to haue the glory of the seruice. But the Centurion, although seeing him vnarmed, yet strong, and more inclining to anger then feare, commanded his souldiers to dispatch him. Neither did *Silanus* omit to resist, & lay on blows as wel as he wasable with naked hands vntill he fell downe ouermatched with the Centurions wounds on his face as it had beene in a skirmish. With no lesse courage died *L. Vetus*, and *Sexta* his mother in law, and his daughter *Pollutia*: hatefull to the Prince, as though by liuing, they should vpbraid him with the murder of *Rubellius Plautus*, *L. Vetus* sonne in law. But the first discouerer of his cruelty towards them, was one *Fortunatus* a freed man of *Vetus*, who hauing pilfred away his masters goods and fearing an enquirie, began to accuse him, associating *Claudius Demianus* with him, who emprisoned by *Vetus* Proconsull of Asia for his misdeeds, *Nero* deliuered in recompence of the accusation. Which being vnderstood by the partie accused, and that there was no difference made betwixt him and his freed man, he departeth to Formianum, where a secret guarde of souldiers watched him. His daughter was with him, who besides the imminent danger, through long griefe, fell, and cruell, as soon as she had seen the murderers of her husband *Plautus*, grew to further extremitie: and hauing cast her selfe about his necke embrued with blood, kept still the blood, and her apparell besprinkled with it, remaining a widow, drownd in continuall griefe, vsing no other food, than was necessary to keepe off death. Then her Father exhorting her, she goeth to Naples. And, because she was kept from the speech of *Nero*, lying in waite for his going abroad, she crying alowd that it would please him to heare the innocent, and not commit one who had beene his companion in the Consulship to the disposition of a freed man, sometime with a womanish lamentation, sometimes going beyond her sexe, with angrie and bitter termes: vntill the Prince shewed himselfe inflexible, and no way mooued, either with praiers or hatred hee might incurre. And

cap. 8.

cap. 9.

cap. 10

cap. 11

warneth

warneth her farther to cast away hope, and resolue himselfe to the present necessity. Withall newes came, that the matter should be heard before the Lords of the Senate, and a cruell sentence intended. Thereupon some aduised him to pronounce *Cæsar* his heire for the most part of his goods, and so helpe his nephewes with the rest; which he refused, least hee should dishonour with this last seruile acte his life past almost in libertie: and gaue all his money among his bondmen, and if any thing could be carried away, that euerie one might serue himselfe; three beds onely reserued for his funerall obsequies. Then in the same chamber, with the same knife they cut their veines, and with speed each one couered with a simple garment, for modestie sake, they were put into bathes. The father looking on the daughter, the grandmother on her neece, she on both, praying a-uie for a speedy end to leaue the others aliue, though to follow incontinently after. And fortune herein kept the order, the eldest, dying first, then the next in age. And being accused after their buriall, and ordayned they should bee punished according to the auncient manner: *Nero* was against it, suffering them to make choice of their manner of death, for such kinde of scoffes were vsed after the murders committed. cap. 12. *P. Gallus* a gentleman of Rome, because he was inward with *Fenius*, & not an enemy to *Vetus*, was banished: the freed man and accuser rewarded for his paines, and a place giuen him in the Theater among the beadles of the Tribunes. And the month of May which followed Aprill, and called *Nero*, was changed into the name of *Claudius*, and Iuly into *Germanicus*: and *Cornelius Ofitus*, whose censure that was, said that therefore the month of Iune was past ouer, because two of the *Torquatus* already executed for their misdemeanors had made the name of Iune vnluckie. cap. 13. A yeere continued with so many lewde actions, the gods haue marked and made notorious by tempests and diseases. Campania was destroyed with boysterous stormes of winds, which did euery where beat downe houses, woods, and graine, and brought the violence of it to places adioyning to the citie. Where the rage of the pestilence spared none, although there was no manifest shew of corruption of the aire to be seene. Yet the houses were filled with dead bodies, and the waies with funerals; no sexe, no age, free from danger; as well bond, as free borne indifferently perished: amidst the lamentations of their wiues and children; who whilest they sat by them and bewailed, were often burnt in the same funerall fire. The death of gentlemen and Senators although indifferent with others, Iesse lamented, as though they had by a common mortality preuented the Princes cruelty. The same yeere they mustered in Gallia Narbonensis, Affricke, and Asia, to supplie the legions of Illyria, which worne out either with yeeres or sickenes were freed from their oath. The Prince relieued the calamitie of Lugdunum with * fortie hundred thousand sesterces to recouer the losses of their cities: which summe of money the Lugdunenses had before bestowed in troubled times.

* About 3125 pound.

III. *The death of certaine noble men, for desire of their wealth or other iealousies.*

cap. 14. An. 814. C. *Suetonius*, and *L. Telesinus* beeing Consuls, *Antistius Sosianus* banished, as I haue sayd before, for making slanderous verses against *Nero*, vnderstanding that pickthankes were so honored, and the Prince so forward to murders, busie minded, and not slow in taking hold of occasions, insinuateth himselfe through conformitie of fortune, into the fauour of *Pammenes* a banished man of the same place; and for his skill in the Chaldean arte, supported by the friendship of

of many. This *Antistius* supposing that messages and consultations came not to him in vaine, vnderstandeth withall that he had mony yeerely supplied him by *P. Anteius*. Neither was he ignorant that *Anteius* through the loue he bare to *Agrippina* was hatefull to *Nero*; that his wealth, as it had beene of others, might be a motiue to procure his destruction. Whereupon hauing intercepted *Anteius* letters, and stolne his writings wherein the day of his natiuity and things to come, were hidden among Pammenes secrets, and withall found those things which had beene composed of the birth and life of *Ostorius Scapula*: writeth to the Prince, that he would bring him great newes touching his owne safety, if he might obtaine a short intermission of his banishment: for *Anteius* and *Ostorius* watch for opportunity to lay hold on the soueraignty, and searched out their owne and *Cæsars* destinies. Thereupon swift vessels were sent and *Sostianus* brought with all speed. And his accusation diuulged, *Anteius* and *Ostorius* were reckoned rather among the condemned then accused; in so much that no man would haue sealed *Anteius* Testament, if *Tigellinus* had not beene their warrant. *Anteius* was first admonished not to delay the making of his Testament: but he hauing drunken poison, weary of the slow working of it, by cutting his veines hastened his death. *Ostorius* at that time was far off in the con- cap. 15.
fines of Liguria, whither a Centurion was sent to make him away with all speed. The cause of the haste proceeded of that, that *Ostorius* being for matter of war of good reckoning, and deserued in Britanny a ciuicall crowne, of a mighty strength of body and skilfull in armes, droue *Nero* into a feare least he should assaile him; alwaies timorous and fearefull, but then more then euer, through the conspiracy lately detected. The Centurion therefore when he had beset all escaping places, openeth to *Ostorius* the Emperours commandement. He conuerted against himselfe his courage often tried against the enimy. And because his veines when they were opened, yeelded but little blood, vsing the hand of his slaue onely to take out a Rapire and hold it stedfast: he drew his right hand to him and ran himselfe thorow the necke. If cap. 16.
I should haue written of forren wars, and deaths sustained for the Common-wealth; with diuers other accidents and chances: yet I should not only haue seemed tedious to my selfe; but to others also: abhorring the deaths of Citizens, being dolefull and continuall, although honorable. But now a seruile patience and so much bloud lost at home, doth trouble my minde and oppresse it with griefe. Neither doe I require any other defence or excuse of those who shall know these things, but that they hate them not, for dying so cowardly. That was certainly the anger of the gods against the Roman State, which ought not so easily be run ouer with once writing, as in the ouerthrow of Armies, or taking of Townes. Let this prerogatiue be giuen the posterity of worthy personages, that as how they are distinguished from the confuse multitude in the solemnity of their funerals: so in the deliuery of their last ends, that they may receiue and haue a proper and peculiar memory. For within a few cap. 17.
daies by the same violent course, *Annæus Mella*, *Cerialis Anicius*, *Rufus Crispinus*, and *C. Petronius* perished. *Mella* and *Crispinus* were Gentlemen of Rome, and equall in dignity with Senators. *Crispinus* once Captaine of the Guard, and honored with Consulary ornaments, and of late through the conspiracy, exiled into Sardinia, hauing receiued tyding she should die; slew himselfe. *Mella* borne of the same parents as *Gallius* and *Seneca*, forbare purchasing of dignities, by a preposterous ambition, to the end that a Roman Gentleman might be equalled in authority to the Consuls. Withall he thought it a shorter course of getting wealth, to mannage the affaires of the prince in quality of a Procurator. The same *Mella* was *Annæus Lucanus* father, which was a great credit to him: but after his death, seeking out too narrow-

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ly his goods, stirred vp an accuser against him, one *Fabius Romanus*, one of *Lucans* familiar friends: which falsly fathered vpon him and the father, the priuity of the conspiracy, by counterfeiting of *Lucans* letters: which *Nero* hauing perused; commanded to be caried him, gaping after his wealth. But *Mella*, which was then the readiest way to death, loosed his vaines, hauing bestowed in his testament a huge summe of mony vpon *Tigelinus* and on his son in law *Cossutianus Capito*, that the rest
" might stand good. He added to his will as it were a complaint of the iniustice of his
" death: That he died for no causes deseruing punishment: but *Rufus Crispinus* and *Anicius Cerealis* enioyed their life, being the Princes enemies. Which words were thought to haue beene forged of *Crispinus* because he was already slaine; of *Cerealis*, because he should be slaine. Who not long after killed himselfe, lesse pitied then the rest: as bearing in minde that he had discouered a conspiracy to *C. Cæsar*.

IIII. *The constant death of* C. Petronius, *and what life he led.*

cap. 18. OF *C. Petronius*, a few things aboue recited are heere againe to be repeated. He passed the day in sleepe, and the night in delightfull sports, or other affaires of life. And as others, industry; so this man, slouth had raised to fame: a riotous and wastfull spender he was, not accompted like many, which run through all, but vsing riot to his credit. And his words and deedes how much the freer, and shewing a certaine carelesnesse; so much the more gratefully receiued, as sauoring somewhat of simplicity. Notwithstanding being Proconsull of Bithynia, and anon after Consull, he shewed himselfe quicke and stout, and able to wade thorow great matters. Then falling againe to his vices, or else shew of vices, was receiued esteeming nothing pleasant or delightfull, vnlesse *Petronius*, had approued it. Thereupon grew *Tigillinus* malice against him, as against a concurrent, or one more skilfull in pleasures then himselfe, whetting *Neroes* cruelty (vnto which all other lusts gaue place) against him: obiecting the friendship he had with *Sceuinus*, corrupting a slaue to be his accuser: taking from him all meanes of defence, and the
cap. 19. greatest part of his family drawne into prison. By chance about that time *Cæsar* went to Campania, and *Petronius* gone as farre as Cumas, was there staied; and not able any longer to indure the lingering betweene hope, or feare, yet did not rashly kill himselfe, but cutting his vaines, and binding them vp as pleased him, opened them againe, and talked with his friends, though not of any serions matter, or worthy to purchase the glory of constancy: but gaue eare to those which discoursed with him, yet nothing of the immortality of the soule, or opinions of wise men, but of light verses, and easie songs. On some of his slaues he bestowed gifts, and on some stripes. Hee went sometimes abroade, and gaue himselfe to sleepe, that although his death was constrained, yet it should be like a casuall death. Neither in his Testament (as most men were wont to doe) did hee flatter *Nero* or *Tigellinus* or any other fauorite, but wrote downe the vncleane life of the Prince, vnder fained names of stale catamites abused against nature and of women, with the strangenesse of the abuse of either of them; and sealed vp, sent it to *Nero*, and brake his seale, least after
cap. 20. ward it might serue to breed danger to others. And *Nero* doubting how the inuention of his night pleasures should come to light, *Silia* by being the wife of a Senator not vnknowen, and abused in all his licentious lusts, and very familiar with *Petronius*, came to his minde, whom he thrust into banishment, as not hauing kept secret

cret those things she had seene and suffered: mooued therto by his owne particular hatred rather then iust occasion. He deliuered *Numicius Thermus* once Pretor, to *Tigellinus* priuie hatred, because *Thermus* freed man had laid some criminall matter to *Tigellinus* charge, which he should pay for by torment of torture, and his master by vndeserued death.

V. Neroes *hatred against* Thraseas Pætus, and Bareas Soranus.

SO many woorthie men being murdered, in the end *Nero* coueted to destroy vertue it selfe, by killing *Bareas Soranus*, and *Thraseas Paetus*, of old enemie to both; and new occasions rising against *Thraseas*, because he went out of the Senate, as I haue alreadie said, when *Agrippinaes* cause was debated; & because that in the pastime of youth called Iuuenales, he shewed not so acceptable indeuor as was expected: which grudge pierced the deeplier, because the same *Thraseas* at Padua where he was born in the Cestian plaies instituted by *Antenor* the Troian, sang in tragical attire. The day also that *Antistius* the Pretor was cõdemned for outrages against *Nero*, he gaue a milder sentence, & obtained it: and when the honor of the goddes was ordained for *Poppaea*, absent of set purpose, was not at the conuoy of the funerall. Which things *Capito Cossutianus* did not suffer to be forgotten, besides his ouer-readie inclination to naughtines, enemie to *Thraseas*, because that by his authoritie, countenancing the deputies of Cilicia, he lost his cause, when they pursued *Capito* for vsing iniustice and extortion in his office. He obiected farther: That cap. 22. „ in the beginning of the yeere *Thraseas* did auoid the oath; was not present with the „ rest at the offering vp of vowes, although he were one of the fifteene Priests, yet he „ neuer offered sacrifice for the health of the Prince, or heauenly voice; that hereto- „ fore he hath beene often present, and diligent, shewing himselfe a fauorer or an ad- „ uersarie to the ordinarie consultations of the Lords of the Senate, but hath not „ once entered the Curia this three yeeres: and very lately when euery man ran who „ first might, to punish *Silanus* and *Vetus*, he attended rather on his clients priuate bu- „ sines: that was now a reuolting, and a faction, and if many durst do the like, it would „ breed to a warre. As in times past (said he) the citie desirous of garboile, spake of „ *C. Caesar*, and *M. Cato*; so now of thee ô *Nero* and *Thraseas*, and hath his adherents or „ rather followers, which imitating, though not his obstinacie of opinions, yet his be- „ hauior and countenance, seuere and sterne, doe cast thy lasciuiousnes in thy teeth „ This man onely is careless of thy health, no way procuring thy honor, he little re- „ gardeth the Princes prosprous succeesses. What, is he not filled with thy griefes, „ and sorowes? It proceedeth from the selfe same minde not to beleeue *Poppaea* to be „ a goddesse, and not sweare to obserue the ordinances of *Augustus* and *Iulius* of fa- „ mous memorie. He despiseth holy things, abrogateth lawes. The diurnals of the „ people of Rome are curiously read in the prouinces and campe, that it might be „ knowen what *Thraseas* hath not done. Either let vs condiscend to his ordinances „ if they be better; or let the captaine and author be taken away from desires of no- „ uelties. This sect brought foorth the Tuberones & Fauonians, vnpleasing names to „ the ancient common wealth. That they may ouerthrow the state, they pretend „ liberty: but if they should ouerthrow it, they will giue an assault to ouerthrow liber- „ tie likewise. In vaine thou hast extinguished *Cassius*, if thou wilt suffer the followers „ of *Brutus* to grow and take head. In fine, write thou nothing of *Thraseas*; leaue vs „ the Senate arbitrator of the cause. *Nero* extolleth *Cossutianus* stoutnes, whet on „ with

with choler, & ioyneth with him *Marcellus Eprius*, of a quick and liuely eloquence.
Cap. 23 As for *Barea Soranus*, *Osterius Sabinus*, a Roman gentleman had required he might accuse him for matter committed in the Proconsulship of Asia: in which he augmented the displeasure the Prince bare him for iustice and industrie: and because he had beene very carefull in opening the hauen to the Ephesians; and had left vnpunished the violence of the citie Pergamena, which hindring *Acratus Cæsars* freed man to carrie away their images and pictures. But the fault indeed laid to his charge, was his friendship with *Plautus*, and ambition in alluring the prouince to new hopes. The time chosen to condemne him, was, when *Tiridates* came to take the kingdome of Armenia: that domesticall wickednesse might be obscured and hidden with the rumours of the strangers ariuing; or else that he might shew the
Cap. 24. greatnes of an Emperour by the death of worthy men, as a royall act. Whereupon all the citie being run out to receiue the Prince, and behold the King, *Thrasea* forbidden to go to meete him, lost not courage therefore; but wrot to *Nero*, demaunding his accusations, boldly affirming that he would purge himselfe, if he might haue knowledge of the crimes, and licence to cleere them. These writings *Nero* receiued very greedily, in hope that *Thrasea* being terrified and deiected, would haue written somewhat sounding to the magnificencie and excellency of the Prince, and discredite of his owne reputation: which falling out otherwise, fearing the countenance, and courage, and libertie of the innocent, commaunded the Lords of the Senat to be assembled. Then *Thrasea* consulted with his friends, whether he should
Cap. 25. aduenture his purgation, or let it passe. Those which thought it best he should enter
"into the Senat house, said, they were assured of his constancie, and that he would
"say nothiug but what should augment his glory. Cowardly and timorous men did
"shut themselues in secret places at the time of their death. The people should see
"a man offering himselfe to death; the Senate should heare words more than hu-
"mane, as it were of some diuine power, that *Nero* himselfe might also be moued
"with the miracle: but if his crueltie should continue, certes the memory of an ho-
"norable death should be distinguished with posterity from the cowardlines of such
Cap. 26. "as perished with silence. Contrariwise, such as thought it conuenient to expect
"within dores what might happen, said the same of *Thrasea*; but yet that skoffes and
iniuries were at hand: he should therefore withdraw his eares from checks and re-
"prochfull speeches: not onely *Cossutianus* and *Eprius* are prompt to naughtinesse:
"some there are which peraduenture would let their hand walke and strike, through
"the crueltie * of *Augustus*: yea the good do the like for feare. That he would rather
"deliuer the Senat whom he had alwaies honored, of the infamie of so great a villa-
"nie: and leaue it doubtfull, what, hauing seene *Thrasea*, the Lords of the Senate
"would determine. That *Nero* should be ashamed of his wickednes, was to trouble
"himselfe with a vaine hope: and that it was much more to be feared, least he should
"grow cruell against his wife, his family, and the rest of his children. Therefore that
"vndefiled and vncorrupted, whose steps and studies he had imitated in his life,
"theirs also he should follow in the honour of his death. There was present at this
consultation *Rusticus Arulenus*, Tribune of the people, a hot yong man, who for
desire of praise, offered to oppose himselfe to the decree of Senate. *Thrasea* coold
"his courage: Lest he should begin a vaine enterprise vnprofitable to the criminall,
"and dangerous to the opposer. As for himselfe he had ended his yeeres, and that he
"ought not forsake the maner of his life so many yeeres continued: but he entred
"now into offices, and was in his choise to accept or refuse such as are behind. That
"he should waigh wel and ponder with himselfe what course of gouerning he should

enter

enter into, of taking charge in the common-wealth in such a time as this. Whether it were fit for him to come into the Senate, or not, he would haue it rest in his own consideration.

VI. Thraseas *accusation and death.*

THe next day two armed Pretorian cohorts, beset the Temple of *Venus* the mother: the waies to the Senat a companie of gowned-men had filled, not hiding their weapons: and a thicke array of souldiers dispersed in the place of assemblies and Temples; amidst whose lookes and threats the Senators went into the court; where the Princes oration was heard by his Quæstors mouth. None noted by name, he blamed the Senators; That they neglected publike duties, and that by their example the gentlemen of Rome were become lazie. For what marueil was it, if from Prouinces farre off they came not to Rome, when as the most part hauing obtained the Consulship and priestly dignities, gaue themselues rather to passe the time with al pleasures in their gardens? Which the accusers tooke hold of as it were of a weapon. And *Consutianus* leading the daunce, and *Marcellus* with greater vehemencie: Cried that this touched the whole state, that through the disobedience of the inferiours, the lenitie of the commander was made lesser. The Lords of the Senate vntill that day had beene too milde in suffering *Thraſea* to forsake their side, his sonne in law *Heluidius Priscus* in the same madnes; *Paconius Agrippinus*, heire of his fathers hatred against Princes, & *Curtius Montanus* composing detestable verses to scoffe and abuse men without punishment. He found a lacke of a Consull in the Senate, of a priest in vowes, in an oath a citizen: but against the ordinances and ceremonies of our aunceſtors, *Thraſea* had openly put on the person of a traitour and an enemie. Finally, that he should come and play the Senator, and as he was wont, protect the backbiters of the Prince, and giue his censure what he would haue amended or changed: for they could more easily endure one finding fault with all things, then endure his silence now, condemning all things. Doth peace throughout the world displease him, or victories without losse of the armies? That they would not suffer him haue the desire of his ouerthwart ambition, who grieued at the common prosperity, thought the place of assemblies, the Theater, & Temples, solitarie places, and threatned his owne banishment. These things vnto him seemed not decrees, not magistrates: nor this the citie of Rome: that he would abandon, and separate his life from that citie, whose loue in times past, and now whose sight he had cast off. When with these and the like speeches *Marcellus* had inueighed, grim and threaning, in voice, countenance and eies kindled with rage: not that knowen, and by often vse of dangers, vsuall heauines, but a new and a deeper feare seased the Lords of the Senate, beholding the hands and weapons of the souldiers. Besides that, the reuerent representation of *Thraſea* came to their imagination: and some there were which had compassion that *Heluidius* should suffer punishment in regard of harmeles affinitie. What was obiected against *Agrippinus*, but the lamentable fortune of his father? When as he innocent also, was ruined by *Tiberius* crueltie. *Montanus*, a vertuous yoong man was banished, because he made shew of his wit, though not with any diffamatorie verses:

cap. 27. cap. 28. cap. 29.

VII. Soranus *daughters oration in Senate, and his death.*

cap. 30. IN the meane season *Osterius Sabinus*, *Soranus* accuser, commeth in, and beginneth with his friendship had with *Rabellius Plautus*: and that being Proconsull of Asia, he caried himselfe rather as fitting his own nobilitie, then the cõmon good, by entertaining and nourishing sedition among the citizens. These were stale matters, but as if they were fresh he ioined the daughter to the fathers danger, alleaging that she had bestowed money vpon Magicians. So it was indeed, through the loue and affection *Servilia* (so was she called) bare her father, and vndiscretion of age; yet she consulted of nothing but of the safety of their house; or whether *Nerees* wrath would be pacified; or the Senators hearing of the cause, would be to the preiudice of her father. She was called into the Senate, and stood one from the other before the Consuls tribunall; the father very aged, the daughter vnder twentie yeeres, a widow, and desolate, her husband *Annius Pollio* of late banished; and not so much as looking towards her father, whose dangers she imagined she had increased. Then the accuser asking her whether she had sould her dowrie ornaments, and taken her iewell from her neck, to get money to practise magical superstitions? first prostrating her selfe on the ground, with a long silence and weeping, cap. 31. "then imbracing the altars, said: I haue not called vpõ any wicked gods, I haue made "no diuelish inuocatiõs, nor any thing else by my vnhappy praiers, then that this my "very good father, thou ô *Cæsar*, & you lords of the Senat, would saue aliue. So I haue "giuen my iewels, and apparell, and ornaments of my dignity, euen as I would haue "done my bloud and life, if they had demaunded it. Let these men heretofore vnto "me vnknowen, looke what names they carrie, what arts they practise: I made no "mention of the Prince, vnlesse it were among the gods. Yet my most vnfortunate cap. 32. "father knoweth it not: if it be an offence, I alone haue offended. *Soranus* tooke the words out of her mouth as she was yet speaking, and cried, that she went not with him into the prouince: for her age *Plautus* could not know her; she was not confederate with her husbands crimes; she was guilty onely of ouer-great and tender loue: and therefore whatsoeuer should sort to his lot, he besought them that they would separate his cause from hers; withall, hastned to cast himselfe in the armes of his daughter which came to meete him, if the serieants putting themselues betweene them, had not hindered both. By and by the witnesses were heard; and how much pitie the crueltie of the accuser had mooued, so much anger *P. Egnatius* the witnes sturred. This man being a client of *Soranus*, and then hired to oppresse his friend, pretended grauitie of the Stoicall sect, in demeanour and countenance to represent the patterne of honest exercises; but in minde was traiterous, and deceitfull, couering auarice, and a lewd minde: which being discouered, and made knowen by money, hath taught vs to beware of such, as vnder colour of liberall sciences, are false in friendship: no lesse then of those which are notoriously noted for cap. 33. vice, & treacherous dealing. The same day was shewed a notable example by *Cassius Asclepiodotus*, who for wealth, being the chiefest amõg the Bithynians, vsed the same tokens of kindnesse towards *Soranus* in his aduersitie, as before he had done in time of prosperity: for which cause being deprined of all his goods, and cast into banishment, by the iustice of the gods* which lay before vs a president as well of good as of bad. *Thrasea*, *Soranus*, & *Servilia* had their choise giuen them what death they would haue. *Helui dius* and *Paconius* were banished Italie. *Montanus* was granted to his father, with condition that he should beare no charge in the cõmon wealth. To

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the accusers *Eprius* and *Cossutianus*, to ech were giuen * 5. millions of sesterces, to *Ostorius* 12. hundred thousand*, & the ornaments of a Questor. Then toward the e- uening, the Consuls Questor was sent to *Thrasea*, being then in his gardens, visited with a great companie of noblemen and women, very attentiuely hearing the doctor *Demetrius*, one of the Cynicall sect, of whom as it was to be coniectured by his countenance, and heard if they speake any thing loud, hee demanded sundrie questions of the nature of the soule, and of the separation of the spirit from the bodie; vntill *Domitius Cacilianus*, one of his familiarest friends came, and declared what the Lords of the Senate had decreed. Those which were present bewailing and moning *Thrasea* with all speed were exhorted to depart, least their lot should be to partake the dangers of a condemned person, and perswadeth his wife *Arria*, who would haue died with him, to follow the example of her mother *Arria*, to keepe herselfe aliue, and not bereaue their daughter of them both, and of hir only stay and support. From thence he went to his gallerie, where the Questor found him, rather cheerefull than sad, because he had vnderstood that *Heluidius* his sonne in law was onely banished Italie. Then hauing receiued the order of the Senate: he brought *Heluidius* and *Demetrius* into a chamber, and stretching out the veines of both his armes, after he saw the bloud gush out, sprinkling it on the ground, and calling the Questor neerer, said: *Let vs sacrifice to* Iupiter *the deliuerer*. Behold, „ yoong man, yet the gods preserue thee from the like lucke: neuertheless thou art „ borne in those times, in which it is expedient to strengthen thy minde with con- „ stant examples: then the slow going out of the bloud, causing grieuous torments, „ turning to *Demetrius*.*

* About 19062 pound. * About 9375. pound. cap 35. cap 35.

The rest of the Latin is lost.

FINIS.

THE DESCRIPTION OF GERMANIE: AND CVSTOMES OF THE PEOPLE, BY CORNELIVS TACITVS.

cap. 1. ALL Germanie is diuided from the Galli, the Rhætians, and Pannonians, with two riuers, Rhene and Danubius; from the Sarmatians and Dacians by mutuall feare of one the other, or high hils. The reſt the Ocean doth enuiron, compaſſing broad and wide gulphes, and large and ſpatious Ilands; the people and Kings of which hath beene of late diſcouered by warre. The riuer of Rhene hauing his beginning on the top of the inacceſſible, ſteep Rhætian Alpes, and winding ſomewhat towards the Weſt, falleth into the north Ocean. Danubius ſpringing from the top of the hill Abnoba, not ſo ſteepe, paſſing by many nations, falleth by
cap. 2. ſix channels into the Ponticke ſea: the ſeuenth is loſt in the mariſhes. I may thinke that the Germans are home-bred and the naturall people of their countrey, and not mixed with others, cõming from other places; becauſe ſuch as in times paſt ſought new habitations, came by ſea and not by land: and that huge and ſpatious Ocean, and as I may terme it, different from the other, is ſeldome trauelled by our men. For beſides the danger of the rough and vnknowen ſea; who (vnleſſe it were his natiue ſoile) would leaue Aſia, or Affricke, or Italy, and plant himſelfe in Germanie? Being a countrey of it ſelfe rude, and the aire vnpleaſant and rough, to looke on ill-auoured; not manured nor husbanded. They giue it out as a high point in old verſes (which is the onely way they maintaine the memory of things, as their Annales) that the god *Tuiſto*, ſonne of the earth, and his ſonne *Mannus*, were their firſt founders and beginners. To *Mannus* they aſſigne three ſonnes; whoſe names the Ingæuones tooke, a nation neere the Ocean: the Iſtæuoners, and Herminones lying betweene them both. But ſome through a licence which antiquitie doth giue, affigne that the King had moe ſonnes, from which moe nations tooke their names; as the Marſi, Gambriui, Sueui, Vandali, al true and ancient names. As for the name Germanie, it is a new name lately coyned: for thoſe which firſt paſt the riuer of Rhene and droue out the Gallois, were now called Tungri, now Germany: ſo the name of one people, not of the whole nation, growing great by little and little: as they were all at the firſt called for feare, as beſt liked the Conqueror; ſo at laſt, Germans, being a name of their own inuention. And they record that *Hercules*, came amongſt them
cap. 3. of all that euer was the valianteſt perſon. They goe ſinging to the warres. And haue certain verſes, by ſinging of which, calling it Barditus, they incourage their people, and by the ſame ſong foretell the fortune of the future battell: for they both ſtrike a feare into others, and are themſelues ſtriken with feare, according to the meaſure and tune of the battell: ſeeming rather an harmonie of valour than voices; and do affect principally a certaine roughnes of the voice, and a broken confuſe murmur, by putting their targets before their mouthes, to the end their voice by the reuerberation might ſound bigger and fuller. Yea ſome are of opinion, that *Vlyſſes* in his long and fabulous wandring, being brought to this Ocean, came into Germanie,

and

and built the towne Asciburgium vpon the banke of Rhene and inhabited at this day, which he called *Asciburgium*. And that an altar consecrated to *Vlysses* hath been found in the same place, with his fathers name *Laërtes*: and that there are yet monuments extant, and certaine tumbes inscribed with Greeke letters, in the confines of Germanie and Rhætia: which I intend not to confirme by reasons, or confute; and therefore I leaue it to euerie mans iudgement to beleeue or not. For mine owne part I hold with them, which thinke that the people of Germanie, not changed and altered by marrying with other nations, haue continued the true and pure nation like vnto none, but themselues. And therefore you see they haue all one feature and making, though they be infinite in number: firie and gray eyes, yellow haire, great bodies, and strong at a push onely. Trauell and paine they cannot endure: nor yet thirst nor heat; but to hunger and cold the aire and the countrey hath enured them. The soile, although differing some what in kinde, yet generally is wilde with woods, or vnpleasant and ilfauoured with marishes: moister towards Gallia: more windie towards Noricum and Pannony: batful enough; but bad for fruit-bearing-trees; cattle plentie, but for the most part harletry runts: their kine and labouring beast hath no beautie in him: all their ioy is in plentie of them: and therein consisteth their wealth, and the wealth they chiefly desire. Siluer and gold whether the angry or fauorable gods haue denied them, I doubt. Neither will I affirme that there is no veine in Germany which yeeldeth siluer & gold: for who hath sought it? the possession of these mettals or vse, they do not greatly affect. Yet vessels of plate you may see among them presented to their Embassadors and Princes; but as smally accounted of, as if they were of earth: although the borderers for commoditie of trafficke, like gold and siluer well; and do acknowledge and choose some coine, bearing our images. Those which dwell further in the land, go more simple to worke, and according to the old manner, haue no buying and selling, but by exchange of commodities. The older the money, and longest knowne, the better liked, as that which is toothed about like a sawe: or hath the picture of a chariot drawen with two horses. They desire rather siluer than gold: not for any liking vnto it; but because that, being in smaller money, it is easlier put away in buying and selling of smal wares. Yron they haue litle among them, as by their weapons it may be gathered. Few of them vse swords, or great lances: but carrie Iauelings, or as they terme them Frameas, with a narrow and short yron, but so sharpe and handsome, that as occasion serueth, with the same weapon they can fight both at hand, and a farre off: & the horseman is contented with a shield and a framea. The footmen vse weapons, to throw one man a great many, and that a great way off: naked, or couered with a light cassocke. Handsomnes and neatenes in attire they do not brag of, but trim & distinguish their shields onely with varietie of colours. Brigantine or cote of fence few haue. Salet or headpeece scarse any one vseth. Their horses are neither beautifull to the eie, nor swift, nor managed to the carriere according to our fashion; but to go on straight, or turne on the right hand so close and round, that not one drags behinde another. All things well considered, their greatest strength consisteth of footemen: and therefore in their fight they mingle the one with the other; the footemen which are a chosen number out of the youth, and placed before the battell, neither going too hastily before the horsemen, nor drailing after, but marching in proportionable measure with them. There is a certaine number set downe, that is, of euery townesship or borough an hundred, for so they terme themselues: & that which was but a number at the first, is now a name and an honor. Their battels be pointed: to giue ground, so as they charge lustely after, they thinke rather

cap. 4.

cap. 5.

cap. 6.

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a point of good policie then cowardlines. The bodies of their souldiers they carrie away, euen in doubtfull battels: to abandon his shield is the chiefest disgrace and offence: an ignominious person is barred from their sacrifices, and from their assemblies; and many which haue fled from battels, haue for shame hanged themselues.

cap. 7. Their Kings they choose by noblenes of birth, and their Captaines by valour. The Kings power is restrained, and not to do what he listeth; and their Captaines if they be forward in fight, and in the point of the battell, are admired and reuerenced rather for their example, then commanderie. Power to punish, to emprison or beat, none haue but Priests: yet that not as a punishment, or at the Captaines commandement; but as it were by the commandement of God, whom they beleeue doth assist warriors in battels; and carrie before them certaine images, and monuments taken out of the woods. And which is the chiefest encouragement of all, they make not their pointed battel at hap hazard, of all persons as they come; but of their family and friends, and kinsfolke, with their children not farre off; from whence they may heare the howling of their wiues, and crying of their children: which are to all, sacred witnesses of their valour, and best commenders. They goe when they are hurt to their mothers and wiues; which are not afeard to number or sucke their

cap. 8. wounds; and carrie the souldiers meate, and incourage them to stand to it. It is reported that some battels, euen readie as it were to be lost, and discomfited, haue beene by the womens earnest prayers, exposing their bodies to the danger, and by shewing how neere at hand their captiuitie was, recouered again: which in regard of their wiues is a greater griefe and heart-breake vnto them; in so much that those cities are more straightly bound, which amongst other hostages haue deliuered also noble mens daughters: for they dreame that they haue in them I know not what holinesse and foresight of things; which maketh them regard their counsell, and giue credit to their oracle. Vnder *Vespasian* of famous memorie, we haue seene *Velleda* a long time, and with many nations counted as some diuine thing: and in times past did adore *Aurinia*, and many others, not of flatterie, or as though they would haue made them goddesses.

II. *Their religion and policie.*

cap. 9. OF all the gods, they adore especially *Mercurie*; vnto whom they thinke it lawfull certaine daies, to offer men in sacrifice: but *Hercules* and *Mars* they pacifie with beasts, lawfully killed to that vse: and some of the Sueuians sacrifice to *Isis*. What reason they haue to vse that strange sacrifice I know not: vnlesse it be that the image of that goddesse, being fashioned in form of that kind of boat, doth declare that their religion hath beene brought them from a strange countrey. They thinke it a matter ill beseeming the greatnes of the gods, to inclose them within wals, or paint them in mans shape. They consecrate woods and forrests; which secret places they call by the names of gods: which they see only by apprehension and reuerence.

cap. 10. Soothsaying and lots they obserue aboue all others. Their custome in casting of lots is without fraude: for they cut a branch from a fruit-bearing tree, into many peeces; and distinguished with seuerall marks, cast them vpon a white garment, at auenture: then if the matter belong to a communalty, the Priest; if to a priuate person, the master of the house hauing praied the gods, and looking vp to the heauen, taketh vp euerie of them three times: and interpreteth them according to their markes. If the lots fall contrarie to their mindes, they consult no more that daie,

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the ſame matter. But if they doe, yet they will trie what further credit there is in Soothſaying: for they are not ignorant in this countrey of obſeruing the ſinging of birdes and their flying, conſulting with their gods of both. And it is a thing peculiar vnto that countrey to trie the preſages and warnings of horſes; which are bred and maintained in thoſe woods and forreſts, white, vnbacked, or vnlaboured: which harneſſed and put to a ſacred chariot, the Prieſt, King, or Prince of the city do follow; obſeruing their noiſe and neying. Of all preſages this is of greateſt credit with the Prieſts, noblemen, and common people: thinking themſelues miniſters of the gods; and the horſes priuie to their ſecrets. They haue another obſeruation among them, by which they ſearch out the euent of great and weightie battels; which is this. They get ſome one, how they can, of that nation with whom the warre ſhall be; and take another choiſe man of their owne, and arme them, each according to his faſhion; and ſo try their valour: and by that preiudice, coniecture on whoſe ſide the victorie ſhall fall. In ſmall matters, the Princes themſelues determine of them: cap. 11. but if they be of importance, they al in generall conſult: but yet ſo, that thoſe things whoſe determination belong to the people, are concluded before the Prince. And vnleſſe ſome caſuall or ſudden accident fall out, they make their aſſemblies certain daies, either in the firſt quarter or full moone; thinking that to be the luckieſt time to begin their works. The number of daies they reckon not, as we do, but of nights; and in them make their appointments, & ſommonces to appeere, thinking that the day is gouerned by the night. Their libertie is cauſe, that they meet not together, nor as they are commaunded, but ſpend two or three daies in expecting one another. They ſit armed as they come, and the Prieſt, who hath authoritie to puniſh, commandeth ſilence. Then the King or Prince, or euery man according to his age, nobilitie, and renowne of warre, or as he is eloquent, beginneth to ſpeake. Vſing rather perſwaſion then authoritie of commaunding. If their opinion miſlike them, they reiect it with a murmuring noiſe: if it liked, they ſhake their iauelins: but the cap. 12. moſt honorable maner of liking is to approoue it by their weapons. It is lawfull in their counſell to accuſe, and arraigne in criminall cauſes. Puniſhments are diſtinguiſhed by the offence: traitors and fugitiues they hang on trees, the cowardly and vnwarlike, & ſuch as were vnnaturally lewd of their bodies, they did drowne in mud and marriſhes, and couer them with hurdles. The drift of that diuerſitie of puniſhments was; to declare that it was expedient to ſhew offences as they were, in puniſhing, but hide heinous crimes. But in leſſer treſpaſſes, according to the quality of the puniſhments, the parties conuicted, are fined in ſome number of horſes, or other cattell; whereof part goeth to the King, or citie; part to the partie damnified, or to his kindred. In the ſame councels they chooſe rulers, to adminiſter iuſtice in townes and villages: which haue an hundred choſen out of the people, to accompanie them, which are as their counſell, and authoritie. They conſult neither of publike cap. 13. nor priuate affaires but armed: but yet it is not the maner for any to take weapons, vnleſſe he haue beene iudged before by the citie able to vſe them: and then in the councell, either one of the gouernors, or his father, or ſome one of his kindred, doth honor the yoong man with a ſhield and a Framea. This is with them a gowne; this is the firſt honor giuen to yoong men: before reputed a part of their particular houſe, but from thence forward, of the common wealth. High nobilitie, or merit of predeceſſors, maketh their children although they be but yoong, woorthie of dignitie, which aſſociate themſelues to the ſtronger, and long tried: and take it for no diſgrace, to be ſeene among their followers: among which there be likewiſe degrees according to his diſcretion of whoſe traine they be. And there is a great emulation among

among the followers who should be in greatest fauor with his Prince: and amongst the Princes, who should haue the greatest number following him, & most courageous. This is their honor, this is their strength, to be garded alwais with a company of choise youth: which is a credite and reputation, in peace; and in war, a defence. And it is not onely an honour and glory in ones owne nation to haue a gallant number, and a valiant in his traine, but is also a matter of reputation with cities adioyning: as men sought vnto by Ambassadors: and presented with gifts: and do oftentimes
cap. 14. by their onely fame end warres. When they come to ioyne battell, it is a dishonour to the Prince, to be ouercome in valor: and to his followers, not to go as far in prowesse as their Prince. Now to returne aliue from that battell, in which his Prince is slaine, is a perpetuall infamie and reproch: being the principallest part of their oath, to defend and maintaine him, and ascribe their owne exploits to his glory and honour. Princes fight for victory; the followers for the Prince. If the citie wherein they are borne, grow lazie with a long peace, and idlenes; most of the yoong noblemen, goe of their owne will to those nations, wherein there is warres: because that nation disliketh rest and quietnesse: as winning greater renowne in doubtfull and hazardeous attempts; and not able to entertaine so great number of followers, but by violence and warre: sometimes by the liberalitie of their Prince getting that horse of seruice, and bloodie and conquering sword. Their bankets, are large, but rude diet, insteede of pay: but matter to minister liberality commeth by warre and rapine. To manure the ground, or expect the season, thou canst not so easily perswade them; as to prouoke the enemie, and deserue wounds: to get that with the sweat of their browes, which thou maist win by the losse of thy blood, they hold as
cap. 15. an idle & slothfull part. When they are not busied in wars, they giue not themselues much to hunting: but spend more of their time in idlenes, as a people much giuen to sleep and feed. When the valianteste and warlikest are idle, they commit the care of household affaires & tillage, to women & old men, & to the weakest of their family; and do themselues grow heauie and lazie: a strange diuersitie of disposition, that the same men should so much loue sloth, and hate quietnesse. The custome is in cities to bestow by pole vpon the Princes, either of their cattell or graine, which is receiued as an honor, yet supplieth their wants. But aboue all, they are exceeding glad if any thing be presented them by neighbour nations, which doe send sometimes in particular, sometimes in common; as choise horses, great weapons, furniture for horse, and chaines; and now we haue taught them also to receiue money.
cap. 16. It is well knowne that the Germans dwell in no cities, nor will not suffer their houses to ioyne together, but a sunder, the one from the other, as they liked best of their fountaines, fields or wood. They build not their villages as we do, one house close to another: but euery man leaueth a space about his house, either as a remedie against misfortunes of fire, or by vnskilfulnesse in building. Parget and mortar they vse not, nor tiles: and vse to all buildings vnsquared and vnwrought timber, without any beautie or delight, but to daube some places very diligently with such a cleare and shining earth, that it resembleth a picture, or draught of colours. It is a fashion amongst them to dig deepe caues vnder ground, and couer them ouer with dung, as a succour in the winter, and garner for their graine; tempering the rigour of the cold by such places: as if at any time the enemie come vpon them, he forrageth all open places, but hidden vnder ground, are either not found, or else are saued, be-
cap 17. cause they are driuen to seeke them. They all weare a kind of cassocke called *sagum*, claspèd, or for want of one, fastned with a thorne, and hauing no other garment, but naked, lie all day in the harth, or by the fire. The richer sort are distinguished from

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the others by their garments, which are not large and wide as the Sarmates and Parthians vse to weare them, but straite, and shewing the proportion of euery part of the body. Besides, they weare certaine pelts made of beasts skins; those neere the Rhene-bank carelesly; but those which are farther off more curiously, as neuer trimming themselues with far fet merchandise. They make choise of certaine beasts, and heere and there specke their skins with spots: and the like with the skins of beasts taken in the farthest Ocean, or vnknowne sea. The man and womans attire differeth in nothing, sauing that the women often vse linnen garments trimmed and interlaced with purple: and the vpper parts of their bodies without sleeues, their armes bare, and their bosome naked and vncouered. Yet matrimonie is seuerely kept among them: the thing most commendable of all their maner of life: for of all barbarous people, they alone content themselues, euery man with one wife, except some very few: which not for vnruly lust, but for their nobility are sued vnto for sundrie marriages. The wife giues not a dowry to the husband, but the husband to the wife. Their parents and neere kinsmen are present, when they giue any gifts the one to the other: which are not exquisite as to dainty dames, or for to beautifie and trim the new married wife; but oxen, and a horse with furniture, and a shield with a sword, and lance. With these gifts the wife is taken, and she also doth bring her husband some armes: this is the greatest bond: these are the secret ceremonies: these they thinke to be the gods of marriage. And lest the woman should thinke herselfe exempt and free from bonds of vertue, or hazards of warre, in the very beginnings and first speech of marriage, she is put in minde, that she commeth as a companion of his labours and dangers: and that she shall suffer and venture the same in peace and warre that he doth: that is the signification and construction of the oxen yoked, of the horse with bridle and furniture, this the meaning of the weapons and armes giuen on one side and the other: thus she must liue, thus she must die: she receiueth that which she must deliuer vnuiolated and pure to her children, which their daughters in lawe do receiue as worthie things, and yeeld againe to their nephues. cap. 18. They liue therefore in most straite chastitie, vncorrupted with the allurements of shewes and spectacles, or prouocations in banketting. As well men as women are ignorant of the secrets of learning. Adulterie is seldome committed in so populous a nation, and the punishment for it incontinently inflicted, as best liketh the husband: who hauing cut her haire, turneth her naked out of his house in the presence of her kinsfolks, and driueth and beateth her throughout all the towne: no pardon giuen to her that hath violated her chastitie: neither for her beauty, nor age, nor wealth, can she euer after finde another husband. No man laugheth at vices: neither when any is corrupted, or doth corrupt, do they say, it is the time. Yet there is one thing more commendable in those cities, that onely virgins do marry, and that onely once, and the man the like, contracting with the hope and desire of one wife. As they haue but one bodie, one life; so they take but one husband: that they might haue no other thoughts, nor farther desires, nor loue him as so deseruing it, but because of matrimonie. To prescribe a certaine number of children, or kill any of their neere kindred, they count it a hainous crime. Good manners are of greater authoritie and force among them, then elsewhere good lawes. They grow to haue these great lims and bodies which we maruel at, naked, and slouenly in euery house. Euery mother nurseth her owne children with her owne breasts, and send them not to nurses or other women. Thou shalt not know the Lord from the slaue, by any note of deintie and nice education: for they liue amongst the same cattell, and on the same ground, vntill age doth distinguish the free-

cap. 19.

cap. 20.

free-borne, and his valour make him knowne. Yong men gaue not themselues too timely to company with women; and therefore decay not so soone: neither are maides hastened to marrie: they are of the same yeeres, of like growth: they are matched with such as are of like strength; and the children expresse and shew the strength of their parents. Sisters children are as much set by in their vnckles house, as in their fathers. Some are of opinion, that this bond of bloud is the straiteſt and holiest, and most of all required, in taking of hostages: as those which are of a more constant minde, and in the familie the greateſt part: yet euery mans children succeed as heires: and testament they make none at all. If there be no children to succeede, the next in degree are brothers, vnckles by the fathers side and by the mothers. The more kindred, the greater affinity, the more an old man is honored: and
cap. 21. to bee without children, is of no reputation. They must as well become enemy to their fathers enemies or kinsmens, as friend to their friends. Their hatred is not implacable: for mans slaughter it selfe is satisfied and redeemed with a certaine number of beasts, which contenteth the whole familie, and is profitable for the common good: for where liberty is, there priuate enmities are dangerous.

III. *Their domesticall life and behauiour.*

GReater hospitality and entertainment is no where more bountifull then there, being a curſed deed to barre any man his house: and not giue him meate and drinke according to his ability. When all is spent, the last hoste will be a guide and companion vnto him to the next house vninuited: for that skilleth not; but are receiued with like curtesie: in respect of hospitalitie making no difference whether he be of acquaintance or not. If any thing be demanded of him which is going away, the maner is to grant it; and he may with like facilitie aske againe. Gifts are things which pleaſe them well: but those which giue them do not thinke they do you a benefit therin, and those which receiue them not bound or beholden
cap. 22. for them. They entertaine their guests courteously: immediately after they rise (which for the most part is verie late and the day well spent) they wash, and most commonly in warme water, as hauing long winters: and when they haue washed, they fall to eate, euerie man his stoole and his messe to himselfe: then they fall to their businesse; and as oft to banket and make good cheere all armed. To sit a tipling a day and a night is no disgrace to any. There arise many quarrels (as commonly it happeneth where drunkards meete) which seldome end with brawling and injurious termes, but oftner with murder and hurt. In their bankets they consult of peace and warre, make attonements betwixt such as are at debate, make marriages, and chooſe their Princes: as a time when the mind is neuer more open to plaine dealing; or more spurred vp to great attempts. The people being neither craftie nor subtle, through the libertie of the place doth then most discouer the secrets of his breast. Euery mans minde then being open and discouered, the next day, they waigh and examine it; with a regard had to both the times. They deliberate when
cap. 23. they cannot dissemble; and resolue when they cannot erre. Their drinke is a liquor made of barley and corne, corrupted into the likenes of wine. But those which dwell neere the banke of Rhene, buie wine: their meats are simple; wilde Apples, fresh venison; or curds or creame: they driue away hunger without any solemne seruice, or dainties: but against thirst they vse not the like temperance. If thou wilt pleaſe their humour in drunkennes, in giuing them what they aske: they will be as
cap. 24. easily ouercome with vices as armes. They haue but one and the same kinde of pa-

stime

ſtime in euery aſſemblie. Yoong men, which know the ſport caſt themſelues naked, and leape betweene ſwords and launces. Practiſe bred the arte of doing it, and Art the grace; yet neither for gaine nor recompence: albeit the reward of bolde and raſh toies is the delight of the beholder. And (which thou wouldſt maruell at) freſh and faſting, they play at dice, as a matter of ſerious and earneſt buſines, with ſuch a raſh deſire of winning & loſing; that when all elſe is loſt, they lay their liberty and body vpon the laſt throw: and he who is ouercome, entereth a voluntary ſeruitude: and although he be yoonger and ſtronger; yet ſuffereth himſelfe to bee bound and ſold. Such is their obſtinacie in a bad matter; which they call faith: but ſlaues of this condition they make away by merchandiſe, to rid themſelues of the ſhame of ſuch a victorie. Their other ſlaues they employ not in certaine affaires of houſe, as we do ours; but euery one gouerneth his owne houſe and houſhold. The Lord inioyneth him to pay a certaine of corne, or cattell, or apparell, as he doth his tenant, which the bondſlaue performeth & no more: other duties of houſe belong to the wife and children. It is a rare matter to beat their ſlaues, or ouer-labor or empriſon them: yet they are woont to kill them; not by diſcipline and ſeuerity, but carried away with ſudden anger, as againſt an enemy, ſauing that it is vnpunithed. The freed men are not much aboue the ſlaue; they ſeldome beare any ſway in the houſe or city, ſauing in thoſe countries which haue a King. For there they are in greater authority, then either free borne or noble men; in other countries freed men being of vnequall condition, make liberty better knowen. To practiſe vſury, and enrich themſelues with it, they know not what it meaneth: which is better kept then if it were forbidden. All the ground the inhabitants about do poſſeſſe, according to their number: which they diuide among themſelues, according to their calling; which is eaſily done by reaſon the fields are ſo ſpacious. Their earable land they change by yeeres: and let one lie; not labouring to ouercome the fertilnes and largeneſſe of it by induſtry, by planting of orchards; in-cloſing their medowes; and watering their gardens; onely they vſe much tillage. Hereupon they diuide not the yeere into ſo many ſeaſons, as we do: the winter, ſpring time, and ſommer, they vnderſtand, and haue names for: but as for the autumne, as well the name, as the commodities it bringeth, are vnknowen. Ambition they vſe none in their funerals: onely that one thing is obſerued; that the bodies of noblemen are burned with a certaine kinde of wood. The pile of the funerall fire, they do neither fill vp with apparell nor ſweet odors: euery mans armes, and ſomes horſe was burnt likewiſe. The roombe is raiſed vp with turues of earth: great works and laborious monuments they deſpiſe as heauy for the dead, lamentation and teares they quickly forbeare; but griefe and ſorrow ſlowly. It is ſeemely enough for women to mourne; and for men to remember the dead. This is it which we haue learned in generall, of the beginning and cuſtomes of the Germans. Now I will lay downe the ordinances and cuſtomes of euery people in particular; and how they differ; and what nations haue gone out of Germanie, to the Gallois.

IIII. *What Gallois haue paſſed into Germany.*

Iuſtin of famous memory, the chiefeſt of all authors doth deliuer, that the ſtate of the Gallois hath in times paſt beene of greater force and power, then now it is: and therefore not vnlike, but the Gallois went into Germany. For what great hinderance could the riuer be; that, euery nation as he was ſtrong, ſhould not ſet himſelfe in poſſeſſion and change ſeats, yet vnoccupied, and not diuided by any

power of kingdomes? Therefore the Heluetians held that which lieth betweene the Hercynian forest, and the two riuers Rhene and Mœne: and the Boij that which is beyond, both nations of Gallia. The name of the Boiemi doth yet continue, and doth signifie the old memorie of the place, although the inhabitants be changed. But whether the Arauisci from the Osi, a people of Germanie, came into Pannonia; or the Osi from the Auarisci into Germanie, is yet vncertaine: considering they vse the same language, lawes, and customes: for being equall in times past in powertie and libertie; the commodities and discommodities of both the banks were common to them alike. The Treueri and the Neruij ambitiously seem to haue their beginning from the Germans: as though by this glory of blood, they should bee vnlike, and differ in cowardlinesse from the Gallois. Without al doubt the banke of Rhene is inhabited with the people of Germany, the Vangiones, Treboci, Nemets. The Vbij, albeit they haue deserued to be a Roman colonie: and desire to be called rather Agrippinians by the name of their foundresse, though not ashamed of their beginning, haue heretofore past ouer; and for good proofe of their fidelitie, haue beene planted vpon the banke of Rhene, to keepe off others, and not for any safety
cap. 29. of their owne. Of all these nations, the chiefest in valour are the Batauians, which inoy small part of the banke of Rhene, but inhabite an Ilande of the riuer of Rhene; in times past a people of the Catti, and went by reason of ciuill sedition into those countries to bee a part of the Roman Empire. The honour and marks of ancient alliance doe yet continue, for they are neither contemned by paying tributes, nor oppressed by the Farmer of publike reuenues. They are exempted from charges and contributions, as reserued for vse of warre, as it were armes and weapons. The Mattiaci do the like allegeance: for the greatnesse of the people of Rome hath beene inlarged further then the old bounds of the Empire did extend, and beyond the Rhene. Therefore in regard of their habitation and bounds, they inhabite the banke, but in heart and minde dwell with vs: in other things like the Batauians; sauing that by reason of their soile and aire, they are more forward and stout. I will not account them among the people of Germanie, albeit they are planted beyond Rhene, and the Danube, of whose land the tenth is raised. The lewdest of al the Gallois, and whom need hath driuen to venture, haue possessed that countrey as doubtfully holden. Not long after, hauing inlarged their bounds, and placed fortresses farther, they are within the compasse of the Empire, and are a part of the
cap. 30. prouince. Beyond these, the Cattians begin from the Hercynian forrest, but haue not so wide & marish a countrey, as the other cities in which Germany doth open and spread it selfe: for the hils are one by another, and continue a certaine space, and then by little and little waxe thinner: and the Hercynian forrest doth contain the Cattie, and is the bounds of their territorie. They are a people hardned to labour, well set, sterne countenanced, and of greater courage. As Germans go, they are sensible wise men, and considerate: they preferre choise men, harken to their leaders, know their ranks, know where aduantages are, bridle their heate, dispose of the day to their benefit, intrench in the night, hold fortune among things doubtfull, and esteeme of valour as of certaintie: and which is most rare, and vnderstood onely by discipline, they repose more assurance in their leader, then in the armie.
cap. 31. All their strength consisteth in footemen, whom besides their armes they loade with yron tooles and prouision. Thou maist see others goe to skirmish: but the Catti march to warre. They seldome skirmish, or fight at aduenture. Their horsemen are of this propertie, that they either quickly win the victory, or yeeld. Suddennes is neere vnto feare; lingring draweth neerer constancie. And that which is seldome

seldome vsed among other people of Germanie, through their boldnes, and hardines it is grown to a common consent among the Catteans: that is, when they come to ripe yeeres, they suffer their haire and beard to grow at length; and neuer put off that vowed ornament of the face, and as it were a bond of vertue, vntill they haue killed an enemie. Vpon bloud and spoile, they vncouer their forehead, and say, they haue paied backe the price of their birth; and thinke themselues worthie of their countrey and parents: the cowardly and vnwarlike remaine in their ilfauouredne s. Besides this, euery man as he is most valiant, weareth an yron ring (an ignominious thing to that people) as it were a bond, vntill they rid themselues of it, by killing an enemy. This quality pleaseth many of the Catteans. And then they grow graye, respected of their owne people and enemies: these begin euery battell: these make alwaies the first ranke; strange to behold: for in time of peace, they are altogether as fierce in countenance. There is not one of them that hath a house, or liuing, or care of any thing. As they come to euery mans house they are maintained: prodigall of other mens; and contemners of their owne: vntill through feeble olde age, they are no longer able to endure so hard a labour.

V. *Of the Tencterians, Chamauians, and Frisians.*

NExt vnto the Catti, the Vsipij and Tencteri doe inhabit the Rhene, running in a certaine channell, and which may suffice for a bound. The Tencteri besides their auncient renowne of warres, excell the rest in seruice of horse: and the Catteans deserue no greater commendation for footemen, then the Tencterians for horsemen. So did their predecessors ordaine it, and successors follow it. These are the childrens pastimes; this the emulation betwixt yong men; and olde men continue the same; and horses are deliuered, as rights of inheritance among the familie: and the sonnes receiue them, though not the eldest, but he who is most couragious, and likeliest to make a marshall man. Hard by the Tencteri, in times past the Bructeri did inhabit; but now it is reported that the Camauians, and Angriuarians, are entered into that country, and wholy rooted out and chased the Bructerians, by agreement of nations adioyning: either as hating them fro their pride, or for sweetnes of pray, or some fauour of the gods towards vs; as not denying vs the spectacle of the battell, wherein there were slaine threescore thousand, not by the Roman armes and weapons: but, which is more glorious, to shew vs pastime, and please our eye. I wish that if those people cannot loue vs, that they would hate one another, seeing that the state of the Empire fatally declining, fortune can do vs no greater fauor, then sowe sedition among the enemies. The Angriuarians and Chamauians, haue behinde them the Dulgibini and Chasuari, and other nations not greatly spoken of; and before them the Frisians. The Frisians are called greater or small, according to their strength: the Rhene bordering both vnto the Ocean, and besides that, do comprehend huge and spacious lakes, which the Roman nauy hath past: yea and the Ocean it selfe we haue entered into, and tried on that side. And the fame goeth, that *Hercules* pillars are yet there to be seene; either because *Hercules* went so farre, or else because by common consent all that is any where magnificall, is attributed to his renowne. *Drusus Germanicus* wanted not courage: but the Ocean hindered vs for being ouer inquisitiue of him or *Hercules*. After that, no man assayed to do it, as being an act of greater deuotion and reuerence, to beleeue the actions of the gods, rather then know them. Hitherto we haue seene the West part of Germanie: towards the North it goeth bowing with a great compasse. And first of

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of all the people of the Chauceans, although they begin at the Frisians, and possesse part of the shore, coast all those nations I haue made mention of, vntill they winde into the Catti, and so spacious and huge countrey the Chauci do not only hold, but fill likewise: of all the German nation the noblest; and desirous to maintaine their greatnes by iustice: without couetousnesse or vnbrideled lust, quiet and retired; stir vp no wars, neuer waste, spoile, nor robbe. And which is a speciall marke of their valour and strength, they got not their superiority ouer others by any wrongs offered. Yet they are all ready for warre, and if occasion require to make an armie, wanting neither horse nor men: and although they lie quiet, yet their reputation is neuer the lesser. *Cap. 36* On the side of the Chauci and Catti, the Cherusci haue nourished long, beeing neuer prouoked, an idle and lazie peace: which was more sweet then safe vnto them, because there is no sure peace betweene stirring and strong people. For when the matter is come to hand-strokes, modestie and good dealing be termes which belong to superiors. So the Cherusci in times past good and iust, are now called cowards and fooles: and the fortune of the Catti being fauorable, is cause that they are counted wise. The Fosi, a people bordering vpon the Cherusci, are touched with their ruine, companions in their aduersitie, *Cap. 37* though in prosperity they were inferiour vnto them. Neere vnto the same coast of the Ocean, the Cimbrians inhabite; now a small people, but highly renowned: hauing yet remaining certaine marks of their old glorie; to wit, on both the bankes, trenches and lodges: by the circuit of which, thou maist yet measure the greatnes and strength of that nation, and beleeue the number of so great an armie. It was fixe hundred and forty yeeres after the foundation of our citie, before the Cimbrians armes were heard of, when *Caecilius Metellus*, and *Papirius Carbo* were Consuls. From that time, vnto the second time that the Emperour *Traian* was Consul, by iust account, are two hundred and ten yeares: and so many yeres we were a conquering Germanie. In the middle time, there were many losses on both parts. Not the Samnites, not the Carthagineans, nor the Spaniards, nor the Gallois; no nor the Parthian haue so often troubled vs: the liberty of the Germans being more earnest, than the kingdom of the Arsacides. For what can the East obiect against vs, sauing the death of *Crassus*, when he had defeated *Pacorus*, before troden downe by *Ventidius*? But the Germans, hauing either slaine or taken *Carbo* and *Cassius*, and *Scaurus Aurelius*, and *Cernilius Cepio*, and *M. Manlius*, haue defeated also fiue Consulary armies, and *Varus* with three legions in *Caesars* time: neither haue *C. Marius* in Italie, or *Iulius* in Gallia, *Drusus*, and *Nero*, & *Germanicus*, molested them in their houses without blowes. After that *C. Caesar* great threatnings were turned to a iest. Then there was quietnesse, vntill our ciuill wars gaue them occasion, when they had taken the standing camps of the legions, to haue a desire to enter Gallia: from whence beeing againe driuen out, in late times, they haue beene rather triumphed ouer than vanquished.

VI. *The Sueuians and other people.*

Cap. 38 NOw we will speake of the Sueui, which are not one nation as the Catti and Tencteri: and possessing the greater part of Germanie, and seuered by peculiar names and countries: although by one generall name they be called Sueui: whose marke is to curle their haire and tie it on knots. By that the Sueuian is distinguished from the other Germans; and the free borne Suenian from the bond man. That in other countries is vsed also but seldome times, either for affi-

nitie

nitie with the Suenians; or as it often happeneth by imitation, and whileſt they be yoong: but the Suenians euen vntill they be old and gray, haue their haire ſtanding an end, and often tie it on the crown only: princes weare it after a finer faſhion. That is the harmeleſſe care they haue of their beauty. For they vſe it not either to winne loue, or be beloued: but turne it vp to a certain height, to ſeeme to the enemy more terrible, when they go thus trimmed to the warre. The Semnones ſay, they are the moſt auncient of the Suenians, and the moſt noble. The credite of their antiquity they confirme with this ceremonie. At certaine times, all of one blood meet by their deputies in a wood, reputed holy by the auguration of their forefathers, and auncient reuerence; where publickly killing a man, they celebrate the barbarous beginnings of their ceremonie. Yet there is another reaſon why the wood is had in reuerence. No man entreth into it, but bound with ſomewhat as an inferiour perſon, and acknowledging the power of the god. If he fall by chance; it is not lawfull for him to riſe, or get vp; but is rowled out: all their ſuperſtition tending to this that from thence the nation had his beginning: that there dwelleth the God, ruler of all others; and vnto whom all other things are ſubiect and obedient. The fortune of the Semnones giueth this authoritie: their country is inhabited by an hundred villages: and by their great bodie, they take themſelues to be the head of the Suenians. Contrary, the Longobards are renowned, by reaſon their number is ſo ſmall: that being hemmed in with many, very puiſſant nations; yet maintain themſelues, not by doing any dutie to any but by warres and dangers. After them the Reudigni, and Auiones, and Angli, and Varini, and Eudoſes, and Suardones, and Nuithones, are defended by riuers or woods: hauing no notable thing particular in any; ſauing that generally they adore Herthum, that is, the mother earth, whom they beleeue to be preſent at mens affaires. There is a wood called Caſtum in an Iland of the Ocean, and a chariot dedicated in it, couered with apparell, which one Prieſt onely may lawfully touch. He knoweth that the goddeſſe is in ſome ſecret part of the houſe, and followeth her with great reuerence as ſhe is lead by Kowes: and make thoſe holy daies & places of ioy which ſhe vouchſafeth to honor with hir preſence. Warre they make none, nor put on any armour, nor ſhew any weapon: but peace and quietneſſe is onely knowne and loued: vntill the ſame Prieſt, bring backe the goddeſſe to hir Temple, filled with the conuerſation of mortall men. Then the chariot and the apparell, if you will beleeue it, the diuinitie it ſelfe is waſhed in ſome ſecret lake: bond men miniſter vnto hir, which the ſame lake doth incontinently ſwallow vp. Whereof ariſeth a ſecret terror, and an holy ignorance, what that ſhould be, which they onely ſee which are a periſhing. And this part of Suenia, reacheth far within the countrey of Germany: the neerer (that I may deſcribe that part which lieth by Danub, as I haue done that which lieth along the Rhene) is the citie of the Hermunduri, faithfull to the Romans: and therefore of all the Germans trafficke, not onely vpon the banke of Rhene, but euen within the hart of the countrey, and in the moſt famous colonie of the Prouince Rhætia. Theſe goe all ouer without a guard: and whereas we ſhew other nations, ſomtimes our armes, ſometimes our campe; to theſe we lay open our houſes, and villages, as people not deſiring them. In the countrey of the Hermunduri, the riuer Albis hath his beginning, in times paſt a famous riuer and well knowen; but now onely heard of. Neere vnto the Hermundurians dwell the Nariſci, the Marcomani, and Quadi. The greateſt renowne and ſtrength that the Marcomans haue, is in that they got their dwellings by valour and driuing out in times paſt the Boiens. Neither doe the Nariſci, and the Quadi degenerate. And that is as it were the frontier of Germany, on that

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that side which the Danube borders. The Marcomani and the Quadi, had euen vntill times of our memorie, Kings of their owne nation, of the noble stocke of the Marobodui, and Tudri; but now they suffer strangers; which haue their strength and power, by the authority of the Romans: and seldome vse our armes, but are often helpt with our money. Neither are the Marsigni, Gothini, Osi, Burij, which cap. 43. are behind the Marcomani and Quadi, of lesser valour: among which the Marsigni, and Burij, resemble the Sueuians in speech and attire. The Gallican toong doth conuince the Gothinos, and the Pannonicall the Osos, not to be Germans; and that they endure to pay tribute; part of the tribute the Sarmates, part the Quadi charge them with, as strangers. The Gothini, the more for their shame, digge for mines of yron: and all these people inhabit small store of plaine ground, but wood-lands, and hill tops. Sueuia is deuided by a continuall ridge of hils, beyond which dwell many nations: amongst which, the name of the Lygians is fartheſt spred into many cities. It will suffice to reckon the strongest, as the Arios, Helueconas, Maninos, Elysios, Naharualos. Among the Naharualians there is a wood long agone consecrated to religion, ouer which a Priest apparelled in womans attire is superintendent: but the Romans interpret them to be the goddes *Castor* and *Pollux*. The name of the god is Alcis. Images there are none, nor signe of strange superstition: yet they are reuerenced as brothers, and two yong men. But the Arij besides their strength, wherein they go beyond the other people I haue made mention of, fell & cruell, do set forth their naturall fiercenes with art, and time: for they vse blacke targets, & die their bodies with the same calour; and choose the darkest nights to fight in, striking a terror with the shadow of so deadly an army, into the enemies; none of them able to indure so strange and as it were hellish sight, the eyes being first ouercome in all battels. Beyond the Lygians the Gothones liue vnder Kings in a more seuere gouernment then the other people of Germanie, and not in full liberty. Then from the Ocean follow the Rugij, and Lemouij, all of them bearing for their marke round cap. 44. bucklers, and short swords, and liuing vnder the subiection of Kings. After those are the cities of the Suionians, situated in the Ocean; besides men and armor, strong in shipping; which in making differ from other vessels, in that both ends are foreparts, ready to land at each end, without saile, or oares in a ranke in the sides, but the marriners are at libertie ready to change hither and thither, as occasion serueth. as in some other riuers. Those people esteeme of riches: and therefore one hath amongst them absolute rule and gouernment, and not at the will of the subiect. They are not all licenced to weare weapons as in other parts of Germany, but their weapons are shut vp vnder a keeper, and that a slaue, because the enemy can make no sudden incursion against them, by reason of the Ocean. If the souldiers be idle and at rest, they easily grow insolent: and indeede it is not for the Kings profit to com- cap. 45. mit the charge of armor to noblemen, or free borne, or freed men. Beyond the Suionas, there is another sea so slow and almost immoueable, that many thinke it to bee the bounds which compasse in the whole world, because that the Sunne continueth so cleare and bright from his setting till the rising, that it darkeneth the starres. And some are further perswaded, that the sound of him is heard as he riseth out of the sea; and many shapes of gods seene, and the beames of his head. So farre the fame is true, and that there was the end of nature and the world. Now on the right shore of the Sweuian sea the Aestyans inhabit, whose maner of life is like the Sweuians, but their language more like the Britains language. They adore the mother of the goddes: for a skutchion of their superstition, they carry the pictures of wilde Boares. That serueth them for all weapons and all defence, and assureth all

those

those which worship that goddesse, euen amongst the enemies. They haue small vse of yron, but great of clubs. They sowe corne and plant fruits, more painfully, than ordinarily the slothfull German is accustomed to doe. They search out what the sea will yeeld: and onely amongst all, gather on the flats, and on the very shore Rosin *, which they call Glesum. Yet they haue not sought out (so barbarous they are) what is the nature of it, or by what meanes it is ingendred. Yea a long time it lay as nought woorth, like other purging of the sea, vntill our wantonnes gaue it a name. They haue no vse of it themselves: but gather it foule and filthie: and so bring it, and maruell at the price we giue for it. But it is the iuice of trees; for there shine in them some birdes or foule, which wrapped in the humour, and afterwards waxe hard, are so shut in it. And as in the secret places of the East, there are fertill Woods and Forrests, which sweate Frankincense and balmes: so may I beleeue that in the Ilands of the West, there are others, which being neere to the sunne beames, yeeld an humor, which melted runneth vnto the next sea, and by force of tempest is carried to the opposite shore. If by fire thou wilt make proofe what the nature of Amber is, it will burne like vnto wood pitched and rosened: and nourisheth a fat and strong sauoring fire: then waxeth pliant and clammie like Rosin or Pitch. Hard by the Suionians, be the Sitones: alike in all things, sauing one, which is, that a woman is their ruler: so far they degenerate, not onely from libertie, but also from bondage: and there is the end of Sueuia. I am in doubt, whether I should reckon the Peucinians, Venedians, & Fennians, among the Germans, or Sarmates: although the Peucinians, which some call Bastarnas, resemble the Germans in language, behauiour, housing, and dwelling: but all are generally, slouenly and lazie: and the noblemen allied by marriage with the Sarmates, are somewhat transformed into their vsage: and the Vinedians haue learned many of their fashions also. For they scowre and rob all the hils and woods which lie betweene the Peucinians and Fennians. Yet these may rather be accounted Germans; because they build houses, carrie targets, and are good footmen. None of which the Sermates do vse, but alwaies ride in chariot, or on horseback. The Fennians are very barbarous and beggerly: hauing neither armes, horses, nor houses; no food but herbes; no apparell but leather pelts; no bedding but the ground: hauing all their hope in their arrowes, which for want of iron, they head with bones. Man and Woman liueth by the same hunting: for the Women follow, and aske for part of the pray. Yongue children haue no other succour against wilde beasts, and hard weather, but some couerture made of boughes: that is the lodging of yongue and old. That they thinke to be more glorious and magnificall, than toile in manuring the earth; and trouble themselues in buildings; and turmoile betwixt hope and feare, about their owne and other mens goods. Thus secure against men and gods, they haue woone this hard point, that they need make no vowes at all. The rest is fabulous, as that the Hellusij, and Oxionæ, haue the visage and countenance of men, but the bodies and members of beasts: which I leaue as a thing to me vnknown.

* Or Amber.

cap. 46.

FINIS.

THE END OF NERO AND BEGINNING OF GALBA.

FOVRE BOOKES OF THE HISTORIES OF *Cornelius Tacitus.*

THE LIFE OF *Agricola.*

The fourth edition.

M. DC. XII.

THE END OF NERO AND BEGINNING OF GALBA

BOOKS I. AND II. OF THE HISTORIES OF CORNELIUS TACITUS.

WITH THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

This fourth edition...

TO HER MOST SACRED MAIESTIE.

Preſent heere to your Maieſties view my imperfections in their owne colours, and the excellencies of another man with much loſſe of their luſtre, as being tranſported from their naturall light of the Latin by an vnskilful hand into a ſtrange language, perchance not ſo fit to ſet out a peece drawen with ſo curious a penſill. The cauſe of vndertaking a worke of this kinde was a good will in this ſcribling age not to doe nothing, and a diſproportion in the powers of my minde, nothing of mine owne inuention being able to paſſe the cenſure of mine owne iudgement, much leſſe, I preſumed, the iudgement of others. The cauſe that I publiſhed it vnder your Maieſties name and protection (beſide the teſtification of my bounden dutie) was the great account your Highneſſe moſt worthily holdeth this Hiſtorie in; hoping thereby, that as ſome for the excellencie of the wine, haue liked alſo the lees, ſo it might peraduenture pleaſe you, to accept into ſome degree of fauour this worke as it is, though by change from veſſell to veſſell hauing taken winde and loſt his pleaſing taſte to the palate, yet retaining ſomewhat of his former ſtrength, and much of his ſubſtance. But the principall cauſe was to incite your Maieſtie by this as by a foile to communicate to the world, if not thoſe admirable compoſitions of your owne, yet at the leaſt thoſe moſt rare and excellent tranſlations of Hiſtories (if I may call them tranſlations, which haue ſo infinitely exceeded the originals) making euident demonſtration to all who haue ſeene them, that as the great actions of Princes are the ſubiect of ſtories, ſo ſtories compoſed or amended by Princes,

ces, are not only the beſt patterne and rule of great actions, but alſo the moſt naturall Regiſters thereof, the writers being perſons of like degree and of proportionable conceits with the doers. And ſo wiſhing your Maieſtie either ſo much leiſure your ſelfe, or a Tacitus to deſcribe your moſt glorious raigne, I commit this booke (whereof I claime nothing to my ſelfe but the faults) to your moſt gracious patronage, and the courteſie of the Reader, from whom, at leaſt from his hands that ſhall finiſh out the reſt, I hope to finde both pardon for my faults, and ſome pitie for my paines.

The Almightie bleſſe your moſt excellent Maieſtie with a long, happie, and proſperous raigne, and the onely true meanes thereof, many watchfull eies to foreſee, many valiant hands to fight, aud many godly hearts to pray for the peace of your ſtate.

Your ſacred Maieſties

moſt humble ſubiect and ſeruant

HENRY SAVILE.

THERE is no treaſure ſo much enriches the minde of man as learning; there is no learning ſo proper for the direction of the life of man as Hiſtorie; there is no hiſtorie (I ſpeake onlie of prophane) ſo well worth the reading as Tacitus. For learning nature acknowledgeth a reaſon, by leauing induſtrie to finiſh her vnperfect worke: for without learning the conceit is like a fruitfull ſoile without tilling, the memorie like a ſtorehouſe without wares, the will like a ſhip without a rudder. For Hiſtory, ſince we are eaſlier taught by example then by precept, what ſtudie can profit vs ſo much, as that which giues patternes either to follow or to flie, of the beſt and worſt men of all eſtates, countries, and times that euer were? For Tacitus I may ſay without partialitie, that hee hath written the moſt matter with beſt conceit in feweſt words of any Hiſtoriographer ancient or moderne. But he is hard. *Difficilia quæ pulchra*: the ſecond reading ouer will pleaſe thee more then the firſt, and the third then the ſecond. And if thy ſtomacke be ſo tender as thou canſt not diſgeſt Tacitus in his owne ſtile, thou art beholding to Sauile, who giues thee the ſame food, but with a pleaſant and eaſie taſte. In theſe foure bookes of the ſtorie thou ſhalt ſee all the miſeries of a torne and declining ſtate: the Empire vſurped; the Princes murdered; the people wauering; the ſouldiers tumultuous; nothing vnlawfull to him that hath power, and nothing ſo vnſafe as to be ſecurely innocent. In Galba thou maieſt learne

learne, that a good Prince gouerned by euill miniſters is as dangerous as if he were euill himſelfe. By Otho, that the fortune of a raſh man is *Torrenti ſimilis*, which riſes at an inſtant, and falles in a moment. By Vitellius, that he that hath no vertue can neuer be happie: for by his own baſeneſſe he will loſe all, which either fortune, or other mens labours haue caſt vpon him. By Veſpaſian, that in ciuill tumults an aduiſed patience, and opportunitie well taken are the onely weapons of aduantage. In them all, and in the ſtate of Rome vnder them, thou maieſt ſee the calamities that follow ciuill warres, where lawes lie aſleepe, and all things are iudged by the ſword. If thou miſlike their warres, bee thankfull for thine owne peace; if thou doeſt abhor their tyrannies, loue and reuerence thine owne wiſe, iuſt, and excellent Prince. If thou doeſt deteſt their Anarchie, acknowledge our owne happie gouernment, and thanke God for her, vnder whom England enioies as many benefits, as euer Rome did ſuffer miſeries vnder the greateſt Tyrant.

THE END OF NERO AND BEGINNING OF GALBA.

Alerius Trachalus, and Silius Italicus being Consuls : Caius Iulius Vindex, Lieutenant of Gallia Lugdunensis, perceiuing that priuate conspiracies against the person of Nero had beene often intended and euer discouered, determined to giue the first onset in armes and openly goe to the field. Vindex was by his father of a Senatours house, by birth French and extract from the line of their ancient Kings, of bodie puissant, quicke of conceit, of a ready dispatch, skilfull in armes, and bold to attempt : his prouince peaceable, and therefore vtterly disfurnisht of forces : no Legion, no garrison vnder his gouernment. Notwithstanding as in a body corrupt, and full of ill humours, the first paine that appeareth, be it neuer so slender, drawes on the rest, discloseth old aches and straines, actuateth what else is vnsound in the bodie : so in a state vniuersally disliked, the first disorder dissolueth the whole. Yea and oft so it hapneth in both, the disease that grew first, and gaue cause to the other, being recured, the rest notwithstanding worke out the finall destruction. Now Vindex, before hee declared himselfe, well weighing the weakenesse of his estate, and withall his owne person vncapable of the Empire, as being but a stranger, without followers, without friends or allies among the Nobilitie, deliberated to cast it on some other man of more reputation, who also by neerenesse and strength might second his attempt. Corbulo was lately murdered by Nero ; Vespasian farre off warring in Iewry : Suetonius Paullinus at home without armie, the most famous men of that age for militar matters. Of high Germanie Verginius Rufus was Lieutenant, with three Legions, next neighbour to Vindex, onely of a meane gentlemans house. In low Germanie Fonteius Capito with foure Legions, and Clodius Macer in Africke with a competent armie, neither of them likely to repaire that which Nero had ruined. There remained then in armes Seruius Sulpitius Galba, a man of great wealth and ancient Nobilitie, who had beene eight yeeres Lieutenant in neerer Spaine, to the reasonable contentment of the countrey, with an host of one Legion, and the Aids belonging thereto. Vpon him Vindex finally resoluing dispatcheth into Spaine, and other countries adioining, secret letters declaring his purpose to the Lieutenants. Galba, in whom age had abated the heat of ambition, experience and dangerous times engendred a warie and fearefull proceeding, thought as then vpon nothing lesse then diademes and kingdomes, hauing giuen himselfe ouer, for certaine yeeres past, to an idle and obscure kinde of life, sequestred as it were, and retired from affaires for feare of Nero ; vnder whom to doe ill was not alwaies safe, alwaies vnsafe to doe well, and of doing nothing no man constrained to yeeld an account. Whereupon the letters arriuing, hee stood much amazed, diuided in minde what course hee should follow : to trust them ? peraduenture it was but a traine : to disclose them and send them to Nero ? that were indeed to put in his head an eternall iealousie, and himselfe into a needlesse perill : and perhaps also there might be good meaning. Whereupon in so doubtfull a case, the extremes seeming dangerous, hee tooke the meane way, suppressing the letters, and not entring into the cause any further, reseruing to gouerne himselfe in the rest, as euents and occurrents should lead and direct him. The other Lieutenants sent all their letters to Nero, betraying Vindex, betraying the cause, whereof themselues anon were partakers.

The yeere of the City 821. after Varro But An° 816. after Fabius.

Now Vindex certaine daies after the Calends of March, though not fully assured, yet hoping well of Galbaes intent, and presuming good lucke to so good a meaning, assembled them of his prouince, such chiefly as were chiefe in their countrey for credit, and chiefly

chiefly had beene touched in goods or in honour. To whom recounting in order the tyrannies of Nero, namely his paring of " France to the quicke, to the vtter destruction of so many men, the vniuersall decay of so goodly a countrey, he exhorteth them all to take armes, to succour themselues, to succour the Romans, and to free the whole world from so heauie a yoke. Or if, which the gods forbid in so good a case, yet let vs (quoth hee) sell him our liues in the field with honour, seeing wee cannot possesse them with safetie. For another Prince (our broken state, and age void of vertue, not bearing a free common-wealth) wee haue heere at hand a man of great birth, great wealth, and great forces, one that hath made honourable proofe of himselfe, at home, and abroad, in all respects worthie the place, Galba Lieutenant of " Arragon. If you like of the man, there remaineth then onely wee muster the countrey to the most that we may, without whose swords all talke of warre is but vaine, and this pernicious. His demands being all accorded by common consent, he leuieth a power, many men, and few souldiers, taken vpon the sudden, not disciplined, not trained to the order of seruice; hee publisheth edicts diffaming the person and gouernment of Nero. Then causing Galba to be proclaimed, hee writes him a letter, now, or else neuer, to declare himselfe in fauour of mankinde against that monster of nature, to furnish the body of an hundred thousand French men in armes, and more if need were, of a head. The Sequani, Ædui, Aruerni, Remi, and the flower in a maner of France, were all of the partie, conferring men, horse, armour, money, and what else was requisite for seruice in field. Rufinus, Flauius, Asiaticus with others were appointed Captaines, and Vienna seat of the warre; whose next neighbours, and ancient enemies, the Lugdunenses banded themselues against them and the cause, or the cause for their sakes. Many conflicts betweene them, and skirmishes during the warre, so thicke, and so hotly pursued, that one might perceiue much priuate choller passe vnder the shadow of publike pretences. The Lingones likewise and Treueri, and some other cities, forsaking their fellowes, linked themselues with the Legions confining. Three Legions, as before it is said, with their Aids, Verginius had in his charge; who seeing all France on a fire, and that now of force hee must either rebell with the rest, or warre with the rebels (for so they were stiled till they preuailed) in priuate beholden, for publike respects misliking of Nero, no admirer of Galba, with Vindex proceeding highly displeased, the example being vnseene, that a prouince should be a Prince-maker, thus vnresolued, resoluing this onely, that he would not be resolued by others, determined to stand on his Guard, and gathered his men about him in haste, valiant souldiers and expert in seruice, and likely to sway where they went.

" Gallia.

" Hispania Tarraconensis.

Of the other side the Lieutenant of Aquitania, against the troubles of France, requested the assistance of Galba his neighbour, who then at new Carthage kept a law day: but anon hee perceiued how that hee had taken a wrong addresse. For Galba receiuing the letters of Vindex, and being aduertised that warrant was out for his death to the Procuratours, had debated the matter a fresh with his friends. Some vnwilling to plaie their state at a cast, wisht him to stay and attend to what head the humours in Rome new stirred would gather: as for the Procuratours, they might be preuented, and warned is halfe armed. To Titus Vinius, then Lieutenant of the Legion, and anon chiefe in fauour with Galba, that course seemed vnsafe. Armed indeed (quoth hee) for a while against a Procuratour or two: nay, put case wee could hang vp these few in our places, shall wee liue, doe you thinke, for lacke of a hangman? Giue vs armes against Nero, and then wee are armed. But perhaps sith nothing is past on our part, hee may be perswaded to call in his sentence againe. Euen good Princes are iealous of soueraigne points, and that string being touched, haue a quicke eare. They haue bought it full deare which ignorantly haue sate in their chaire of estate, that haue worne their diademe to keepe it from wetting, or

vpon

vpon like occasion. Germanicus, as some heere may remember, because one or two in the armie had onely a purpose to salute him Prince, was neuer well brooked, till by his owne death he had paied the price of other mens rashnesse. Corbulo, euen that Corbulo, which had quieted Germanie, subdued Armenia, broken the Parthian spirits, brought Arsaces line on his knees before Nero, after he had so highly deserued at his hands, it cost him his life, that some men in secret thought him a man fit to succeed. We are, as they say, openly proclaimed, we haue an armie in field: shall he then repent it, that neuer repented but when he did well? Let him looke that list for succours from Rome, where libertie is lost, fit men to free others. Galba and Vindex their swords and their armies must purchase our freedome. This opinion preuailing as possible to prooue, but of force to bee followed, a day was appointed by Galba, therein to dispatch the freeing of slaues. The countrey came in at the day suspecting the matter, apt to receiue any new impression. And Galba hauing placed of purpose before his tribunall, a mante of images of great personages executed or banisht in Neroes time, and fetched from exile a yoong noble man, out of the next Ilands, to stand by his seat, his armie about him, spake in this wise. My fellow souldiers and friends, wee are at this present assembled to enfranchise our bondmen, to bestow vpon others that great benefit of libertie and freedome, which wee our selues, whom both nature and fortune hath freed this long time, haue smally enioied. The life I haue led hitherto will sufficiently discharge mee from any aspiring conceit, and my owne conscience beareth mee witnesse, that I speake not vpon any malice, or priuate respects. It greeues mee to say: but it helpes not to hide that which euery man seeth. Hath euer bondman vnder a cruell master passed a yeere of harder seruice, then wee haue done foureteene vnder Nero? What kinde of exaction hath he not prooued to supplie with extortion that which with shame he hath spent? What kinde of crueltie hath hee not practised? If wee should conceale or seeke to suppresse it, these dumbe stones would declare them. Behold poisoned his father and brother, abused and slaine his owne mother, murdered his wife, his master and what else socuer valiant or vertuous in Senate, in citie, in prouince, without any difference of sex, or of age. I need not to speake of the sorrowfull sighes and bitter teares of so many yoong gentlemen bereft of their fathers, so many wiues robbed of their husbands, so many great men depriued of their countrey, which crie vengeance vpon such a Prince. A Prince? nay, an incendiarie, a singer, a fidler, a stage-plaier, a cart-driuer, a crier, no Prince, nay no man, that hath a man to his husband, and a man to his wife, but a monster of mankinde; against whom what Vindex in France hath already intended I am sure you doe know, and I, for my part, am most sorrie to heare. The whole course of my former life hath beene otherwise remooued from ambition in court, from aiming too high: and this little that remaines of my daies I could heartily wish were spent in more ease. But sith, I know not by what my misfortune, some haue imposed vpon me a part, which I neuer meant to sustaine, and least of all at this age, I will not refuse, if you also approoue it, to sacrifice this old carcase of mine for the wealth of my countrey, not as Emperour, or Augustus, which sacred names I adore a farre off, not daring to approch them, but as --- The speech was not finished, when the souldiers, and people with one common voice interrupting, saluted him Emperour. Galba commending their zeale to the good of the Empire, and accepting the substance refused the name, tearming himselfe Lieutenant of the Senate and people of Rome. Next care was to muster more men, to make good the reuolt: the countrey was prest and souldiers came in of all hands: new Legions and Aids were enrolled, and to helpe at a need, a ship of Alexandria laden with armour, without master, without mariner, without passenger, arriued at the port: which accident, besides that the wrecke came in in good season, increast to the cause reputation, as though against Nero the gods had furnished weapons from heauen. Then he ordained a Counsell in forme of a Senate elected out of the

chiefest

chiefest and grauest men of his traine, and a guard of yoong gentlemen to watch and ward at his lodging, he publisheth edicts, and sends them abroad to euery prouince, exhorting them all to take armes, and concurre in common against the common enemie. Many reuolted from Nero and came to the side: M. Saluius Otho with the first, then Lieutenant of " Portingall, bringing his iewels and plate, which Galba made into money.

" Lusitania.

In high Germanie, the souldiers considering the weakenesse of Nero; that France had alreadie rebelled; that Spaine made a Prince; that the rest of the countries were likely to follow, if not all for the same, yet all against Nero: viewing their owne forces, and strength now vnited, which before lay dispersed in troupes and in bands, strangers to Galba, and greatly disdaining that one simple Legion should impose them a Prince, finally concluded to make it their benefit, and bestow the Empire themselues. A fit man they needed not seeke farre off: Verginius Rufus the Lieutenant, though of a Gentlemans house, and no higher, in strength of bodie, matters of action, and all other things excelled Galba: in birth what if Galba were better? Catulus the toppe of his kinne fled dishonourably away in the Cimbrian warre, where Marius, baselier borne then Verginius, worthily stucke to it, and saued the state. Hereupon they goe and breake downe tumultuously the images of Nero, salute Verginius Prince, inscribing his name in the banners. Verginius seeing the matter grow to a tumult, and being vnable to resist their violence, shewed to yeeld in some degree against Nero, but not for himselfe, much lesse any other named abroad. For his part hee said hee had no need of the place, which all men beside so greatly desired: nor was not to suffer, but such as by order of Senate should be appointed: that they were the men to whom that election belonged, whose right hee would surely maintaine against whom soeuer. The souldiers being in part thus appeased, hee commands the inscription to be defaced, and with his whole armie entreth France, pretending to warre against Vindex. The citie of Bezanson, which first refused to receiue him, hee straightway beseegeth. Vindex to succour the towne and leuie the siege, or bid him battle, if it might bee no better, with twentie thousand men commeth against him. Lying encamped not farre asunder, there passed letters betweene them: whereupon they secretly met and conferred together, none else being present on either side. Their conclusion was friendly, doubtlesse to ioine against Nero: some thought to set downe Galba also; and it was not vnlikely. Thus departing as friends, each to his campe, Vindex secure as in a quarrell already composed, and nothing attending lesse then the shocke, meaning to enter the towne, and repose his armie with all his men made towards the gates. The souldiers of Germanie lying at the walles, and perceiuing the armie approach, marching, as it seemed, directly vpon them, not priuie to their Generals purpose, or not willing to lose so faire an occasion, ranne out without bidding, and falling vpon them at vnawares and in disarraie, not able on a sudden to remedie the errour, as men newly trained, and vnexpert in warre, slew them all in a maner, and spoiled the carriage. Vindex seeing the vnluckie successe of this vnlooked for battle, hauing lost in a maner the flower of all France, and suspecting fraud of Verginius side, as though he meant to entrap him, and send him to Nero, ranne himselfe vpon his owne sword: many comming after bestowed their blowes vpon the dead carcase, seeking a colour for praise or reward if Nero preuailed. After this slaughter the souldiers pressed Verginius againe to accept of the Empire, and embassages came almost from euery quarter requiring the same, with assured promise of all possible assistance, if not, readie to returne to Neroes obedience: but Verginius bewailing the heauie mishap of his vnfortunate friend, reiecteth the speech, and marcheth forward in France. This end had Iulius Vindex, a man in the course of this action more vertuous then fortunate; who hauing no armie prouided, no legion, no souldier in charge, whiles others more able lookt on, first entred the lists, challenging a Prince vpholden with thirty Legions, rooted in the Empire by foure descents of

ancestors.

ancestors, and fourteene yeeres continuance of raigne, not vpon priuate despaire to set in combustion the state, not to reuenge, disgrace or dishonour, not to establish his owne soueraigntie, things which haue mooued most men to attempt; but to redeeme his countrey from tyrannie and bondage, which onely respect hee regarded so much, that in respect he regarded nothing his owne life or securitie. For when it was shewed him, that Nero by publike edict had prized his head at "ten thousand thousand sesterces; Well, quoth hee againe, and he that kils Nero, and brings me his head, shall haue mine in exchange. And though in this action fortune gaue vertue the checke, and by a strange accident, which mans wisdome could not foresee, ouerturned the enterprise, yet must we confesse, that Vindex first stirred the stone, which rowling along tumbled Nero out of his seat.

"That is, about fourescore thousand pound.

Of Vindex reuolt the first newes came to Nero at Naples, about the twentieth of March: whereof he made shew so lightly to set, that he would not vouchsafe once to intermit his accustomed pastimes and pleasures, but rather seemed to reioice, and embrace the occasion, as falling out fitly to conuert to his cofers by the law of armes the spoile of so large and so wealthie a countrey: at supper also receiuing more letters of fresher aduice, and certainer danger, hee wished them only ill chance, which thus by rebelling had troubled his drinking, and so for eight daies hee neither wrote letter, nor gaue out order for any dispatch. At length through Vindex edicts, so thicke and so biting, being awaked, hee warned the Senate by letter to auenge his cause, and the common wealths, excusing his absence by reason of sicknesse. In Vindex edicts, supporting the rest patiently, one thing aboue all troubled him most, that his skill was impeached in playing: wherein he thought surely there was not his peere; eftsoones demanding of them about him, whether, without flatterie, they knew any in that profession more skilfull than him: by this then so manifest an vntruth, in an Art that he had so painfully laboured, so perfectly learned, hee willed them to esteeme of the rest. The Senate, receiuing the letters, flattering and fearing, adiudged Vindex a traitor, the selfe-same men which soone after bestowed the like vpon Nero. But vrged by newes vpon newes, at last in a fright hee repaired to Rome: where not calling Senate nor people together, but some principall men to the Palace at an vnseasonable houre of the night, as to consult of vrgent affaires, hee shewed them certaine conceits, and new strange deuices of musicke by water instruments, discoursing of the maner and difficultie of each, and that hee had found out a way to make them sound both sweeter and louder, and shortly meant to produce them in stage, if Vindex would giue him leisure to doe it. But hearing that Galba and Spaine had rebelled, hee tare his clothes, beat his head, and would in no wise receiue any comfort, till such time as the Senate by decree had declared Galba enemie to the state. Then resuming courage, and somewhat reuiued with some rumours out of Germanie, hee returned to his riot and careless licentious life, and putting Galbaes seruants in prison, seized his goods and set them to sale. The like did Galba with Neroes in Spaine, and found a great deale more readie chapmen.

Anon as the tumult beganne, it is supposed credibly, that Nero had purposed to haue made away all the gouernours of armies and prouinces, as being conspired against him; to murder all exiled persons, lest they should ioine themselues with the rebels; all French hee could finde in the Citie, as being friends to the cause; to poison the Senate in banquet; to set a fire the Citie, turning in wilde beasts among them which endeuoured to stop the course of the flame. But setting apart the deuice, not as disliking, being so suteable to his proceeding, but as despairing to bring it about, hee determined a voiage in person, sending before in the meane season Petronius Turpilianus, and Rubrius Gallus with certaine others against them. To furnish the iourney; his chiefe prouision consisted in carriage for playing furniture in concubines shorne and polled as men, armed with hatchet and target according to the Amazonian fashion. For mustering of men there were but few able enrolled and

most

most of them bondmen. Money was hardly and with much adoe a little extorted. For whereas in time of ciuill ſedition moſt need is of money, and a wiſe Prince will leaſt grieue the ſubiect with new impoſition, as ſeeming to ſtand in ſome ſort at his courteſie, and hauing to employ his body beſide; Nero in peace no ſtorer for warre, was forced then to offend, when he ſhould in reaſon haue ſought to haue wonne, and yet raiſed leſſe with more oppoſition than euer, reputation now waining, a contrary faction being on foot. As for policies, and plots of warre, hee told his familiar friends, he had one moſt aſſured. Aſſoone as he entred the prouince, he would venture himſelfe vnarmed amongſt them, and with ſilence and teares mooue them to compaſſion, and ſo they returning to former obedience without more adoe, he would the next day merily ſing, in that mery company, ſonnets of victorie, which hee willed to be compoſed out of hand againſt the time came.

As Nero was thus buſily occupied in making prouiſion for the warre, againſt Galba and Vindex, letters were brought in at dinner of Verginius defection, and the reſt of the armies. Whereupon in a deſperate rage, hee tare the letters, ouerturned the table, daſht two cups on the ground, which hee dearely eſteemed, and caſting away all care of himſelfe, notwithſtanding the perill preſſed no neerer, hee called for poiſon, which hee put vp in a golden box, that his death at the leaſt might be according to his eſtate, and ſo walked foorth into the Seruilian gardens. From thence he ſent of his truſtie ſeruants to Oſtia to make ready the ſhips, purpoſing to haue fled with his friends into Ægypt, and there to haue taken himſelfe to his muſicke to get him a liuing: ſottiſhly ſuppoſing in Ægypt an imaginarie ſuretie to himſelfe by his muſicke, when hee could not liue ſafely Emperour at Rome. To that purpoſe ſounding the mindes of the Tribunes and Centurions of the Guard, and finding them ſome to draw backe, ſome flatly refuſe to goe with him, one among others directly to tell him, that ſure his beſt way were to make an end of himſelfe, hee was diſtracted into diuers opinions, caſting about what courſe hee ſhould follow: flee to the Parthian, whom of late he had pleaſured? to Galba, who peraduenture might pitie his eſtate? or were it elſe better in lamentable ſort and mournfull weed to goe out abroad, and in the place of common aſſemblie, moſt humbly for that which was paſt demand pardon: or if hee could not obtaine it, that at leaſt they would grant him the gouernment of Ægypt. This liked him beſt, and thereof hee framed a ſpeech, which afterwards was found in his papers: but fearing the people would pull him in peeces before he came to the place, he deferred the matter till the next morning.

*Nymphidius Sabinus and Sophonius Tigellinus were Captaines of the Guard, preferred by Nero from nothing to that honourable place, and now the firſt to forſake him. But Tigellinus, as a perſon infamous and generally hated, preuailed not much; Sabinus had the credit with the ſouldier: who affirming that Nero was already fled into Ægypt, and promiſing donatiue in Galbaes name * of thirtie thouſand ſeſterces a man, and * fiue thouſand to the ſouldier abroad, much more then would or could be performed, eaſily wan them to leaue him, who had as they thought already left them, and ſo to pronounce Galba Emperour, not vpon any ſpeciall liking they had to the man aboue others, but whileſt ſome doubted, ſome other denied, Galba pretending directly the ſuit, and no counterſuiter appearing, they were content to accept him for Prince. Their fellowes which warded that night foreſeeing the iſſue, and coueting in this creation of the new Prince a part with the reſt, left Nero aſleepe alone in the garden. Who being awaked about midnight, vnderſtanding his Guard was departed, leapt out of his bed, and ſent about for his friends: from whom receiuing no anſwere, hee with a few went to their lodgings himſelfe. The great Monarch of the world, adored erewhile as a god, attended vpon and guarded by thouſands of friends, of ſouldiers, of ſeruants, now as a page knocking at doores findeth all ſhut againſt his vnfortunate ſtate. Thus in aduerſitie deſtitute of*

* 234.l. 5.s. 6.pence.
* 39.lib. 1.s. 3.pence.

aid,

aid, of counſell or comfort of friends, hee returneth home, where finding his chamber rifled, the chamber lames fled, his box of poiſon remooued away, hee ſought for Spicillus the "fencer or ſome of his ſort, by whoſe hands hee might be diſpatched: and finding none, "wanting alike both friends and foes, hee ran deſperately out, as though hee would haue throwen himſelfe headlong into the Tiber: but his heart failing hee repreſſed his pace, and thereupon requiring ſome ſecret place to recall his wits, and reſume courage againe, Phaon his freedman offered his houſe foure miles off in the country, which Nero accepted; and ſo accompanied with foure men onely, Phaon, Epaphroditus, Sporus and Neophytus, fleeth away, badly apparelled, and worſe mounted, couering his head and hiding his face with a handkercheffe. As he was in his way out of the Citie, approching the campe of the Guard, he heard the ſouldiers ſhouting and wiſhing good lucke vnto Galba, and ill to himſelfe. In riding along, his horſe ſtarting aſide, his face was diſcouered, and he knowen and ſaluted by one of the Guard which met him by chance. Whereupon forſaking horſe and high way, thorow buſhes and briers, he crept in at the laſt into a thicket of reedes on the backſide of Phaons farme-houſe, who perſwading Nero in the meane while to ſit in a pit out of the which ſand had beene digged, hee refuſed that fauour, denying to goe aliue vnder ground, and ſo caſt himſelfe downe cloſe in the reedes till they had beaten a hole in the wall, thorow which Nero vpon all foure crept into the backſide, caſting himſelfe vpon a ſimple pallet in a backe roome. Gladiator.

Whileſt Nero thus lurked, the Senate aſſembled in counſell declare him enemie of the ſtate, and puniſhable more maiorum, ſending out to ſeeke him and bring him aliue. Concerning the choiſe of a new, although in their ſecret opinions Verginius deſerued to reſume the benefit which he had put into their hands, yet being not willing to enter into further troubles, and raiſe vp a new ciuill warre, without which Galba, who had already foreprized the place could not be ſet downe, following the ſouldiers example they openly agree all vpon Galba. By this time they about Nero were inſtant vpon him to rid himſelfe quickly out of the contumelies and indignities, which anon he ſhould be forced to endure. To whom yeelding himſelfe, he commands to make ready for the funerals, weeping and wailing at euery word, what great pitie it was, that ſo good a minſtrell ſhould be ſo caſt away. In the meane ſeaſon, certaine letters which were brought to Phaon from Rome hee ſnatched away, and finding therein the Senates decree, demanded what more maiorum meant, for that peece of law he had neuer peruſed: vnderſtanding it was that his necke ſhould be locked in a forke, and himſelfe whipped naked to death, hauing in horrour ſo ſhamefull an end, he tooke vp two rapiers which hee had brought with him, and trying their points how ſharpe they were, put them vp againe, deſiring ſome of them to beginne and ſhew him the way to bee manfull; but deſiring a vertuous example out of ſo vicious a ſchoole, a court ſo corrupt, hee deſired in vaine. And now the horſemen ſent by the Senate approched, which Nero perceiuing, by feare encouraged, ran himſelfe thorow, Epaphroditus his Secretary at his requeſt helping to diſpatch him the ſooner, for which ſeruice he was afterward put to death by Domitian, who thought it not meet to ſuffer any to liue, which had in any ſort lent his hand to the death of a Prince. Thus Nero a Prince in life contemptible, and hatefull in gouernment, hauing thereby diſarmed himſelfe both of the loue and feare of his ſubiects, ended his daies the eighth of Iune in the one and thirtieth yeere of his age, and fourteenth of his Empire, at the firſt hauing ruled the ſtate with reaſonable liking, inſomuch that Traian was wont to ſay, that euen good Princes were ſhort of Neroes fiue yeere: but after breaking foorth into all infamous behauiour, and deteſtable oppreſſions and cruelties, and being withall a Prince weake in action, not of vertue ſufficient to vphold his vices by might, hee was at the length thus ouerthrowen.

Nero being ſlaine, the people and Gentlemen, but principally the Nobilitie, the principall

cipall obiect of tyrannie, sacrificed to the gods and feasted for ioy : some also ware Bonnets, as being newly enfranchised. The Senate assembled againe decreeth thankes to Nymphidius in most exquisite manner, extolling his high wisdome and tender care ouer the state : confirmeth to Galba all princely prerogatiues and imperiall titles ; making thereof a publike instrument, which the Consuls sent him in post : and moreouer concludeth vpon a solemne embassage of honourable personages with instructions, beside congratulations and complements, humbly to desire with speed his presence at Rome. Then was it proposed, that information might proceed against the accusers. The matter concerned some mightie men which had liued in times past by the losse of their neighbours, and touched somewhat a secret of state ouerthrowing and abolishing the instruments of the Empire. Notwithstanding their doings were so much detested, and the memorie of their malice so fresh, that the order passed by voices in Senate, making them all with the rest of the ministers of Neroes tyrannie, punishable more maiorum : *but was executed only against some base persons, which had gained but little, and done little harme : the principall malefactors brake thorow well enough, and escaped the danger.*

While matters thus passed in France and at Rome, in Spaine Galbaes souldiers in part were in termes to forsake him, and hardly reclaimed. About the same time also a freedman of Nero had bestowed vpon Galba a present of bondmen prepared for a practise : who according to their instructions watching opportunities, as Galba by a narrow passage entred the bath, vsing their tongues, when time was, for hands, and exhorting one another not to let slip the occasion, were suddenly apprehended, and being examined what occasion they meant, and put to the racke, confessed the treason. Anon after these hazards so hardly escaped, the newes came to Galba of Vindex death, and that vpon so great a victorie most men were willing Verginius should take the Empire vpon him, or else would returne to Nero againe. Galba extremely afraid writes to Verginius, beseeching him most instantly to ioine in defence of the libertie and Empire of Rome : himselfe notwithstanding as destitute and forlorne, and weary of the world that went so against him, leauing Vinius Lieutenant in the armie, retireth to Clunia, repenting of that hee had done, and wishing againe his priuate estate, as though in this case there were any meane betweene highest and nothing. Thus being distressed and anguisht in minde without any care of himselfe or the cause, in very good season comes Icelus his freedman from Rome in seuen daies thither, reporting that Nero being yet aliue, but not to be found, the souldier, the Senate and people had pronounced Galba Prince, that straight thereupon Nero was said to be slaine, but himselfe not beleeuing it, went to the place, saw him lie dead, and so came his way. Two daies after Vinius came from the campe, declaring to him the particular points of the Senates decree. Galba receiuing the newes with great ioy, as greatly aboue expectation, priuileged Icelus to weare gold rings, aduanceth Vinius to chiefe place in credit about him : and laying aside the name of Lieutenant, assumeth the title of Caesar, preferreth Cornelius Laco to be Captaine of his Guard, and iudging his presence necessarie to settle the state, giueth out order for his voiage to Rome with his armie by land.

Now at Rome Nymphidius making his count that Neroes fall was his onely deed, that no recompence is sufficient for bestowing the diademe but the diademe, that Galba was old, and scarse could last out in a little to Rome, not by degrees, but with a maine course drew all to himselfe. The Guard in respect of their donatiue, were at this deuotion, to be employed as he should direct them. The Lords of the Senate courted him daily, and seemed to depend wholly vpon him. Whereupon vsurping authoritie vndue to his place, hee commands by and by Tigillinus his companion to put off his sword and surcease from his office. The Consuls vpon a displeasure, that they had sent the publike patents not by his souldiers, nor signed with his seale, the curriers commission, hee had once determined to haue depriued.

And

And laying the plot for himselfe, hee biddeth to banquet the principall men of the Citie: he sets vnder hand to put in the souldiers heads to present supplication to Galba, to establish Nymphidius captaine for life without any fellow. To pleasure the people and get the good will of the commons, he permits them to vex and torment whom they could catch of Neroes crew. Spicillus the " fencer they tied vnder the images of Nero, trailed him along thorow the streets, and dispatcht him in the place of publike assemblie. Aponius an accuser, they ouerthrew, and drew carts laden with stones ouer his bodie, beside many other outraged and slaine, and some, as it happeneth where the reine is let loose to the furious multitude, innocently: insomuch that in Senate a graue and honourable counseller openly protested, that in short time there would be great cause to wish Nero againe, as being more tolerable one tyrant then many, and better to liue where nothing then there where all things were lawfull. Thus Nymphidius, sonne to Nymphidia a libertine an old seruant in court, and Martianus a fencer, secretly aspired to the Empire, working in Rome by certaine gratious women and Senatours, and sending to Spaine Gellianus one of his friends to espie the proceedings and actions of Galba.

" Gladiator.

Macer in Africke, the state being troubled, mustered men, and pretended for himselfe: but being for auarice and crueltie hated extremely, and finding no followers, could neither maintaine it with strength, nor leaue it with safetie. Galuia Crispinilla Neroes schoole-mistresse in matter of pleasure and lust, when Nero was dead, misdoubting mischances, sailed into Africke, by her aduice Macer beset the sea-coasts, and forbade any corne should bee transported, meaning to famish the citie of Rome. Fonteius Capito, Lieutenant of low Germanie, some thought had a meaning also for himselfe. Certaine it is that sitting in iudgement, the partie aggrieued appealing to Cæsar, hee skipped out of the seat where hee sate, into a chaire of estate set vp on high, and then bade him tell on his tale before Cæsar. But Fabius Valens, Lieutenant there of a Legion, greatly befriending Galbaes part, sware to him first hee with his companie, and the rest of the armie followed the example. Verginius, the onely concurrent of Galba in speech of the people, hauing ouerthrowen Vindex, and mastered France, notwithstanding his souldiers after the death of Nero was knowen, pressed him againe in such vehement sort, that one of the Tribunes drawing his sword, willed him to accept of it or the Empire, persisted constantly in his first resolution: and receiuing anon aduice of the Senates decree, himselfe most willingly, his souldiers hardly, and with much adoe were perswaded sith lower Germanie had sworne to sweare allegeance to Galba. The rest of the Prouinces without any difficultie accepted him all.

Now Galba disposing as Prince the affaires of the Empire, fineth the Cities of Spaine, which were not so forward to further the cause, and some hee dismantelleth: certaine Procuratours and officers hee putteth to death, their wiues and their children, a crueltie practised no not by Nero, much lesse expected in Galbaes beginnings. Hee directeth out warrant to Trebonius Garrucianus Procuratour of Africa to put Macer to death, dismisse the Legion lately mustered, and quiet the country: and appoints in Verginius place Hordeonius Flaccus Lieutenant in Germanie. Then with coat-armour on backe a sickly old man, himselfe and his men in warlike order march ouer the mountaines. The Cities of France that tooke part against Vindex hee punisheth with losse of reuenew and countrey: the rest were relieued, their tributes a quarter abated, themselues made Citizens of Rome by meanes of their money, and Vinius; who carrying an ill minde, and seruing in great place a weake master, made open sale of his Princes free graces and fauours. At Narbon the Embassadours sent from the Senate met him in a dutifull manner, whom Galba receiued courteously with friendly

friendly and familiar speeches, and feasted in sober sort all with his owne, though otherwise he had plentie there of Neroes waiters and seruice sent by Nymphidius. But anon Vinius which wholly possessed and gouerned the old man, counselled him to put off popularitie, as not beseeming his place, to accept of Neroes prouision, and to become roiall in expense and seruice. Vergimius hauing deliuered the armie to his successour met Galba on the way, receiued of him not as in displeasure, and yet with small honour. So dangerous a point it is yea to haue but only refused the Empire.

At Gellianus returne Nymphidius hearing that Laco was Captaine already, that Vinius had all the authoritie and credit, that his messenger was suspected and watched of all, not suffered to talke with the Prince in priuate, not once to approch to his person, was wonderfully mooued in minde. Whereupon assembling the chiefe of the Guard, hee shewed them, that Galba was for his owne part a good harmelesse old man, but misse-led by two persons much of Tigellinus making, Vinius and Laco: and therefore it were not amisse to send one or two in the name of the whole to make him remonstrance, that remooving away those two from about him he should be more welcome, and better accepted. This speech seeming strange and absurd, to prescribe to a Prince of those yeeres, as it were to an infant, his counsell and seruants, hee taketh a contrary course, and writeth to Galba in terrifying manner, That the matters at Rome were doubtfull and dangerous, that Macer in Africke had staied the ships, the Legions of Germanie stirred anew, the like was reported from Iewrie and Syria. But perceiuing that Galba gaue to his tales small eare and lesse credit, and hauing the souldiers all well affected, hee determined to preuent and giue the attempt, notwithstanding that Clodius Celsus a sober wise man and one of his friends plainly protested, that in his opinion scarce any three persons in Rome would accept him for Emperour: but the rest skoffed it out, namely one Mithridates of Pontus, Perhaps, quoth hee, Galba seemes some body now to the Romans, whilest hee is absent: but when they shall see that bald head, and riueled face, hee will seeme the very reproch and disgrace of the daies in which hee was Prince. And so they concluded at midnight following to bring Nymphidius into the campe and proclaime him Emperour. But when the euening was come, Antonius Honoratus principall Tribune assembling the souldiers vnder his charge, demanded what euill spirit had bereaued them of vnderstanding, mooving them so suddenly and without cause to change their allegeance. If Nero deserued it, what mother, what wife, had Galba then killed? or for what misdemeanour would they forsake Seruius Galba to preferre a Curtizans sonne? with whose bloud they should ere it were long, if they would bee directed by him, both reuenge Neroes death, whom hee first betraied, and shew themselues loyall to Galba, against whom hee intendeth: willing them lastly to reckon in reason what successe might ten thousand attend against the consent of the Empire armed for Galba. His souldiers thus being perswaded, perswaded the rest all in a manner to remaine in Galbaes obedience. Whereupon a shout being made in the campe, Nymphidius supposing the souldiers had called him, or hasting to confirme the wauering, and preuent the tumult, went thither himselfe with torches and linckes, hauing learned without booke an oration composed by Cingonius Varro, to pronounce there among them. But finding the gates of the campe made fast, and souldiers in armes on the walles, hee feared the matter, and drawing neere demanded what they meant, and by whose warrant they had put themselues so in armes. And when it was answered by all agreeably, that they knew not, nor would not accept other Prince beside Galba, Nymphidius finding the perill, ioined with them, and wished also long life and prosperitie to Galba. Augustus commanding his followers to doe all the like. And so by the souldiers, which guarded the gates, being admitted with a few of his traine, hee was at his entrie welcommed in with a dart hurled at him, which one Septinius bare off with a buckler. But seeing so many at the receit with naked swords prepared

against

against him, he fled, and being pursued was slaine at the length in a souldiers cabin. The day following his body was laied out to view in an open place railed about.

Galba being yet in his way and hearing of Nymphidius death, commanded the rest of his fauourers and complices to be executed: among which Mithridates of Pontus paied for his mirth, and Cingonius Varro who penned the oration. As Galba drew neere to the City at the Miluian bridge, the Mariners met him, whom, being by Nero taken from seruice by sea, and inrolled into a Legion, Galba had commanded to returne to their former estate. But they being many in number, and loth to goe backe to the Gallies againe, beset the high way on both sides, demanding their Eagle and ensignes tumultuously, and so without order, that the Prince could neither be heard nor seene of the people making his entrie: neither could he appease them by putting them ouer to another time of greater leisure and better audience, but taking deferring as a kinde of denying, seditiously they murmured and followed with outcries. And some of them also drew out their swords, as though they would obtaine it by force, which by faire meanes they could not. Whereupon Galba commanding the horsemen to ride in amongst them, slew of them being vnarmed seuen thousand, and of the residue allotted euery tenth man to suffer, putting the rest close vp in prison, which neuertheless he after enlarged to his disaduantage.

Now Galba, being with generall applause and great good liking of the Empire placed in state, behaued himselfe vnder expectation. And though in most points hee shewed himselfe a vertuous Prince, yet were not his well doings so well accepted, as those disallowed which were otherwise. All persons vniustly exiled by Nero, as well of the Nobilitie as meaner sort, with their children hee mercifully restored againe to their countrey and honour, though not to their wealth. Contrarily Petronius Turpilianus, an ancient man and once Consull, without forme of processe or order of law, hee commanded to die, being charged with no other crime, but onely that hee had beene faithfull to Nero, and would not betray him as the rest did. Then was represented a plausible and gratefull spectacle, Elius, Polycletus, Locusta, Patrobius, Petinus and others in fetters drawen thorow the Citie and publikely executed, as ministers of Nero in mischiefes, whereas Tigellinus the Master, not without notable incongruitie, was by Galba protected. And notwithstanding the people in Theatres and all common assemblies ceast not importunately to demand his death, as an accomplishment of due and exemplarie iustice pleasing to God and to man, yet gold with Vinius and Vinius with Galba waighed so much, that not onely he receiued vndeserued protection, but also for his sake the people were rebuked by publike edict. Whereupon Tigellinus solemnizing the feast of his deliuerance, Vinius rose from supper with Galba and went thither with Crispina his daughter to banquet, vpon whom Tigellinus bestowed a courtesie of * a thousand thousand sesterces in ready money, and beside all the iewels and Carcanets of his principall minion which sate there at table, by estimation * six hundred thousand sesterces. Beside Tigellinus one Halotus of all Neroes instruments the most pernicious, was likewise by Galba protected, and preferred also to an honourable office. Now for neerenesse Galba was noted extremely, a vice though incident to age, yet doubtlesse in a Prince much misliked, and in a new Prince dangerous. To a certaine Musician which had wonderfully pleased, hee gaue with his owne handes out of his owne purse * twentie sesterces: and to his Steward at the making vp of his bookes a reward from his table. But that which was most materiall of all, and prepared the way to his fall, was his hardnesse towards the souldiers: to whom large donatiue being promised in Galbaes name, and requiring if not so much, yet so much at least as they were wont to receiue, hee wholly refused the suit, adding withall, That souldiers hee tooke vp in the muster, bought not in the market. A saying no doubt fit for a great Prince in a more vertuous age, but not so in those seasons

* That is, about eight thousand pound English.
* Almost fiue thousand pound
* Three shillings English.

seasons for him, who suffered himselfe to be sold euery houre, and abused to all purposes; to be gouerned by three pedagogues, Vinius and Laco his fauorites, and Icelus his man. To priuate men it is sufficient if themselues doe no wrong: a Prince must prouide that none doe it about him; or else hee may looke when the first occasion is offered against him to bee charged with all the whole reckoning together. To him that suffereth the iniurie, it matters not much who made the motion when he feeleth the hand that is heauie vpon him. Thus Galba though innocent of much harme which passed vnder his name, yet because he permitted them to commit it, whom he ought to haue brideled, or was ignorant of that which hee ought to haue knowen, lost reputation, and opened the way to his owne destruction.

FINIS.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. *The Proeme of Tacitus, wherein he professeth simple dealing without partialitie.*

THE beginning of my worke shall be at the yeere, when Seruius Galba was [1] second time Consull with Titus Vinius. For the ancient storie of the people of Rome, for [a] seuen hundred and twentie yeeres after the Citie was founded,[2] many excellent men haue deliuered, with no lesse eloquence then libertie of speech: but when as after the battle at Actium, the whole soueraignetie, as it was [b] meet for the peace of the state, was conferred vpon one, those worthie wits were no more to be found, and withall the truth of the storie was diuersly weakned: partly [3] because hauing no more part in the state, they were ignorant of publike affaires; and partly being led away with a lust to [c] flatter the Princes, or againe to deface them. So betweene malice of the one side, and awed partialitie of the other, small regard there was taken by either, how posteritie should be truly enformed. But that indeuour, to please and winne thankes, in a writer a man shall easily mislike, hauing in it the foule note of seruilitie: detracting and enuious carping, carrying a counterfet shew of libertie, oft findeth a good and gracious audience. Now for Galba, Otho, Vitellius, to me they are as vnknowen, for either benefit or wrong I haue found at their hands. My first rising, I will not denie, was vnder Vespasian, my state bettered by Titus, and so further aduanced by Domitian: but they which make profession of the simple truth, may not say ought of any man for loue or for hatred. Heereafter, if the gods spare me life, I purpose when I am old, to set downe the storie of [4] Prince Nerua of sacred memorie, and of the Emperour Traiane, a more plentifull and safe matter to deale in, where a man may thinke what he will, and say what he thinkes: a rare felicitie of the time.

The yeere of the City 822. sic 817

[a] Tac. Ann. 1. *veterum resp. prospera vel aduersa, clarisq; scriptoribus memorata sunt: temporibusq; Augusti dicendis non defuere decora ingenia, donec gliscente adulatione deterrerentur.*

[b] Tac. 1. Ann. *Non aliud discordantis patriæ remedium fuisse, quàm vt ab vna regeretur.*

[c] *Tiberij, Caij, & Claudij ac Neronis res florentibus ipsis, ob metum falsæ, postquam occiderant recentibus odijs compositæ sunt.* Tac. 1. Ann.

[1] When SERVIVS GALBA was second time Consull] Cornelius Tacitus, whom Vopiscus calleth *scriptorem historiæ Augustæ*, wrote two seuerall volumes of histories: one from the death of Augustus, as it may seeme, to the Calends of Ianuarie next after the death of Nero, comprehending Tiberius, Caius, Claudius, and Neroes time, and the greater part of Galba; another from the said Calends to the death of Domitian. Of this latter volume in order of time, howsoeuer it was in order of writing, the first foure bookes comprize the historie of one yeere and some moneths onely, from the beginning of Ianuarie, when Galba and Vinius entred their Consulships, in the yeere *ab vrbe condita* 822. according to Tacitus, or rather the consent of the Empire in that time. *Claudio Cæsare quartùm, Vitellio tertium coss.* saith hee, 11. Annalium, iust two and twenty yeeres before Galba and Vinius, *ludi seculares octingentesimo post Romam conditam anno spectati sunt*, which account exceedeth the Capitolin (as they call it) by one yeere, and agreeth fully with [a] Varro, [b] Cicero, [c] Plinie and [d] Dioes reckoning. Now although the Prince and an officer may seeme in one person incompatible qualities, yet the custome of that state beareth, that the Emperour the first yeere of his Empire of order, and effsoones vpon pleasure supplied the one Consuls place. The reason is in *Appian.* 1. Εμφυλ. Σύλλας καίπερ ὢν Δικτάτωρ εἰς ὑπόκρισιν ὥμως καὶ σχῆμα δημοκρατικῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπάτου ἅμα καὶ ἀνθυπάτου ἠρήθη σὺν Μετέλλῳ τῷ ὁσιωτάτῳ, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἴσως ἔτι νῦν οἱ Ρωμαίων βασιλέες ὑπατεύοντες ἀποφαίνονται τῇ πατρίδι ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἀποδεικνύοντες, ἐν καλῷ πεφυκότι μετὰ τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς καὶ ὑποστένουσι. That is, Sylla albeit he was Dictator, yet for a colour and shew of popular gouernment was content to be made Consull againe with Metellus Pius. and from hence it proceeded peraduenture, that euen at this day the Roman Princes, when they name Consuls for the state, diuers times pronounce the names also, not disdayning euen with their soueraigne authoritie to beare also the title of Consull. Now the first Consulship of Galba was foure yeeres before Tiberius death, obtained by fauour of Liuia Augusta, saith Plutarch in Galba; Λιβίας φιλοκύσης ὑπατεῦσαι τὸν πενθερὸν ἔπεισεν: which I thinke is an ouersight. for she was dead foure yeeres before, in small fauour with her sonne, and they in smaller, that sought by her meanes to rise in honours. [illegible] Annalium. *Quin & part eius. in epistula increpuit Tiberius amicitias multiebres, Fusium consulem obliquè perstr[illegible] Augustæ flornerat, ap us abi-*

[a] *Censorinus c. 21*
[b] *Brutus.*
[c] *lib. 8. cap 7.*
[d] *lib 40. & lib. 52 & lib. 60.*

[e] *Tac. 6. Ann.*

ciendis fœminarum animis, &c. Neither was it Tiberius manner to bestow offices so long before hand. *Tacit. 2. Annalium.*

[2] Many excellent men] principally meant, as I take it, of Liuie, although his storie reach somewhat further, of whose eloquence, those workes are witnesse that remaine: and of his libertie, Tacitus 4. Annal. in the oration of Cremutius Cordus. *Titus Liuius eloquentiæ ac fidei præclarus inprimis Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit, vt Pompeianum eum Augustus appellarit, neque id amicitiæ eorum offecit. Scipionem, Afranium, hunc ipsum Cassium nusquam latrones & parricidas, quæ nunc vocabula imponuntur sæpe vt insignes viros nominat.*

[3] Because hauing no part in the state they were ignorant: *Inscitia reipub. vt alienæ*] *Aliena ignorantur*, either because wee cannot, or because wee care not to know them. The first seemeth heere to haue place; for whereas before the people and Senate of Rome tooke knowledge of all that was done wheresoeuer, now the most important affaires of estate passed thorow fewer fingers, in more secret sort. *Dio. lib. 53.* τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα κρύφα, καὶ δι' ἀπορρήτων γίγνεσθαι ἤρξατο, ὥστε οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ σαφὲς εἰδέναι ῥᾳδίως, καὶ ἔξω τῶν πραττόντων αὐτὰ. That is, *The most part of affaires began in secret sort to be dispatched, whereof the certaine truth no man lightly knew, except the doers themselues.*

[4] Prince Nerua of sacred memorie: *Principatum Diui Nerua & imperium Traiani*] To certaine Emperours the Senate for their good gouernment, or importuned by their successours, awarded *Templum & cælestes religiones*, and the title of Diuus. And not onely to the Princes themselues, but sometimes to their wiues, mothers, and children also; as wee reade in the stories. *Appianus 2. Ἐμφυλ.* καὶ οὖν ἐξ ἐκείνου πρῶτα (speaking of Diuus Iulius) Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ἐκ τότε τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν δὲ ἀρχόντων, ἢν μὴ τύχῃ τυραννικὸς ἢ δι' μιαιφονίαν ὤν, ἀποθανόντα, ἐξίσου πᾶσιν ἱσοθέων. ἀποθανόντα, saith Appian. *That is, From Iulius Cæsar downward all the Princes, except they were tyrants, or extremely vicious, were by the Romans deified after their deaths.* *Nam Deum honor Principi non ante habetur quam agere inter homines desierit.* [5] Tacitus. And therefore in this place he nameth Traian, who then liued, simply without addition: the other that was dead, *Diuum Nerua*m. The ceremonies of this [h] ἀποθέωσις or canonizing, as being in part conformable to the vse of some countries in our time, I will heere briefly set downe out of [i] Herodian, and others, at least the principall points. After the Princes death, the bodie being buried honourably, and in sumptuous sort according to the manner of other men, they framed an image of wax resembling in all respects the partie deceased, but palish and wan as a sicke man: and so being [k] laied at the entrie of the Palace in [l] an ivorie bed couered with cloth of gold, the Senate and Ladies assisting in mourning attire, the Physitians daily resorted vnto him to touch his pulse, and consider in colledge of his disease, doctorally at their departure resoluing that hee grew in worse and worse termes, and hardly would scape it. At the end of [m] seuen daies they opined, and found by their learning, the crisis belike being bad, that the patient was departed: whereupon some of the Senate appointed for that purpose, and principall gentlemen, taking vp the bed vpon their shoulders caried it thorow Via sacra into the Forum; where a company of yoong gentlemen of greatest birth standing on the one side, and maids of the other, sung hymnes and sonnets, the one to the other, in commendation of the dead Prince, entuned in a solemne and mournfull note, with all kinde of other musicke and melodie, as indeed the whole ceremonie was a [n] mixt action of mourning and mirth, as appeareth also by *Seneca*, ἀποκολοκυντώσει, at the consecration of Claudius. *Et erat omnium sonorissimum (funus Claudij) & impensa cura plenum, vt scires Deum efferri, tibicinum, cornicinum, omnisque generis æneatorum tanta turba, tantus concentus, vt etiam Claudius audire posset.* Afterward they carried the herse out of the citie into Campus Martius, where a square tower was builded of timber, large at the bottome, and of competent height to receiue wood and fagots sufficiently, outwardly bedeckt and hung with cloth of gold, imagerie worke, and curious pictures. Vpon that tower stood a second turret in figure and furniture like to the first, but somewhat lesse, with windowes and doores standing open, wherein the herse was placed, and all kinde of spiceries and odours, which the whole world could yeeld, heaped therein: and so a third and fourth turret, and so foorth, growing lesse and lesse toward the top: the whole building representing the forme of a [o] lanterne or watch tower, which giueth light in the night. Thus all being placed in order, the gentlemen first ride about it, marching in a certaine measure: then follow others in open coches with robes of honour, and vpon their faces vizards of the good Princes, and other honourable personages of ancient times. All these ceremonies thus being performed, the Prince which succeedeth taketh a torch, and first putteth to the fire himselfe, and after him all the rest of the companie: and by and by as the fire was kindled, out of the top of the highest turret an [p] eagle was let flie, to carry vp his soule into heauen: and so he was afterward reputed, and by the Romans adored, among the rest of the gods. Marry, which I had omitted almost, before consecration it was vsuall, that some gentlemen at least should bestow an oath to proouе their deitie. Suetonius Augusto: *Nec defuit vir Prætorius, qui se effigiem tremuli (Augusti) eumdem in cælum vidisse transire.* The like was testified of Drusilla Caius sister by one Liuius Geminius a Senatour. Dio. lib. 59. λίβιός τε τις γεμῖνιος βελδυτὶς ἐς τε τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτῶν ἀναβαίνουσαν, καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς συγγινομένην ἑωρακέναι ὤμοσεν, ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, εἰ ψεύδοιτο, ἐκθανασίμους. τὴ τε δρύσ ἄλλαν θεῶν ὑπεροψίαν, καὶ τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν ἐκείνης, ἐφ' ᾧ πάντα καὶ ἔπαθε μυρίαδας ἔλαβε. *That is, One Liuius Geminius a Senatour sware that he saw Drusilla ascending vp into heauen, and conuersing with the gods, wishing to himselfe and his children vtter destruction if he spake an vntruth, calling to witnesse both sundry other gods, and especially the goddesse her selfe of whom he spake, for which oath he receiued a million of sesterces, which makes 7812. lib. 10 shillings sterling.* whose tale, for all it was well paied for, men beleeued neuer the better. *Seneca*, ἀποκολοκυντώσει: *Postquam in senatu iurauit se Drusillam vidisse cœlum ascendentem, & illi pro tam bono nuncio nemo credidit, quod viderit, verbis conceptis affirmauit, se non iudicaturum, si in medio foro hominem vidisset occisum.* This lesson they may seeme to haue learned of Proculus Iulius, who tooke an oath not much otherwise for Romulus deitie, whom the Senate murdered and made a god: from whence this race of the Roman gods may seeme to haue taken beginning. Tully also had a meaning that way for his daughter Tulliola, as appeareth by his Epistles *ad Atticum*, but worldly troubles put out of his head those heauenly cogitations. From C. Cæsar, Augustus, Claudius, Vespasian, Titus, in a manner without interruption, the

[1] As of the 12. first Emperours fiue only, Iulius, Augustus, Claudius, Vespasian & Titus, were canonized: the other seuen, as being τυραννικοὶ ἢ δεισιδαίμονες, were not vouchsafed the honour.

[5] *lib. 15. Ann.*

[h] This making of gods by men *Lucan lib. 7.* derideth. *Cladi tamen humi haiemus Vindictam quanta terra dare numina fas est: Bella pares spretis faciunt ensibus deos, Fulminibus reges, radijque ornabit & astris, Iuga Deûm templis turabit Roma per umbras.*

[i] *lib. 4.*

[k] In our time after the death of the late Charles in France, his image was laied in a rich bed, in triumphat attire, with the crowne vpon his head, & the coller of the order about his neck, and forty daies at ordinary houres dinner & supper was serued in with all accustomed ceremonies, as seeming, were grace, carued for taking &c. all the Cardinals, Prelates, Lords, gentlemen and officers attending to haue giuen solemne farewell vnto him, their hire kind heere alue.

[l] Xiphilinus notes him some other particularities not specified in this narration.

[m] During that time, saith Xiphilinus, there stood also a page with a fan of Peacocks feathers to keepe away the flies from his face, all howere him asleepe.

[n] Herodian lib. 4. μιμῆται γάρ τε τῶν ἔργων ἐκεῖνοι τὰ Διονύσια. Dio. lib. 56. in epitaphio Augusti: ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ πυθέσθαι αὐτὸν ἡμῖν πρέπει, ὅπου ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχή. ὡς ἐγὼ θεὸς, ἀεὶ ἀγάλλεται. Pharn. [o] Dio. lib. 49. in funere Augusti: καὶ πύργον ξύλινον ἐπιτήδειον κατεσκεύασαν λαμπρόν, ὑφάναντες αὐτὸν (τὴν πυρὰν) καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀπελύσατο, ἀετὸς δὲ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀφῆκεν, ὡς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν διαφέρων.

[p] Dio. lib. 49. in funere Augusti: καὶ πύργον ξύλινον ἐπιτήδειον κατεσκεύασαν λαμπρόν, ὑφάναντες αὐτὸν (τὴν πυρὰν) καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀπελύσατο, ἀετὸς δὲ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀφῆκεν, ὡς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν διαφέρων.

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still were dread so long, that many also of the Christian Emperors retained in their stiles and medailes. And this was the honour done to the good Princes euer since death: as for the bad, they hated not likewise the flatterers reuiued as women falla commoditie, as flatterie disgraceth, as empire vses reuerence to Tiberium, &c.

II. *A generall view of the whole historie following.*

AWORKE I take heere in hand containing sundry changes, bloudy battles, violent mutinies, [a] peace full of crueltie and perill: [b] foure Emperors slaine with sword, [c] three ciuill warres, forraine many moe, [d] and oft both at once: good successe in the East, bad in the West: [e] Illyricum troubled; the countries of Gallia wauering: [f] Brittanny all conquered, not all retained: inuasions of the Sarmatian and Suevian nation: the [g] Dacian giuing and taking notable ouerthrowes: the Parthians also almost in armes, [h] abused by a counterfet Nero. Now for Italie, it was afflicted with many miseries, some neuer heard of, some not of many yeeres before: townes [i] burnt or ouerwhelmed: [k] most fruitfull tract of Campania, and the citie of Rome wasted by fire: the most ancient temples consumed to ashes: euen the Capitoll it selfe set on fire by the citizens owne hands: the holy ceremonies prophaned: great adulteries: [l] the ilands replenished with banished men: [m] the cliffes stained with bloud: and yet greater rage of crueltie in the citie. [n] to haue beene wealthy or nobly borne, was a capitall crime; [o] offices of honour likewise either to beare them, or forbeare them; and vertue the ready broad way to most assured destruction. Neither were the wicked practises of the informers more odious, then was the recompence they obtained: some gained [p] as spoiles, Pontificall dignities and Consuls roomes: some other [q] Procuratorships and [r] inward credit, making hauocke of all without any difference. [s] The bondmen, vpon hatred or feare, were allured to betray their owne masters, the freedman his patron: and where enemies were wanting, one friend ruined another. And yet for all this, was not the age so vtterly void of all good, but that it yeelded some good examples: diuers wiues were content to take such part as their banished husbands did: diuers mothers, as their children: some kinsfolkes hardie: some sonnes in law faithfull: some bondmen no racke could remoue from being true to their masters: the death of some honorable men, and their last torments manfully borne, and to be matched with those of ancient times. Beside so manifold changes in humane affaires, many prodigious sights were seene in heauen and earth; many forewarnings by thunders; many presages of things to come, some portending good lucke, some bad; some ambiguous and doubtfull, some plaine and euident: such heauy and horrible calamities in the Roman estate, yeelding proofes neuer more pregnant, [t] that the gods are carefull rather to reuenge our wrongs, then prouide for our safetie. But before I enter into my purposed matter, I thinke good to rehearse first, what the state of the citie was, how the souldiers were affected, in what termes the prouinces stood, and what there was any where in the whole Empire sound or complaining: so shall we see [u] the reasons and causes of things, not only the bare euents, which are most commonly gouerned by fortune.

[a] Chiefly referred to Domitians time.

[b] Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Domitian.

[c] The first betweene Galba and Otho. The second betweene Vitellius and Vespasian. The third betweene Domitian and Antonius Primus.

[d] Nihil enim mutatis dubitat Dacus. The words seeme to import civill dissensions: or mutinies to be shewne.

[e] Hostile, or Germanie generally considered in what soeuer it was set.

[f] πάντα τὰ ἐφ' ἑσπέρας ἐπὶ τὰ ἑῷα ἐκλιπόντα ἐς ἀλλοτρίους ἐτράπετο, saith Xiphilene of Nero, who in Domitian did match in all kinds of tyrannie.

[g] cap. 3.

[h] cap. 4.

[i] And oft both at once: *Ac plerumque permixta*] Both at once, or perchance both in one, as in *Antonius Primus* armie at the taking of Cremona, *cui ciues, socij externi interessent.* Tacitus 3. Hist. and in the same booke: *Principes armis ac the taking of Cremona, cui ciues, socij externi interessent.* Tacitus 3. Hist. and in the same booke: *Principes armis ac* so that this warre, *Sarmatarum Iazygum in commilitium asciti, trahuntur in partes Sido atque Italicus reges Sueuorum.* and such like, though in respect of their captaines ciuill, by reason of externall helpes might be called *permixta.*

[k] Illyricum troubled] As in Othoes time by the *Roxolani.* Tacitus in this first booke. in Vitellius, by the *Daci:* Tac. 1 Hist. in Vespasians by the *Sarmatæ*; Iosephus ἀλώσ. 7. c. 12. and generally the nations vpon that border intended the Romans vnder Domitian. Tacitus in the life of Agricola.

[l] Britanny

[3] Britanny all conquered &c. *Britannia perdomita: & statim missa cohorte in Sarmatarum ac Sueuorum gentes*] Some learned men correct this place, which no doubt is corrupted, thus: *perdomita Britannia ac statim amissa: cohorte Sarmatarum ac Sueuorum gentes.* *perdomita Britannia* is meant by Iulius Agricola in Domitians time. Tacitus *in vita Agricolæ*: *Quia tum demum perdomita est Britannia*: now must it be lost againe in the same Domitians time (for this historie passeth no further) which cannot be prooued by any storie, no not by any slender coniecture. Tacitus writing the life of Agricola in Traians time, *Eainsecuta sunt*, saith he, *resp. tempora, quæ serui Agricolam non sinerent: tot exercitus in Mœsia Daciaque, & Germania Pannoniaque, temeritate aut per ignauiam ducum amissi: tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati & capti. nec iam de limite imperij & ripa, sed de hibernis legionum & possessione dubitatum.* the losse of Britanny if there had beene any such, had much better becommed this place, then any other calamitie that hee could haue told vs. But [4] Agricola left the countrey in good quiet, and so no doubt it continued all Domitians time. As for any matter happening vnder Adrian (which yet was no losse of the countrey, but some disorder) being out of the compasse of this historie, and as it is likely, of his life that wrote it, I will easily beleeue it was not intended to be briefed in this place. More according to the storie, and with lesse change in the letter, we may thus amend it: *Britannia perdomita & [5] statim missa* (*i. missa facta*, ἀφειμένη) *cohorte Sarmatarum ac Sueuorum gentes*, to signifie that all Britanny was conquered, but not all retained. App. τῆς Βρεττανικῆς νήσου, saith hee, τὸ κεφάλαιον ἔχουσιν ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ (οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι) ἀφεῖντο τῆς ἄλλης ἀνάγκῃ. ὑπὸ γὰρ ὠφελείας αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐπὶ πᾶν ἐκράτουν. That is, Of the Iland of Britanny the Romans possessed the best part, about halfe of the whole Ile, not caring much for the rest. For euen of that which they haue they reape no great profit.

[4] Abused by a counterfet Nero] This hapned in Titus time. Zonaras tom. 2. ὁπότε καὶ ὁ Φλαβιανὸς ἐπάνω, ὃς ἀστὸς ἦν, ἐπανέστη δὲ τερατίας μάλιστα ὑποκρινάμενος τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὸ εἶδος, καὶ τὴν φωνήν, καὶ ἐκπληκτικός, ἔστε τῶν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἑῴαν ἐθνῶν πολλοὺς προσεποιήσατο. καὶ ὅπη τὸν ἐνφράτην διεκπερᾶν ἔμελλε πολὺ πλείους ἀνεῖλκε. καὶ τέλος πρὸς ἀρτάβανον τὸν τῶν Πάρθων κατέφυγεν ἄρχοντα, ὃς καὶ δι' ὀργῆς τὸν τότε ποιούμενος, ἐδέξατο τέως καὶ καταγεῖν εἰς ἔνυλον παρεσκεύαζετο. That is, In Titus time there arose a counterfet Nero, called indeed Terentius Maximus, by birth of Asia, and much resembling Nero both in countenance and voice, skilled also on instrument. This fellow got in Asia some followers, and going forward to Euphrates many more. At length he fled to Artabanus King of the Parthians, who bearing ill will to Titus gaue him entertainment, and made prouision to reduce him to Rome. Suetonius *Nerone* seemeth to make it in Domitians time. *Quumpost viginti annos*, (after Neroes death) saith he, *adolescentes mentitissent condition*[em] *ac fortunæ, qui se Neronem esse iactaret, tam fauerabile nomen eius apud Parthos fuit, vt vehementer adiuuerint, & vix reddi*[ti] *sit.* Tacitus 2. Hist and the abridgement of Dio make mention of another which in Othoes time was slaine in *Cythnos* insula by *Calpurnius Asprenas*.

[5] The most fruitfull tract of Campania, and the cittie of Rome wasted by fire] Suet. Tito. c. 8. *Quædam sub eo fortuita ac tristia acciderunt, vt conflagratio Vesuuij montis in Campania, & incendium Romæ per triduum, totidemque noctes.* Xiphilinus the abridger of Dio describeth this burning of Vesuuius at large with all the circumstances and miracles, among the rest, that the ashes thereof were dispersed into Africke, Syria and Egypt: εἰσῆλθε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις, καὶ τὸν τε ἀέρα τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς ἐπλήρωσε, καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἐπισκίασε. That is, And at Rome filled all the aire about the cittie, and darkened the sunne. Plinius Secundus in an [6] epistle to Tacitus setteth it out vpon occasion of his vncles death, who was stifled there with ashes and smoke. In the latter Emperours time the same mountaine burned againe in such vehement sort, that they at Constantinople were choked all vp with the ashes that issued from it, if wee may safely beleeue their owne stories. Now for the wasting of Rome by fire, Xiphilinus deliuereth it at large. πρὸ δὲ ἄλλων τῷ ἐξῆς ἔτει πολλὰ παν τὰ ῥώμης ἐπυρήκατο. καὶ γὰρ τὸ σεραπεῖον, καὶ τὸ ἰσεῖον, τότε δὴ καὶ τὸ παντεῖθεον, τότε βαλανεῖον τὸ τοῦ ἀγρίππα, καὶ τὸ πάνθειον, τό τε διοικητήριον, καὶ τὰ τοῦ βάλβου θέατρον, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν περὶ τὸν σκηνὴν καὶ τὰ ὀκταύια οἰκήματα μετὰ τῶν βιβλίων, τόν τε νεὼν τοῦ διὸς τοῦ καπετωλίου μετὰ τῶν σωμάτων αὐτῶν κατέφλεξεν. That is, The yeere following that of Vesuuius, another fire wasted very many parts of Rome. For it consumed the temple of Serapis, that of Isis, the places called Septa, the temple of Neptune, Agrippaes bathes, the Pantheon, the Diribitorium, the Octauian buildings with the bookes, moreouer the temple of Iupiter Capitolinus and his fellow gods.

[6] The Ilands &c. *Plenum exilij mare*] *Mare pro insulis.* So Tacitus 4. Ann. calleth *Seriphus, saxum Seriphium*, by way of contempt: for such commonly were the Ilands, into which the *relegati* were sent. The vsuall Ilands of this portion were Pandateria, Planasia, Cercina, Seriphus, Gyarus, Cythera, Amorgus, Donusa, Trimerus, Baleares, Sardinia, Naxus, and perhaps others.

[7] The cliffes &c. *Infelli cædibus scopuli*] The *relegati in insulam* were commonly vpon a second message led aside to some creeke or promontorie, and so quietly made away, or peraduenture *scopuli* is taken heere *pro insula*, as more was before.

[8] Or feobeate them] Xiphilinus *Domitiano* maketh mention of Herennius Senecio, whom Domitian put to death, [9] because after the Questorship hee had not demanded in all his life any higher office. Tacitus *in vita Agricolæ*. *Saluis tamen propinquis eius solitum honorem offerri, & quibusdam à seipso concessum Agricolæ non dedit* (Domitianus) *siue offensus non petitum, siue &c.*

[10] As Scoles] In Tiberius time, when Libo Drusus was accused of treason, *bona damnati inter accusatores diuidebantur, & prætura extra ordinem data & quæstoria: quorum ardor erat.* Tacitus 2. Annal. Againe 3. Annal. *Hunc* (Titium Sabinum) *Latinius Latiaris Porcius Cato, Petronius Rufus, M. Opsius præturæ functi, aggrediuntur cupidine consulatus*; speaking not of the time heere intended, but of the same manner of proceeding; rather of other men, then other matters.

[11] Procurators &c.] *Procurator*, saith Cicero *pro Cæcina, dicitur is qui omnium rerum eius, qui in Italia non sit, absentis curat, quasi quidam pro domino est, hoc absente iura vicarius.* Appian. translateth it ὁ τῶν ἀποδημούντων ἐπίτροπος. From this generall notion, the word was afterward particularly applied to certaine offices, which were appointed in euery prouince (beside the Presidents, or Lieutenants) as it were, Treasurers or Receiuers to gather vp the reuenues of the Empire. Dio. l. 53. ἐπιτρόπους ὀνομάζουσι τοὺς τὰ κοινὰ σφῶν διοικοῦντας, καὶ ἀντεπιτροπεύειν ὀφίσιν ἀναίσιμοι. That is, Procurators we call them which receiue, and according to their commission pay out the common reuenues. Tac. *in vita Agricolæ* bringeth in the Britans complaining: *Singulos dominos alium vigil sufficit, vnum binos impuni, equibus legatis in famulatum, procurator to bona sæuire.* [12] An office of gaine,

rather

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[4] *Tradiderat magnum Agricolam fuisse sub prouincium quietam ac tempus.*

[5] *Or fortasse missa.*

[6] *Lib. 6. ep. 16.*

[7] *In Ephesiaca ego in nullo [illegible] of this number reckon: but Tacitus himselfe in the preface of Agricola disputes on that reason, because he prohibited a learned man public of Heliodorus Priscus.*

[8] *Tacitus Annalium proœmio Romanæ vetustatis antiquissimum quemque per ambitionem scripsisse arbitratus, vt pote [illegible] per prouocationem adulationem [illegible] per [illegible] per [illegible] per

rather then honour, supplied by the gentlemen of Rome, or by the Princes libertines, generally by his most assured, and trustie seruitours. And this was their first institution. Beside this they were set also to spie the Lieutenants actions, and sometime they had speciall commission to murder them. Sometime they were sent into smaller prouinces as gouernours with iurisdiction, then called *procuratores cum potestate*, or *vice-præsides*. Tac. In this booke: *Duæ Mauretaniæ, Rhætia, Noricum, Thracia, & quæ alia procuratoribus cohibentur, vt cuique exercitus vicina, ita &c.* Claudius especially enlarged the office, cuius, saith [f] Tacitus, *sæpius audita vox est, parem vim verum habendam à procuratoribus sine iudicaturum, ac si ipse statuisset. Ac ne fortuito prolapsus videretur, senatus quoque consulto cautum, plenius quàm antea & vberius.* And in Tiberius time Pontius Pilatus, who put Christ to death, was but onely *procurator*, not Lieutenant, or President. Tacitus 15. Annal. *Auctor nominis eius Christus, qui Tiberio imperitante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat.*

[f] 12. Ann.

[11] Inward credit.] Such was the credit of Mæcenas with Augustus, and of Salustius Crispus, who as Tacitus [g] reporteth, *Quanquam prompto ad capessendos honores aditu, Mæcenatem æmulatus, sine dignitate senatoriâ multos triumphalium, consularumque potentiâ anteit, incolumi Mæcenati proximus, mox primus, cui secreta imperatorum immitterentur.* in summe, such as cared not to beare office of honour, but otherwise gouerned the Prince peaceably, in qualitie of fauourites, or minions, as they call them.

[g] Ann 3.

[12] The bondmen] In ancient time by a decree of the Senate the bondman could not be put to the torture in *caput domini*: but Tiberius, saith Tacitus 2. Annal. *callidus, & noui iuris repertor mancipari singulos aclori publico iubet: scilicet vt in dominum ex seruo saluo senatusconsulto quæreretur.* Afterward *indicia seruorum* without torture were vsually receiued as good euidence, and largely rewarded. Tacitus 16. Annal. in the cause of Petronius; *corrupto ad indicium seruo.*

[13] That the Gods are carefull rather &c.] Titus the Emperour, hauing shipped away all the informers and promoters, *ingenti animo securitati nostræ vltionique prospexerat, ideóque numinibus æquatus est*, saith Pliny in his Panegyricke, attributing to the gods both qualities, to saue vs from harme, and to reuenge vs when we are harmed, and carying a more reuerent conceit of them, then his fellow [h] Tacitus seemeth to doe in this place, and in some other places beside. 14. Annal. *Prodigia quoque crebra & irrita intercessere. Anguem enixa mulier, & alia in concubitu mariti fulmine exanimata: iam sol repente obscuratus, & tactæ de cælo quatuordecim vrbis regiones. Quæ adeò sine cura deûm eueniebant, vt multos post annos Nero imperium & scelera continuauerit.* Annal. 16. *Exuitus omnibus fortunis, & in exilium actus* (Cassius Asclepiodotus) *æquitate deûm erga bona malaque documenta.* And yet in some other places hee letteth fall sometimes religious sentences, carrying himselfe as it were in ballance doubtfully betweene the carelesnesse of Polybius that way, and the superstitiousnesse of Liuy, two principall writers of the Roman storie.

[h] Lucan. lib. 4. *Felix Roma quidem, ciuisq; habitura beatos, Si libertatis superis tã cura placeret, Quàm vindicta placet.* --

[14] The reasons and causes of things, not onely &c.] The commendation of an historie consisteth not in reporting bare euents, but in discouering the causes of those euents, without which the reader can picke but small profit out of a simple register booke. ἀχ ὅτως ἐστι φροντιστέον, [i] saith Polybius, ἢ αὐτῶν τῶν πραξέων ἐξεταστέον, ἔτε τοὶς γράφουσιν, ἔτε τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσι τὰς ἱστορίας, ὡς τῶν πρωτέρων, ἢ τῶν ἅμα, ἢ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων τοῖς ἔργοις. ἱστορίας γὸ ἐαν ἀφέλῃ τις τὸ διὰ τί, ἢ πῶς, ἢ πόθεν χάριν ἐπραχθη, καὶ τὸ προχθὲν πότερα εὔλογον ἐχε τὸ τέλος, τὸ καταλειπόμενον αὐτῆς, ἀψύχιμα μὺθ, μάθημα δὲ ὠφέλιμον μὴ γίνεται, ἢ παραυτίκα μὺ τέρπει, πρὸς δὲ τὸ μέλλον ὠφελεῖ τὸ παράπαν. That is, Neither are the writers of stories nor readers so much to regard and insist vpon the bare narration of the actions themselues, as the precedents, the adiuncts and consequences of the actions. for take away from storie the causes whereupon, and the maner how, and the purpose wherefore things were done, and whether the action had such successe as in probabilitie was to be expected, that which remaineth is a tale indeed, but no instruction, for the present delighting, but afterward profiting nothing at all. Scribere bellum, saith Sempronius Asellio in [k] Gellius, *quo initum consule, & quomodo confectum sit, & quis triumphans introierit, & quæ in eo bello gesta sint iterare; non prædicari autem interea quid senatus decreuerit, aut quæ lex rogatione lata sit, neque quibus consiliis ea gesta sint; id fabulas pueris est narrare, non historias scribere. Nobis non modo satis esse video quod factum esset id pronuntiare; sed etiam quo consilio quaque ratione gesta essent demonstrare.* And Dionysius Αρχαιολογ. 5. τοῖς αὐαγινώσκουσι τὰς ἱστορίας ὐχ ἱκανὸν εἰς ὠφέλειαν, τὸ τέλος αὐτὸ τῶν πραχθέντων ἀκῦσαι. ἁπαντεῖ δὲ ἐχειν καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἱστορῆσαι τῶν γινομένων, καὶ τοὺ τρόπους τῆς πράξεως, καὶ τὰς διανοίας τῶν πραξάντων, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου συγκυρήσαντα, καὶ μηδενὸς ἀγνόουσι γλυκύτατον τῶν πραγμάτων τοῖς πράγμασι παρακολουθεῖν. That is, In reading of stories the principall profit consisteth not in knowing only the end of things and euents, but euery man desireth to vnderstand the causes of that which passed, the maner of doing, the drifts and deuices of the doers, the occurrences of fortune, and to be ignorant of nothing which belonged any way to the action. the like lib. 11. For this vertue Theopompus is by the same [l] Dionysius extolled, and praised in most exquisite manner. τελευτῶν, saith hee, ἔστι τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶ (Θεοπόμπε) καὶ παραπλησιώτατον, ὃ παρ' ἑκάστοις τῶν ἄλλων συγγραφέων ὅπως ἀκριβῶς ἐξείργασται ὅτε τῶν πρωτβυτέρων, ὅτε τῶν νεωτέρων. τὸ δὲ τοῦτο ὅτι; τὸ καθ' ἑκάστην πράξιν μὴ μόνον τὰ φανερὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὁρᾶν καὶ λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐξετάζειν καὶ τὰς ἀφανεῖς αἰτίας τῶν πράξεων, καὶ τῶν πραξάντων αὐτὰς τὰ πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς, ἃ μὴ ῥᾴδια τοῖς πολλοῖς εἰδέναι. καὶ πάντα ἐκκαλύπτειν τὰ μυστήρια τῆς τε δοκούσης ἀρετῆς, καὶ τῆς ἀνομολόγου κακίας. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ, ὡς ὁ μυθολόγος ᾠδὴ τὴν ψυχῶν ἀπολυθεισῶν τὸ σῶμα θεασομὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ δικαστῶν, ὕτως ἀκριβῶς ἂν ὁ διὰ τῆς Θεοπόμπε γραφῆς μηχόμενος. That is, The last of his vertues and most peculiar and proper, as being by no other historie writer old nor new so exactly performed, is this, in euery action not onely to see and declare what was apparent to the view of the world, but also to search out the secret causes of actions, and to see into the affections of their mindes who are agents: things not easily seene of the common sort. and finally to discouer all the mysteries both of pretended vertue and cloked vice. the examination and triall by Theopompus writings being no lesse exact then the arraignment of soules fabulously deuised before the infernall Iudges. Now Tacitus in this place setting vs downe a Theoreme of historie, wherein without controuersie he excelled; that an historiographer is to giue knowledge of counsels and causes: another naturall, wherein he had no great grace, that *euentus plerumque sint fortuiti*, that is, either had no causes, or no causes that could be discouered, may seeme in [m] τοῦ αὐτοῦ to haue seene very neerely, but yet in [n] σωδύσει to haue looked not so well about him: ioining somewhat strangely two contrary notions together.

[i] Lib. 3.

[k] Lib. 5. cap. 18.

[l] In fragmentis.

[m] In diuision of notions.

[n] In composition.

III. *The state of the City and prouinces at the beginning of the yeere, when Galba and Vinius entred their office.*

THE death of Nero, as it was at the first very ioifully receiued, so wrought it anon very diuers effects in the mindes of the Senate at home; the people and [1] City-souldier, and of all the Legions, and captaines abroad, perceiuing the [2] secret of state disclosed, that a Prince might be made elsewhere then at Rome. The Lords of the Senat were glad, finding their libertie straightway put in practise, [3] making indeed very bold with their Prince, as being new in state, and away: next were the principall Gentlemen as in degree, so in reioicing; of the people the sounder sort, and such as were lincked with great houses, the followers and freedmen of condemned and exiled persons were raised to hope: the base people nosled vp in the *Race and Theaters, together with the worst sort of bondmen, and those which hauing eaten their owne, liued onely now vpon Neroes dishonours, hung downe the head, and listened for nouelties. The City-souldiers possessed with the oath of allegeance so many descents [a] to the house of the Cæsars, and to forsake Nero being wrought rather by art and cunning parswasion of others, than of their owne motion, when they saw the donatiue, which was promised them in Galbaes name, not to be performed, nor the like possibilitie and meanes of great desert, and great gaine in peace, as in warre; seeing also their thankes preuented by the Legions, who first proclamed the new Prince: vpon these and the like respects being prone to innouation, they were pricked forward by meanes of Nymphidius Sabinus their captaine, who by treason aspired himselfe to the Empire. And though Nymphidius was in the very attempt suppressed, and the head cut off thereby of the treason; yet there remained many of the souldiers guiltie of the fact, and hating him whom they had wronged. Moreouer speeches were giuen out, noting the age and auarice of Galba. His seueritie, which was wont to be highly commended by [b] the common voice of the souldier, was now displeasant to them, who were generally weary of the ancient discipline, and so trained vp by Nero fourteene yeeres, that now they loued their Emperours no lesse for their vices, than once they reuerenced them for their vertues. And Galba had let fall a speech honourable indeede for the common wealth, but for himselfe dangerous, That souldiers he tooke vp in the muster, bought not in the market; for the rest of his doings were not according. His two fauorites, Titus Vinius, and Cornelius Laco, the one of all mortall men most vnhoneſt, the other most vnable, with the hatefulnesse of their leaud actions surcharged, and with the contempt of their insufficiencie, vtterly ouerthrew the silly old man. His iourney to Rome [4] was slow and bloudy: for by his commandement Cingonius Varro Consull elect, and Petronius Turpilianus who [c] had beene Consull, were both put to death: Cingonius, as an associate of Nymphidius, the other as one of Neroes [d] Captaines: who, [e] howsoeuer they deserued it, dying as they did, not called, nor heard, died as guiltlesse. His entrie into the Citie, when as so many thousands of vnarmed souldiers were put to the sword, seemed an vnluckie beginning, and was had in horrour, euen of those which executed the slaughter. The Citie was full of extraordinary souldiers: Galba [5] brought in the Spanish Legion, and there remained another, which Nero had gathered out of the Nauie, beside many companies out of the Legions of Germanie, Britannie, and Illyricum, which Nero had selected, and sent before to the [6] straits of the Caspian mountaines, for the warre intended with the Albanes, and afterward called againe to employ

* *Circo ac Theatris.*

a Tac. 14 Ann. *Praetorianos sacri Caesarum domui obstr. Sui.*

b In this verse imparted by Suetonius: *Disce milites meliores; Galba oft, non Gentem.* Galba, cap. 6.

c *Anni vbi consules fuit.*

d Against *Galba. Zonaras.*

e *Εδοξε γαρ ειναι μεν ἀξιος ὑπο τινων ἀποθανειν, ουκ ἐν τοιουτῳ δε καιρῳ, ουδε τοιουτῳ τροπῳ ἀποθνησκειν ὑπο τοιουτων ἀνδρων ἀλλ' ἐν ἑτερῳ τινι Plutarch in Galba, somewhere else, but not in such a manner, and such men.*

employ against Vindex: matter enough for inuocation, though not greatly in fauour of any one, yet ready prepared for him that would venture. By chaunce the newes came together that Clodius Macer, and Fonteius Capito were slaine. Macer without question had begun to worke troubles in Africke, and was by Trebonius Garucianus the Procurator dispatched, by commandement from Galba: Capito in Germanie attempting the like, Cornelius Aquinus and Fabius Valens [g] Lieutenants of Legions, slew without warrant. Some men were of opinion that Capito (though otherwise for extortion and vicious liuing very infamous) was neuertheles not guilty of treason: but that the Lieutenants hauing moued him to vndertake the matter against Galba, and seeing they could not induce him, tooke a new course, [f] preferring accusation against him, and consequently killing him for the crime wherof themselues were the hatchers: and so Galba either vpon a fickle disposition, or as being loth to search any deeper, did giue allowance to that which was done howsoeuer, sith it could not be vndone: but surely both the executions were greatly misliked, as in a prince once in obloquie, do he well do he ill, all is ill taken. Now his freedmen being ouer mighty, made open sale of all matters: his bondmen greedy vpon present aduantage, and hasty, as being vnder a master that was olde, and not like long to continue: in summe the faults in the new court being but the same, and of the like nature, yet were not excused alike, the very age of Galba was matter of scorne and contempt to them that were vsed to Neroes fresh youth, comparing the Princes, as the maner is of the common sort, in beauty, and comelines of presence. And this was at Rome, as in such a variety, the state of mens minds. Now for the [g] prouinces abroad, [i] of Spaine Cluuius Rufus was president, a person very eloquent, and for seruice in peace able, in war vnexpert. Those of Gallia, beside the memory of Vindex, were another way assured to Galba, being of late by him made citizens of Rome, and released of part of their tribute for the time to come; only the cities which lay nearest the armies of Germany, hauing not the like honour done, yea and some beside hauing part of their territory taken away, were aggreeued as well with their fellowes benefits, as with their owne wrongs. The souldiers of Germany (a perillous matter in so mighty armies) swelled with pride vpon their late victory, and againe, as hauing supported in some degree the contrary side, were perplexed with feare, they were slow in reuolting from Nero: neither did Verginius declare himselfe at the first for Galba: whether he desired the Empire himselfe, or no, was a question: without question his souldiers made him a profer. The death of Fonteius Capito euen they [g] stomached, that could not iustly complaine: onely there wanted an head, Verginius being sent for away vnder colour of friendship: whom when they saw not to be sent backe, and moreouer his doings [h] called in question, they tooke it all as their owne case. The armie of vpper Germany made light reckning of Hordeonius Flaccus their Lieutenant, a man aged, and gowtie, without resolution, without authority, vnable to rule a quieter company; now being in fury, and finding him weake to gouerne the bridle, they sturred and troubled the more. The legions of lower Germanie were a while without a Lieutenant generall, till at length Vitellius came, sent by Galba, the sonne of Vitellius which had beene Censor, and thrise Consull: [l] that seemed sufficient. The army in Britannie was quiet; and in truth among all the legions, in all those ciuill troubles, none behaued themselues [k] more innocently: whether it was, that they were faire off, and seuered by sea, or that by continuall exploites against the enemie, the malice of their humour was spent otherwise. Illyricum also sturred not, although the legions which Nero had called thence, while they lingred in Italie, had sent to Verginius to offer their

[f] Crimes are done in one place, crimes are not considered, so that the same punishment is not receiued here to be equall vnto [illegible].

[g] Those he meaneth, as I thinke that had giuen out hee was a traitour, or otherwise conspired to his death.

[h] [illegible] not iudicially, that I can find: [illegible] as Plutarch.

[l] *Id satis videbatur*: that is, to Galba to send him Lieutenant, or to the souldiers to haue a liking to make him their Emperour, hearing so well borne.

[k] And yet they ioined themselues with Vitellius.

their seruice, but the armies beeing farre asunder (a point most holesome to keepe souldiers in due faith and allegeance) could not ioine neither faultes, nor forces together. The East as yet was calme. Licinius Mutianus with foure legions ruled Syria, a man in the course of good and bad fortune famous alike: in his youth hee had to his cost wound himselfe into the acquaintance of great men; anon wealth wearing away, his state decaying, suspecting also the displeasure of Claudius, hee withdrewe himselfe from Rome into Asia, then as neere to the state of an exiled person, as after he was to the state of an Emperour: of riot, and industrie; of curtesie and arrogancie; of good and ill parts strangely compounded: pleasures excessiue, when his leisure serued: when the case required, excellent vertues: openly praise worthy, his secret actions were ill spoken of: but generally with them vnder him, with them about him, with his companions in office, by diuers allurements verie gracious; and such a one as could more easily deliuer the Empire to another, than obtaine it himselfe. Flauius Vespasianus with three legions gouerned the Iewish warre, appointed generall by Nero; a man that wished to Galba but well, and neuer meant to attempt against him; for he had sent his sonne Titus to do him his duety, as anon in conuenient place shall be declared. After the euent we surely beleeued, that the Empire was by the secret course of fate, by signes and oracles fore-appointed to Vespasian and his line. [10] Ægypt and the garrisons there the Gentlemen of Rome euer since Augustus time haue ruled with [l] royall authority: for so it was thought expedient to bridle and *keepe vnder a prouince of hard accesse, fruitfull of graine, seditious, and variable through superstition and wantonnesse, not accustomed to obey any law, to agnize any magistrate. [m] Tiberius Alexander, a man borne in the countrey, was gouernour there. Africke and the legions there, Clodius Macer being slaine, liked well enough of any Prince whatsoeuer, hauing had *triall of a meaner master. The one Mauretania and [n] the other, Rhœtia, Noricum, Thracia, and the other countries ruled by Procurators, as they lay neare to any of the armies, were swayed to like or dislike, as it liked their [o] betters that bordered about them. The prouinces which were vnfurnished of forces, and especially Italy it selfe, lying open to be subdued by any, were to become the prize of the warre. And this was the state of the Romane Empire when Seruius Galba second time Consull with Titus Vinius, began the yeere which was last to themselues, and last almost to the Common wealth also.

[10] Ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος ἡ Αἴγυπτος ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν τεταγμένα ἔθνη. Strabo 17.

* *Domi retinere.* to keepe them in awe, from gadding and seeking aid from abroad.

[l] *Tiberius Alexander eques Romanus.* Tac. *Ann* 15.

* *Pessimum imperantium domus minoru:* pettie Princes be like the hardest masters to their subiects and of Macer *Plut.* reporteth that he was exercised ὑπὸ ἀρχομένων, ἢ φύσεις ἀνδρῶν ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ πόθος ἔλαβε.

[n] *Pannonia & Cæsariensis.*

[o] *Tractus* in this booke *fere* is vsed for prouinces & soldiers.

* City-souldier] The souldiers that were resiant at Rome were of two sorts, *Prætoriani* and *Vrbani propriè dicti*, both of them by Tacitus heere, and elsewhere comprehended by the name of *Miles vrbanus. Miles vrbanus longa Cæsarum sacramento imbutus*: and againe *ut vrbana quidem militi satis consisat*, meaning onely or principally of the Prætorians. In his proper signification and standing in opposition to *Prætoriani*, Tacit. *addidit classi Vrbanas cohortes, & plerosque è Prætorianis*. againe, *quod rarò aliàs Prætorianus, Vrbanusque miles in aciem deducti*: now when it doth stand for the one, or for both, onely circumstance must helpe to discerne.

* That secret of state disclosed: *Enulgato imperij arcano*] *Enulgare arcana imperij* may seeme to bee that which Dionysius in the place before alledged calleth τὸ ἐκκαλύπτειν τὰ μυστήρια τῆς τε δοκούσης ἀρετῆς, καὶ τῆς ἀγαθομάνου κακίας, in affaires of state to reueale the good openly pretended, and the ill secretly intended. Notwithstanding *arcana imperij*, being in mine opinion so sundry in nature, can hardly be bounded with one definition. Tacit. Annal. 2. *Consuit Gallus in quinquennium magistratuum comitia habenda. haud dubium erat eam sententiam altiùs penetrare & arcana imperij tentari*: the secret of state heerein was, that whereas hope of honour or gaine is the onely soueraigne meane in court to retaine suiters and seruants in diligence and due deuotion, to speede so many at once were to make so many slacke waiters: and for so many yeeres before hand to driue the rest to despaire. In the same booke. *Augustus inter alia dominationis arcana, vetitis nisi permissu, ingredi senatoribus aut equitibus Romanis illustribus, sepposuit Ægyptum ne fame vrgeret Italiam, quisquis eam prouinciam, claustraq; terræ ac maris quamuis leui præsidio aduersus ingentes exercitus insedisset.* the secret is, into a country which rebelling might endanger the state, neuer to suffer men of great houses, or great credit among the common people to haue accesse. In this place, as it may seeme, are meant the secret trueths of apparences in affaires of estate. for the masse of the people is guided and gouerned more by ceremonies and shewes than matter in substance. The example of an Act done in vndue place, wherof there had been no precedent before. In congruity a Prince of Rome were to be created at Rome, and an Emperour in the seat-towne of the Empire, and so it had beene alwaies obserued: but the trueth was, and

so

so much the secret imported, that in substance it mattered not much where he were made, that afterward could maintaine it with armes, and with the good liking of the subiects of the Empire. This secret of state Galba disclosed, and making his profit thereof against Nero, gaue occasion to other to practise the like against him. The souldiers of Germaine in the choise of Vitellius, as Plutarch reporteth, φερε δή, τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον ἐλέγξωμεν Νέρωνος ἄξιον αὐτοκράτορα. *That is, Go to now, by chusing Vitellius let vs shew to the world that we are able to make an Emperour better then those of Spaine and Portugall.* Vitellius likewise passed out the same way he came. *Nam posse ab exercitu principem fieri, sibi ipsi Vitellius documento est*, saith Mutianus in Tacitus lib. 2. Hist. And generally after this secret was by Galba once disclosed, moe Emperours were made abroad, then at Rome. Beside these *imperij*, or *dominationis arcana*, [a] Tacitus maketh mention of *arcana domus Augustae*: that is, secrets of court, or of Palace, and 3. Ann. of *secreta imperatorum*. [a] *Annal.* 1.

[1] Making indeed very bold with their Prince, as being new in state] Tacitus 2. Hist. *Recens Galba principatu consuerant patres vt accusatorum causae negligerentur* and 4 Hist. in the oration of Curtius Montanus. *Elanguimus P. C. nec iam ille senatus sumus, qui occiso Neronc delatores & ministros more maiorum puniendos flagitabat. Optimus est post malum principem dies primus.* Now *accusatores*, promoters, or enformers are reckened *inter instrumenta imperij*, with as good reason as one Locusta in Claudius and Neroes time, *nuper venefici damnata & diu inter instrumenta regni habita*, saith Tacitus 12. Annal. For accusers certaine it is that many good Princes, or not very bad, haue beene content to maintaine them. Mutianus the mouth of Vespasian *censuit proinde pro accusatoribus*: Tacitus 4. Histor. *Heloidius Priscus* suing Eprius Marcellus vpon the decree *Dubiâ voluntate Galbae* became sodainly non-suite. *ibidem.*

[2] His iourney to Rome was slow] At what day Galba began his iourney from Spaine to Rome, and when he entred the city, the stories being lost, it is hard precisely to determine. Notwithstanding to giue some light to this place, and withall to yeeld a reason of the times set down by me [b] elsewhere, I thinke good to note the reasons which moued me thereto. First *Galerio Trachalo, Sitio Italico Coss. Neapoli de motu Galliarum cognouit* (Nero) *die ipso quo patrem occiderat*. Suet. [c] Neron. Now Agrippina was slaine *ipsis Quinquatruum diebus*: Tacit. 14. Annal. & Sueton. [d] Nerone; & *Quinquatrus* begin the nineteenth day of March. Ouid. Fast. 3. so allowing some competent time for Vienna, or Lions to Naples it will appeare that Vindex rebellion began about the tenth or twelfth of March. Againe Xiphilinus saith that Galba reigned nine moneths and thirteene daies, which is to be vnderstood from the time he tooke the Empire vpon him in Spaine, as Xiphilinus himselfe noteth in the last words of Vespasians time. so that Galba, dying the fifteenth of [e] January, began his raigne about the first or second of April. Nero began the 13. of October: Tacitus 12. Ann. ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τρία καὶ δέκα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς, ἐτελεύτησε δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἰούλιον μῆνα. *That is, And he raigned thirteene yeeres and eight moneths, wanting two daies, and died in the moneth of Iulie.* saith Zonaras tomo 2. which two sayings cannot both be true. for if Nero deceased in Iulie, then raigned he more then thirteene yeere and eight moneths: but if his raigne was no longer, which Xiphilin also alloweth vs of, then died he not in July. Againe the same Xiphilin writeth; καὶ τοῦτο συμβαῖνον γέγονε τὸν τε καὶ δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ Νέρωνος μέχρι τῆς τῆς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἀρχῆς διελθεῖν. *That is, That by the first computation from Neroes death till the beginning of Vespasians raigne, there was one whole yeere and two and twenty daies.* but the first day of Vespasians Empire was the first day of July: Tac. 2. Hist. so that Neroes death was vpon the 8. of June. and so it should seeme by Tacitus in this very booke, *septem & Neronis fine menses fuere.* Aurelius Victor saith, *Menses septem dieque totidem* (*imperauit Galba*) which vnderstood from Neroes death agreeth iustly with the former account. About the very same time with Nero died Vindex in France. The word come first of his death to Galba in Spaine, and certaine daies after of Neroes in post. Plutar. Galba. And certaine it is that Nero neuer had any newes of Vindex ouerthrow. for it could not haue beene otherwise, but that being heard must needs haue wrought some notable alteration at Rome. Philostratus lib. 5. *de vita Apollonij.* ἀφίκετο ἐς Μεσσήνην Νέρων μὲν πεφευγὼς, τεθνηκὼς δὲ Βίνδηξ, *That is, It was reported* (*at Messana where Apollonius then was*) *that Nero was fled, and Vindex dead.* as though at Messana in Sicily the newes of Neroes destruction had first beene reported. Of Neroes death Icelus brought Galba the newes in seuen daies from Rome. Plutarch. ἑπτὰ δὲ ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἀφικόμενος. So allowing some time for prouision, it may seeme that Galba set forward about the beginning of July, and entred the citie, as it may bee reasonably supposed, about September following; his iourney saith Tacitus was slow, the way long, and his men heauy loaden.

[3] Galba brought in the Spanish Legion] That is, as I thinke, Septima Galbiana, gathered (as it may seem by Tacitus 5. Hist. Dio lib. 55. and [f] Suetonius) by Galba in Spaine, which notwithstanding seemeth to haue been sent away into Illyricum before his death vnder Antonius Primus, Lieutenant, and therefore without cause remembred heere. In the tumult of Otho I finde no mention of any *Hispana legio*, neither in Tacitus in this book, nor any writer beside, vnlesse perchance they alone were asleepe, when all the world beside was in armes. [f] *Galba. cap.* 10.

[4] To the Hearts of the Caspian mountaines] Suetonius 8 Nerone. *Parabat* (Nero) *& ad Caspias portas expeditionem, conscripta ex Italicis senum pedum tyronibus cuncta legione quam Magni Alexandri phalangem appellabat.* Xiphilinus addeth, lastly that he had purposed a voiage into Æthiopia. [g] *cap.* 19.

[5] Lieutenants of legions. *Legati legionum*] *Legatus* in this very booke hath three significations. 1. *Legatus* for an Embassadour. *Consortium patrum petendum ad Germanicum exercitum legatos.* 2. *Legatus*, or *Legatus consularis*, or *consularis* for a Lieutenant, deputie, president, or gouernour of a whole prouince, or army. *Quibonem in prouinciam Lusitaniae proprae legatum sepsisse Haterium Flaccus consularis legatus aderat. inferioris Germaniae legiones diutius sine consulari fuere.* 3. *Legatus legionis*, or *legatus Praetorius*, or *legatus* simply, but by circumstance to be discerned, for the Lieutenant of a Legion, whereof were in euery army as many Legions. *Caelius legatus vicesimae legionis in vitâ Agricolae* speaking of the same Legion and man; *Quippe legatis consulibus nimia ac formidolosa erat. Nec legatus Agricolae* speaking of the same Legion and man; *Quippe legatis consulibus nimia ac formidolosa erat. Nec legatus Praetorius ab exhibendum patres. Nullo legatorum, tribunorumque pro Galba nitente. Vadis legatorum contumelias*, spoken equinocally, and to the vantage of the word, for the one of them was *legatus consularis*, and the other *legatus legionis*.

[6] Prouinces abroad (*E prouincij*)] *Scilicet Caesaris*, onely meant, as I take it, here. for Augustus after the warre at Actium, enforced (in sooth) by the Senate to vndertake the Monarchy, diuided the prouinces into two sorts. The quiet

quiet and peaceable countries he rendred into the Senat & peoples hand; the prouinces that limited & bordered the Empire, with the rest where any rebellion, or war might be feared, he retained to himselfe, and his successoures, in shew to sustaine himselfe all danger alone, and leaue to the Senate the sweet at their ease, but in truth to keepe himselfe alwaies armed, and them without armes. To the Senate and people, as [h] Strabo, and [i] Dio write, belonged these prouinces following, which [k] Tacitus, if I be not deceiued, calleth *Publicas prouincias. Duæ consulares*, Africke with Numidia, & Asia, so called because these two prouinces were properly assigned to those who had been Consuls, whereas for the rest it sufficed to haue borne inferiour office: and *decem prætoriæ* Bœtica, Narbonensis, Sardinia with Corsita, Sicilia, Epirus, Macedonia, Achaia, with Thessalia &c. Creta with Cyrene, Cyprus, Pontus and Bithynia. To himselfe he retained Hispania Tarraconensis, Lusitania, Gallia Lugdunensis, Belgica, Aquitania, Syria, &c. Cilicia, Ægypt, Dalmatia, Mœsia, Pannonia, and the tract of Rhene vpon the French side called by the name of [l] *superior* and *inferior Germania*, as it is also at this day called Germanie, but by Cæsars description comprehended in Gallia, and a very part of Belgica, who knew no other *Germania*, but that which the later writers call for difference sake γερμανίαν μεγάλην, *Great Germany*, beyond the Rhene: whereas Tacitus in this first booke naming often Germanie, meaneth alwaies the other two Prouinces, so called because the Germans continually passing the Rhene inhabited the countrey, and so by little and little changed the name. Cæsar lib. 2. com. Dio lib. 53. Tac. li. 1. Ann. and in his booke *de moribus Germanorum. Treueri & Nerui circa affectationem Germanicæ originis vltrò ambitiosi sunt, tanquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis, à similitudine & mœstia Gallorum separentur, ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubiè Germanorum populi colunt Vangiones, Træbogi, Nemetes, &c.* Of these two Germanies, *superior*, saith Dio, was ἡ μὲν τὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ (ῥήνου) πηγάς, *That is, From the head of the Rhene*, and stretched to Mentz, or Cobolentz rather: *inferior*, downward μέχρι τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ τοῦ βρεττανικοῦ, *That is, To the Brittaine Ocean.* Beside these prouinces whatsoeuer was afterward conquered or became subiect to the Romane Empire, as England in Claudius time, *Pontus Polemoniacus*, and *Alpes Cottiæ* in Neroes time, Dacia in Traians, &c. [m] increased the Emperors portion. Now the gouernors that were sent into the Senates countries, both Pretorian and Consular, were called *Proconsules*, whether they had euer beene Consuls or no. Those which the Emperors sent into theirs were called *Legati*, or *Legati Consulares*, or *Prætores*, except peraduenture they sent somtimes their Procurators, as in small prouinces before we haue noted Dio lib. 53. κἀκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὺς τοὺς βελτίους ἑκατέρου τοῦ ἔθνους πλὴν Αἰγυπτίων ἄρχειν κατέλιπεν (ὁ Αὔγουστος) ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς μὲν καὶ ἐπιτροπίας, καὶ κλήρους εἶναι, πλὴν εἴ τῳ πολυπαιδίας, ἢ γάμου προνομία προσείη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς κουρείας συλλόγου πέμπειν, ὥστε ξίφει παραζωννυμένους, ὥστε στρατιωτικῆ ἐσθῆτι χρωμένους, καὶ ἀνδυπάτους καλεῖσθαι μὴ ὅτι τοῦ ὑπατευκότας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλως τοῦ ἐστρατηγικότων, ἢ δοκοῦντάν γε ἐστρατηγικέναι μόνον ὄντας. ῥαβδούχους τεσσάρας ἑκατέρους, ὅπου γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀστει νενόμισται, ἔχεσθαι, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίσημα καὶ παραχρῆμα τῷ ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου γενέσθαι προστίθεσθαι, καὶ διαπαντός, μίχρι ἂν ἀνακομισθῶσιν, ἔχειν ἐπέταξε. τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους ὑπό τε ἑαυτοῦ αἱρεῖσθαι, καὶ προσβύτας αὐτοὺς αὐτοκρατόρας τε ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ ὅπλα τοῦ ἀστρατεύτου ὤσι, διατάξε, i. *Of both the publike and Princes Prouinces, Aegypt onely excepted, the Gouernors were taken out of the Senatours: for the publike Prouinces annuall, and chosen by lot (except they were conferred on any vpon some speciall priuiledge, as of mariage or multitude of children) and sent out as it were from the body the Senate not wearing sword, nor* paludamentum, *and indifferently called Proconsuls whether they euer had beene Consuls or not: hauing also as many Sergeants attending as vsuall they had in the Citie. And assoone as they were out of the Pomerium, assuming the ensignes of their office which they alwaies retained vntill their returne. Now for the gouernors of the Princes prouinces, he reserued them for his owne choise, and appointed that they should be termed* Legati *and* Proprætores, *though they had peraduenture borne the office of Consulship before. Et paulò post,* τῷ τε ὄν ἐπικλήσει τῇ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τοὺς αἱρετοὺς χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὅπλα πλείω ἢ ἑαυτοῦ χρόνον, ἐφ' ὅσον ἑαυτῷ δόξοι, ἄρχειν ἐπέτρεψε, τῶν τε στρατιωτικῶν σολλὴν φερεφορίαν, καὶ ξίφος, ὅτι καὶ στρατιώτας δικαίως ἔξειν, ἔχοντας. *That is, The name of* Proprætores *he gaue to those of his owne choise, and continued their office more or lesse during pleasure, appointing likewise that they should weare the* Paludamentum *and sword, as hauing authority of life and death ouer the souldiers.* Tacitus in this booke speaking of *Gallia Narbonensis* a publike prouince; *Vinius*, saith he, *proconsulatu Galliam Narbonensem seuerè rexit*, who neuer had beene Consull before: Annalium, 1. I finde Granius Marcellus called Prætor of Bithynia, which was at the first deuision a publike Prouince, and so continued as appeareth out of Plinies [n] tenth booke of Epistles. And in the same place of Tacitus mention is made of a Questor, an office now vsed in the Princes countries; and in Claudius time *damnatus lege repetundarum Cadius Rufus accusantibus Euthynis*; which action I thinke, lay not against the Princes *legati*, as executing their charge rather by way of commission, then by vertue of Office. But of *Proprætor* the case is cleere, 12. Ann. *in Britannia P. Ostorium proprætorem.* And of the same man, *Cæsar cognita morte legati, &c.* Vitellius in this booke is called *legatus consularis superioris Germaniæ*: and 4. Ann. *L. Apronius inferioris Germaniæ Proprætor.* Suetonius [o] Nerone. *Duce Julio Vindice, qui tum eam Prouinciam Proprætore obtinebat, id est, Galliam Lugdunensem* belonging to the Prince. In Africke Caius beside the Proconsull, the office and name due to the place, superinduced a *legatus* as from himselfe to take charge of the souldiers there. Tacit. Hist. 4. *Legio in Africa auxiliaq; tutandis imperij finibus, sub diuo Augusto Tiberioq; principibus, proconsuli parebant. Mox C. Cæsar turbidus animi, ac [p] M. Sullanum obtinentem Africam metuens, ablatam proconsuli legionem, misso in eam rem legato tradidit, æquatus inter duos beneficiorum numerus, & vnctis vtriusq; mandatis discordia quæsita, auctaque. Prauo certamine legatorum ius aboleuit, diuturnitate officij, vel quia minoribus maior æmulandi cura. Proconsulum splendidissimus quisque securitati magis quàm potentiæ consulebant.* Dio li. 59. ὑποπτεύσας τε λίκινιον πείσωνα ὁ τῆς τε παλλακίνης, καὶ τῶν γυναίων πείσωνος ὢν ὃς ἄξιος τῶν ἀρετῶν ἔτυχε, φρονήσει μὲν γνωτικῇ τε ἀπὸ μεγαλαυχίας, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι σύνεσιν πολλὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν καὶ ξενικὴν ἔξειν ἐδόκει, καὶ δίχα τοῦ ἔθνους τοῦ ἰδίου, ἑτέρῳ τε τῶν στρατοπέδων, καὶ τοὺς νομάδας τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸ προσέταξε, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ δεῦρο τοῦτο γίγνεται. *That is, After that Lucius Piso sonne of Cn. Piso and Plancina was made Proconsull of Africke, Caius the Emperour fearing that vpon haughtinesse of stomacke he might be induced to worke innouation, especially hauing vnder his charge great forces both legionary & auxiliary, he diuided the gouernment into two parts, and gaue another the charge both of the souldiers and of the Numidians bordering thereabouts, which custome is retained euen to this day.* Only of Ægypt the Gouernor was neither called *Legatus*, nor *Proprætor*, but *Præfectus Ægypti*, or *Præfectus Augustalis*. Other names as *Præses Rector &c.* I take to be common to both sorts. Againe *in prouincijs publicis* were *Quæstores* beside Procurators; in the Princes, Procurators onely.

Dio

h *lib.* 17.
i *lib.* 53
k 13. *Ann.*

l In Marcellinus *lib.* 15. *Germania prima* (wherein were *Magontiacus, Vangiones, Nemetes, & Argentoratus*) and *Germania secunda. Agrippina & Tungri munera.*

m τῷ ἀεὶ κρατοῦντι προστίθη. *Dio.*

n *epi.* 64. 55.

o *cap.* 40.

p Or according to Dio, *Lucium Pisonem.*

Dio lib. 53 πάντα τὰ εἰς μὲν τὸ δῆμα τῆς τε βουλῆς λαγχάνοντα ἐστὶ δι' αὐτῶν, ἐς ἃ ὁ κλῆρος ἀποδείκνυσι. That is, Into the Prouinces which appertein into the Senat and people there are sent Questors chosen by lot, and τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους ἐς πάντ' ἔστιν ἃ τά τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου πέμπει ὁ Καῖσαρ. That is, The Emperour sendeth Procurators to all Prouinces alike, both his owne and th se which belong to the people.

9 Of Spaine &c. *Hispaniæ præerat Cluuius Rufus*] Id est, *Hispaniæ Tarraconensi*, for not onely the three Prouinces, into which Spaine is diuided, was furnished with souldiers, and of such especially in this place Tacitus intendeth, not extending his speech to the naked and peaceable, which afterward he calleth *inermes*. Cluuius Rufus was a famous Oratour, and wrot a story of that time alleadged by Tacitus 13. and 14. Ann. who, notwithstanding his preferment was by Galba, 9 swaru with the first to Otho, and in the beginning of Vitellius time returned to Rome, *non adempta Hispania quam rexit absens*. Tacit. 2. Hist. In the ninth booke and nineteenth Epistle Plinie maketh mention of a speech that passed betweene Verginius, and Cluuius: his words be these; *ita secum aliquando Cluuium locutum: Sum Virgini quæ historiæ fides debeatur; proinde si quid in historijs meis legum aliter ac velles, rogo ignoscas. Ad hoc sic illum, Cluuine in ignoras, idcirco me fecisse quod feci, vt esset liberum vobis scribere, quæ libuisset?* 9 Tac. 1. Hist.

10 Ægypt and the Garrisons there the Gentlemen of Rome] τὴν Αἴγυπτον, saith Dio. lib. 51. μὴ πᾶσι δεῖ ἄκοπον νίκην κατασκῆψαι ἐπίστευσεν (ὁ Αὔγουστος) καὶ τῷ γάλλῳ τῷ κορνηλίῳ ἐπέτρεψε, τοῖς τε ὅλοις τὸ πολυάνδρων καὶ ὅπλων πλέων, καὶ τῆς χώρας, ἣ ἀσφαλέστατον τῶν τόπων αὐτῶν, τήν τε καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλασσαν, καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ἐξαιρεῖ βουλόμενος μὴ ἐξ ὁποίας ἐγχειρίσεως αὐτὴν ἐπλήμμυρεν, ἀλλ' ὅσῃ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐξουσίᾳ ἔσχεν, ἀν μή τινα αὐτὸς ἐνομοθέτησε συγχωρήσῃ. That is, after the victorie at Actium Augustus made Egypt tributary, and committed the gouernment thereof to Cornelius Gallus. For considering the great store of people both in the Townes and the Country, moreouer their lewitie and inconstancie, that it was the Roman store house of Corne, and very rich of mony, not only he durst not trust it into the hands of the Senatours, but also expresly forbad any of them to soiourne there, except by permission namely from him. Tacitus 2. Ann. writeth that not onely Senatours, but also *equites Romani illustres* that is, as I thinke, those whom 16. Ann. he termeth *equites Romanos dignitate senatoria*) were forbidden to goe thither, but vpon permission; *Ne fame vrgeret Italiam quisquis eam prouinciam, claustraq; terræ ac maris quamuis leui præsidio aduersus ingentes exercitus insedisset.* Arrianus lib. 3. is of opinion, that the Romans in ordering Egypt followed the example of Alexander the great, who, saith he, κατὰ σῶμα λέγεται ἐς πολλὴν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς αἰγύπτου, τήν τε φύσιν τῆς χώρας θαυμάσας καὶ τὸ ἐγχείρητα, ὅπως ἀτολμὴς ἐωυτῷ ἐφαίνετο ἑνὶ ἐπιτρέψαι ἀρχειν τῆς αἰγύπτου πόσης. καὶ τοιαῦτα μοι δοκέει παρ' ἀλεξάνδρου μαθόντες, ἐς φυλακὴν ἔχειν αἰγύπτου καὶ μὴ δένα ἕνα ἀπὸ σφέων ἐπὶ τῷ δὲ ἐκπέμπειν ὑπάρχειν αἰγύπτου, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ ἐς τοὺ ἱππέας σφίσι ξωντελάντων. That is, Is reported to haue diuided the gouernment of Aegypt amongst many, hauing in admiration the naturall site and strength of the Countrey: wherefore he thought it not safe to commit the entire regiment thereof to any one man, and the Romans in my opinion learned this point of Alexander strictly to garde Aegypt and for the same cause to make none of the Senatours gouernour there, but onely of the ordo Equestris.

IIII. *The adoption of Piso.*

SOME few daies after the beginning of Ianuary, letters came out of Belgica from Pompeius Propinquus Procurator there, that the Legions of vpper Germany without respect of oth and duty demanded another Emperour; and that this their reuolt might be the lesse hainously taken, had referred the choise thereof to the Senate, and people of Rome. These newes hastened the purpose of Galba, who had already a good while before deuised with himselfe, and with some neere about him, concerning the adoption. No speech was for the time more common and currant in the whole Citie, partly vpon a licence and lust to talke of such matters, and partly because Galba was spent and feeble for age: vpon iudgement or loue to the Common-wealth very few, the most part vpon secret hopes, as they fauored or followed this man or that, offered occasion to bring them in speech for the succession. And now Vinius was growne into great hatred; who, as he waxed daily more mighty, so daily more odious: for Galba with his too much facility encreased and nourished the greedy and gaping desires of his friends neuer satisfied in so great meanes, and offending, as vnder a Prince weake of body, and light of beleefe, with lesse feare and greater aduantage. The whole power of the Prince was diuided betweene Titus Vinius the Consull, and Cornelius Laco captaine of the Garde. Neither was Icelius the freed man inferiour in fauour with his master, 1 who being priuiledged to weare gold rings, and made a Gentleman, was commonly called by the name of Martianus. These three, otherwise disagreeing, and in points of lesse importance drawing euery one a sundry way, in this consultation of chusing a successour were diuided into two sides. Vinius was for Marcus Otho: Laco and Icelius agreed not so much vpon any one, as vpon any other. Neither did Galba much like of the

cap. 12.

cap. 13.

partie, suspecting the counsell of Vinius as partiall, and grounded vpon a mariage pretended betweene * his daughter being a widow, and Otho an vnmaried man; a matter wherewith the eares of the Prince, by reason of tale-carriers in Court, were not vnacquainted. I thinke also that Galba was touched in part with care of the commonwealth, which might seeme in vaine transferred from Nero, if it were to be left vpon Otho. For Otho had spent his tender yeares without [a] regard of his honour, his youth afterward in all dissolute disorder, [2] in grace with Nero [b] through emulation of vice: and therefore Nero had left in his custody, as with one that was [c] priuy to his lustes, [3] Poppæa Sabina his principall minion, till he had dispatched his hands of Octauia his wife: soone after vpon an apprehension of iealosie, he sent him [d] away into Lusitania, colourably to be Lieutenant there. Otho hauing gouerned the Prouince with all curtesie, and being the first that came into Galba, and therewith a man of action, and of those which were present during the warre of greatest account, readily conceaued hope of adoption, and daily tooke himselfe better assured, being well fauoured of most the souldiers, and greatly beloued of Neroes court, as one like to their late master. But Galba after the newes of the German rebellion, although of Vitellius as yet he vnderstood no certainety, being doubtfull to what issue this violent proceeding of the Armies would grow, and reposing no trust in the Citie-souldier, proceedeth to declare a successour, the onely stay, as he supposed, of his estate. And calling to him beside Vinius and Laco, Marius Celsus Consull elect, and Ducenius Geminus * Prouost of the City, after some speech vsed of his age, [c] he commandeth Piso Licinianus to be sent for, either vpon his owne choise, or as some haue reported, at the instance of Laco: who cunningly preferred him as a meere stranger to himselfe, whereas indeede they had in Rubellius Plautus house, had long acquaintance together, and the good opinion which went generally of Piso, gaue credit to his counsell. Piso was sonne to Marcus Crassus, and Scribonia, nobly borne on both sides; in countenance and presence (after the ancient sort, rightly to iudge) seuere; but to them which interpreted all to the worst, seeming too sowre. That quality of his, the more it was by some men, carefull in that behalfe, misdoubted and feared, the better it pleased the man, who was to adopt him. So Galba taking Piso by the hand, is saied to haue spoken in this manner.

If I should as a priuate man only, by an act of the Curiæ and assent of the Priests, as the maner is, adopt you, it would be both an honour for me, to take into my family the progenie of Marcus Crassus and Pompey, and a glory for you, to adioyne the honorable encrease of the [4] Sulpitian and Lutatian houses to your owne nobility. But now being by the consent of gods and men called to the Empire, I am moued by your rare towardnes, and the loue I beare to my country, to offer vnto you, without your trouble, the Princes place, that, for which our auncestors haue contended in armes, which by armes my selfe haue obtained: following herein the example of Augustus, who placed in estate next to himselfe, first Marcellus his sisters sonne, afterward Agrippa his sonne in lawe, then his daughters sonnes, and lastly his wiues sonne Tiberius Nero. But Augustus, as it seemeth, sought a successour in his family, and I [f] in the common-wealth. Not that I lacke some [5] neere me in bloud, or companions in armes, whom I could respect: but neither did I by ambition attaine to the Empire, and of my iudgement herein may be proofe, not onely mine owne friends passed ouer, but yours also. A brother you haue, noble alike, in yeares before you, well worthy of this honour, were not you the more woorthy. Your yeares are such, as are setled from the affections of youth, and so spent, as nothing

* *Crispina.*

a *Patichi gestamen Othonis.* Iuuenal Sat. 11.

b *Per libertinam aulicam insinuatus Neroni, facilè summum inter amicos locum tenuit, congruentiâ morum.* Suet. *Oth* c. 2.

c *Delapso Nerone in amorem Actes assumpto in conscientiam Othone &c. Ann.* 13.

d At Senecaes intreating: *Plutar.*

Ann. 13. *Deficitur familiaritate Sueti, posti congressu & comitatu Othonis, & postremò ne in urbe æmulatus ageret, prouinciæ Lusitaniæ præficitur: vbi vsq; ad ciuilia arma non ex priore infamia, sed integrè, sanctèque egit, procax otij, & potestatis temperantior.*

* *Præfectum vrbis.*

* *Suetonius cap.* 17. somewhat differing from Tacitus writeth, *Pisonem repentè è media salutantium turba apprehendit filiumq; appellans, in castra perduxit.*

[f] To this saying allided as it may seeme, *Dagalaiphus* master of the horse to *Valentinian* the Emperor, who being demanded in counsell by his master, what partner he were best to assume of the Empire, answered briefly, *Si tuos amas habeas fratrem si rempublicam quære* Marcellin *lib.* 26.

nothing past needeth excuse. Hitherto you haue tasted only of aduerse fortune: » prosperity searcheth more deepely the mind; for miseries are borne with patience, » felicity corrupteth. Integritie, friendship, round and free dealing, the principall » gift of the minde, you for your part, no doubt will retaine as heretofore; but in o- » thers towards you, in respect of your degree, you shall finde it to be otherwise: flat- » tery will breake in, and pleasing speeches, and the most pestilent poison of all true » meaning, priuate respects for priuate aduantage. We two this day common plain- » ly together, others rather talke with our estate, then our persons: for indeed to per- » swade a Prince that which is meet, is a point of some paine; to flatter any Prince » whatsoeuer, needeth small endeuour. If this vast body of the Empire could stand » without gouernor balanced in due proportion and order, the free Common-wealth » might worthily haue taken beginning from mee: but now it is come long agoe to » that passe, that neither mine age can benefit the people of Rome any way more, » than in finding them a good successor, nor your youth, than in yeelding them a good » Prince. Vnder Tiberius, Caius, and Claudius, we haue beene as it were the inheri- » tance of one on [6] family: it will be in steed of liberty, that we begin to succeed by » election: and now the Iulian and Claudian lines be spent, adoption will still find out » of the best: for to be descended of Princes, is a matter of meere fortune, and so is » esteemed: in adoptions our iudgement is most incorrupt, and seldomest abused; and » if we will chuse of the fittest, the voice of the most will point vs our man. Set Nero » before your eies, whom, being descended of so many Cæsars, his owne infamous » life and vntolerable cruelty cast out of state, not Vindex with an vnarmed Prouince, » nor I with [8] one Legion: neither was there before a precedent of any Prince by » publike sentence deposed. We that came in, not by descent, but called in by warre » and opinion of desert, how honorably soeuer we carry our selues, yet shall we be » sure to haue our enuyours. And yet be not dismaied, if in this troubled and shaken » estate of the world, one Legion or two be not yet setled: I my selfe found not all so » sure at the first: and when this adoption shall be heard of abroad, I [7] shall cease to » seeme an old man, the only exception they take now against me. Nero shall doubt- » lesse be missed, and wished alwaies among the lewd sort; you and I must prouide, » lest good men also doe with him againe. To admonish you longer is not for this » time, and all mine intent is fully performed, if I haue, as I hope, chosen aright. The » surest and shortest rule to sort out good from euill, is to waigh what your selfe would » vnder another Prince haue allowed or blamed: for you haue not here, as in king- » domes, a certaine race borne to soueraignty, and the rest to be slaues; but you are » to gouerne a people, which cannot beare, neither bondage, nor liberty meere with- » out mixture. »

cap. 16.

[8] To wit, *sexta.* Tac. 5 Histor. *principem Gal- bam sexta legionis auctoritate factum.*

These words and the like Galba vsed as [h] creating a Prince, but the rest that were » present, spake as to a Prince already created. Piso is said to haue vttered no moti- » on, as of a minde either troubled or excessiue in ioy, neither then nor afterward » when euery mans eies were fixed vpon him. His speech to his father, and soueraine » was respectiue, and reuerent; concerning himselfe very modest: in countenance » and gesture not changed, shewing himselfe rather [i] able to furnish the place, than » desirous Then consultation was had, where the adoption should be pronounced; [k] » before the people, in the Senate, or in the campe, the campe was preferred, to ho- » nor the souldier thereby, whose good will and fauour, as it was by money and crow- » ching not to be bought, so got by good meanes would not be contemned. In the » meane season *Publick expectation*, which suffereth not any great secret long to be » secret, had as it were, beset the Palace about: and the same finding an issue, was af-

[h] That is, *Galba* by way of instruction: the rest flattering and fawning.

[i] Tac. 1. Hist. *de Iunio Blæso Nullius repentini ho- noris, adeò non principatus appe- tens, vt parum effugere crederetur, quin degressu crederetur.*

[k] *Prorostris*, that is, vnto the people assembled *in contione.*

terward by suppressing encreased. The tenth of Ianuary fell out to be stormy, with great thunder, lightnings, and extraordinary weather.[8] That being of ancient time obserued as cause to breake vp assemblies, staied not Galba from going to the campe, contemning such things as casuall, or because that which by fate is allotted though sometime foreshewed, is neuer auoided. There in full assembly of the souldiers with breuity princelike he pronounceth, that hee adopteth Piso, following the example of Augustus of sacred memory, and according to that military fashion, where each man maketh choise of his fellow. And least the Germane rebellion should, if it were concealed, be deemed the greater, he sheweth them purposely, that the fourth and eighteenth legion misse-led by a few mutinous persons had erred in words only, and termes, and shortly would be reclaimed: and so concluded his speech, bestowing vpon them neither eloquence nor money. The Tribunes not withstanding, and Centurions, and souldiers which stood neere about him, returned a plausible aunswere: the rest of the company were silent and sad, as hauing lost now their donatiue in warre, which they had vsed [10] of duety in peace to receiue. It is very certaine, their hearts might well haue bene wonne with neuer so little liberality of the sparing old man: his too much precisenes did harme, and that ancient rigour, which we in our time are not able to beare. From thence Galba went to the Senate and there made a speech neither fuller, nor finer, than before to the souldiers. Pisoes oration was curteous, and the Senators shewed themselues forward, many which liked him indeed, very farre; others that wished him not, in a good mediocrity: but most, very ready humbly to profer all duety and seruice vpon priuate respectes, without care of the common. Neither did Piso say or doe publikely any thing els the other foure daies, that were betweene his adoption, and slaughter.

[8] Who being priuiledged to weare gold rings: *Quem annulis donatum*] In Spaine when hee brought the newes of Neroes death. *Annulis donare* is all one with *equestri dignitate donare*, Tac. 2. Hist. *postulante exercitu vt libertum suum Asiaticum equestri dignitate donaret, inhonestum adulationem compescuit*, (Vitellius.) *Dein mobilitate ingenij quod palàm abnuerat, inter secreta conuiuij largitur, honoranit & Asiaticum annulis fœdum mancipium, & malis artibus ambitiosum* Sueton. [9] Vitellio. *primo imperij die aureis donauit annulis super cœnam, quum mane rogantibus pro eo cunctis detestatus esset seuerissimè talem equestris ordinis maculam*; speaking of the same man with Tacitus. Dio. lib. 48. δακτυλίοις τε χρυσοῖς ἐκόσμησεν, καὶ εἰς τὸ τῶν ἱππέων τέλος εἰσέγραψεν (Αὔγουστος τὸν Μῆναν) *That is, Augustus honoured Menas with golden rings, and entred him among the* Equites. for in ancient time, though afterward wealth increasing euery one began to braue it in golde, yet τῷ πάλαι ῥωμαίων ἁπλῶς ἐκ παντὸς δουλοπάτρων ποτέ, ἀλλ' ὁπόσοι τῶν ἐλευθέρων γένει τετιμένων, δακτυλίοις χρυσοῖς, πλὴν τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων χρῆσθαι ἐξῆν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς ἐξελευθέροις, ὅσοις αὐτὸς τὸ κράτος ἔχων ἐδωρήσατο, καίτοι καὶ ἄλλος χρυσοφορεῖν, ὅμως ἐν πολλῷ μέρει, ὡς καὶ βελτίοσιν ἢ κατ' ἀπελευθερίαν ἵππεύειν τε δικαίωμα δίδοντα. *That is, Among the ancient Romans it was not lawfull for any (I meane not of those onely which sometimes had been slaues, but of all others freeborne and liberally brought vp) to weare gold rings, except he were either* Senator or Eques, *and therefore the Princes bestow this vpon the freed men whom they fauour as a great honour though otherwise they weare rings of golde, as beeing thereby made better than commoh freedmen and equall in degree with the* Equites. This priuiledge the Prince conferred not onely vpon his owne, but also vpon other mens *liberty*, (although *inuitis* or *ignorantibus patronis* it was not lightly granted, or if it were, it was recalled) and it drew with it *ius ingenuitatis*, but not to exclude the patroue *ab hereditate liberti*, lib. 40 Digest.

[10] In grace with Nero, &c.] φίλῳ δὲ τῷ Ὄθωνι, καὶ συμβωτῇ διὰ τὴν ἀσωτίαν ἐχρῆτο. καὶ σκωπτόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολλάκις εἰς μικρολογίαν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν ἔχαιρε. λέγεται δὲ πότε μύρῳ τῷ πολυτελεῖ χέσαι μιν. τῶν γάρ νέρωνος καὶ τὸν Ὄθωνα καταβρεξάντες, ἐκείνης πάλιν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀγχόμενός σ' αὐτὸν ἅμα πολλαχόθεν ἀργυρᾶς καὶ χρυσᾶς φιάλαις ἀνωσάλῃ ἀπαερύσας, τὸ μύρον ἐν χέντες καταχλύζοντας. *That is, Nero vsed Otho, as his inward friend and companion because of his riot, and being often noted by him of sparing and nigardlinesse he tooke it in very good part, and it is reported that on a time Nero, as hee was annointing with a very costly ointment, hauing besprinkled Otho with a little thereof, the day following Otho entertaining him againe set in diuers corners siluer and golden pipes spouting out the ointment like water and washing the place.* Plutarchus Galbâ. ἦν δέ τις μάρκος σαλβιος ὄθων, ὃς ἴσως ἐκ τε τῆς ὁμοιότητος ἧς τρόπων, καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τῆς ἀκρατημάτων τῷ νέρωνι ὠκειοῦτο, ὥστε καὶ εἴπων ποτε πρὸς αὐτὸν, τῷ με καίσαρα ἴδοις, οὐδὲν διὰ τοῦτο κακὸν ἔπαθεν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον μόνον ἀπήκουσεν, ὅπ, οὐδὲ ὑπατόν σε ὄψομαι. *That is, there was one M. Saluius Otho so familiar with Nero both for likenesse of their conditions, and fellowship in vices, that when once in speech with Nero he let fall a word. So you may see me Emperour as this, and this is a trueth, he did him no harme, but onely replied, No I will not so much as see thee a Consul.* Xiphilinus Nerone.

[1] Poppæa Sabina] Concerning the matter how it passed betweene Nero, Poppæa and Otho, reade Suetonius Othone cap. 3. and Plutarch Galbâ differing from Tacitus in some little circumstances. But to this place of Tacitus

Tacitus most contrary, and without question irreconciliable is Tacitus himselfe in another. 13. Annal.

4 Sulpician an Lutatian houles] Plutarch speaking of Galbaes petigree μέγα δὲ εἶχεν, saith he, εὐγενείας ἀξίωμα τὸν Σερουίων ὄγκον, *That is, He was descended of the most honorable house of the* Seruij. And Tacitus *lib. 2. Hist.* Ti. Iulius, Claudius, Seruius; both somewhat strangely vsing the [b] forename *progentilicio*, to note the house which was *Sulpitia*: of which you may read more at large in Sueton. Galba, c. 2. & 3. But Galba, saith Plutarch, ἐπεδίδου τὸ γένος ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Κατλα συγγενείαν, *That is, Glorified more in affinitie with Catulus.* Q. Lutatius Catulus being his great grandfather by the mother. That he was of kin to Liuia Augusta, as Plutarch writeth, I haue not elsered, although it is true, that *ob eruditi ante omnes Liuiam Augustam, cuius & viuæ gratia plurimum valuit, & mortuæ testamento pene ditatus est.* Suet. c. 5. But of kinred I finde no word, neither doe I greatly beleeue it. Only a stepmother he had named Liuia Ocellina, who adopted him, and therefore he was called Lucius Liuius Ocellinus after her name *vsque ad tempus imperij*, if Suetonius in [c] Galba doe not deceiue vs.

[b] This forename of Seruius was so generall to the *Sulpitij*, that the *Sulpitij* surnamed *Rufi* assumed another forename turning the first and after a sort *in gentilicium*, whereupon in the life of Antcus, we reade, *M. Seruius Sulpitius*, and in Iulius obsequens *P. Seruius Sulpitius Rufus.*

[c] cap. 4.

5 Neare me in blond · *Propinquos aut socios belli*] Augustus adopted Agrippa and Tiberius as *socios belli*, the rest as *propinquos*. So Otho was to Galba *socius belli*, and Dolabella, who as Plutarch affirmeth was also in speech about the adoption, *propinquus* Tac. *Cornelius Dolabella propinquitate Galbæ monstratus*, if it be, as I thinke, the same man, of whom Plutarch speaketh.

6 Of one family] C. Iulius adopted Augustus; Augustus Liuia and Tiberius, who adopted Germanicus, whose Sonne Caius was, and Claudius his brother, and laitly Claudius adopted Nero in whom failed the Iulian line. Ausonius.

Aeneadum generis qui sextus & vltimus hares
Tolluit, & clausit Julia sacra Nero.

7 I shall cease &c. *Desinam videri senex*] *id est*, *Desinam contemni quasi senex. Non legiones, non classes perinde firmo imperij munimento, quam numerum liberorum.* Tac. 4. Hist. in the person of Titus. Literally to construe, it may seeme somewhat strange, that a man should cease to seeme aged, because he had adopted one that was one and thirty yeares old, as Piso [d] was, to whom in common intendement he might haue beene father, and so was reputed to all constructions, and purposes in law. But Adoption, as Generation, doeth in a sort eternize, and eternity knoweth no agednesse.

[d] Tac. 1. Hist.

8 That being of ancient time observed as cause to breake vp assemblies] *Cic. in Vatinium. Augures omnes vsq; ab Romulo decreuerunt, Ioue fulgente cum populo agi nefas esse. Philippica. 5. Ioue tonante cum populo agi non esse fas quis ignorat? 2. de diuinationis. In nostris commentarijs scriptum habemus: Ioue tonante fulgurante comitia populi habere nefas.* Anon after. *Comitiorum solum vitium est fulmen, quod idem omnibus rebus auspicium optimum habemus, si sinestrum fuerit.*

9 Where eche man maketh choise of his fellow] This maner of mustering was, that the first man should chuse out the second, who in the battell should stand fast beside him, the second the third, and so forth, eche his mate till the last man. An army so gathered was in the opinion of those ancient times thought in a maner inuincible, and questionlesse it had very many singular commodities. *Liui. l. 9. Ad Valimnis lacum Hetrusci, lege sacrata coacto exercitu, cum vir virum legisset, quantis nunquam aliàs antè simul copijs, simul animis dimicârunt.* Much after the same maner Xenoph. 1. παιδ. describeth the Persian muster, either because it was so indeed, or because in his iudgement, being an excellent commander, so had beene the best. Cyrus the Generall maketh choise of 200. trayned Gentlemen such as he knew most fit for the seruice. Eche of those 200. chuse foure more Gentlemen: and so rising vp to a thousand Gentlemen, euery Gentleman maketh choice of thirty common soldiers namely 10. [e] targets, 10. slings, and 10 bowes.

[e] πλαταγάς.

10 Their donatiue which they had vsed of duetie to receiue.] The Princes liberalities to the souldiers were called *Donativa*, to the people or otherwise to his friends, *Congiaria*, doubtlesse because at the first certaine measures called *congij* of wine or oyle were bestowed, and afterward other things being giuen, yet the ancient name remayned *Tac.* 12. Annal *Additum nomine Neronis donativum militi, congiarium plebi.* And *Sueton.* [f] *Nerone* of the selfe same thing: *Deductus (Nero) in forum tyro, populo, congiarium, militi donativum proposuit.* Which propriety of speech Tully, as it may seeme, not regarding, vseth *congiarium* instead of *donativum*, 16. ad *Attic. ep.* 8. *An iret ad tres legiones Macedonicas, quæ iter secundum mare superum faciunt, quas sperat suas esse. Ex congiarium ab Antonio accipere maluerunt.* Or rather, as I thinke, the word *donativum*, came in with the Empire not knowen in the free state. Donatiues the Princes vsually bestowed vpon some great victory, or other extraordinary occasion. Claudius was the first which at his creation promised to the souldiers Donatiue, fifteene thousand sesterces a man, that is, about six score pound sterling. *Primus Cæsarum fidem militi etiam præmio pegeratus*, saith [g] Suetonius: and when Nero his adopted sonne did take *togam virilem*, he gaue them another. Nero at his entry *promisit donativum ad exemplar paternæ largitionis. Tac.* Annal 12. and after the conspiracy of Piso was detected, *bina nummum millia virilim nomine paterno dari iussit*, that is, about sixteene pound, and diuers times in the Grecian iourney, inducing as it were by so many precedents a kind of necessity to his succours. Nymphidius promised them in Galbaes name thirty thousand sesterces, that is about twelue score pound, but Galba at his comming pared nothing at all. And heere in the adoption of Piso: *nullam orationi aut lenocinium additum, aut pretium.* Adrian following a more agreeable course to that time, in the adoption of Verus bestowed three hundreth millions of sesterces vpon the souldiers: and Antonius at the marriage of his daughter Faustina exceeded *vsq; ad donativum militum, Spartian.*

[f] cap. 7.

[g] cap. 10.

V. *An Embassage to the armies in Germanie.*

THE newes growing daily fresher of the German reuolt, and the City being redy to admit and beleeue all newes when they are euill, the Senate ordered, that Embassadours should be sent to the armies. It was besides secretly debated,

red, whether Piso also should go; they to cary the credit of the senate, and hee the countenance of the Prince, with more shew, & greater authority. It seemed conuenient, that Laco captaine of the Gard should be sent withall; but his vnwillingnesse brake the determination. The Embassadors likewise, the election of whom the Senat had giuen to Galba, were with shamefull inconstancy named, put out, others named in their place by labour and suite, to stay or to goe, as feare or hope moued them to doe.

VI. *The donations of Nero reuoked by Galba. Certaine Tribunes put from their charge.*

THE next care was for money: and casting about for supply it seemed most reasonable to fetch it thence, from whence the lacke had proceeded. [1] Two and twenty hundreth millions of sesterces Nero had wasted in prodigall gifts. Galba [a] commanded them all to be called, and left onely to each the tenth part of their gift: but they had in all scarce [b] one tenth part remaining, hauing spent with like riot what came from others, as they had before consumed their owne. Those greedy and wastfull companions had neither lands to extend, nor goods to be seazed, saue onely some furniture of vices. [c] Thirty gentlemen of Rome were deputed collectours to gather the money; a strange kind of office, and burdensome, both for the number, and suite that was made. In euery corner [d] the speare was planted, and sales proclaimed, the city disquieted with prizers and buiers: yet was it a great comfort to see that they should be as poore, to whom Nero had giuen, as they were, from whom he had taken. About the same time certaine Tribunes were cassed; Antonius Taurus, and Antonius Naso of the gard, Æmilius Pancensis of the city-bands and Iulius Fronto of the watch: neither was it any remedy to amend the rest; but rather an occasion of new feare in their minds, as though by cunning, and for feare certaine were singled, whereas all were indeed mistrusted alike.

a Not onely at Rome, but elsewhere also. Ἀφῆκε τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις ἀργυρικοῖς, ἃ δόσεις ἐπέταττε Νέρων ἅπασι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἀθρόως. Plutarch. in Galba.

b And in that case, saith Suetonius, order was taken, ut ſi quid ipſi ex indulgentia eius conſeruaſſent, exigeretur. Plutarch. Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπὸ τῶν Νέρωνος δώρων ἐκτίνοντα τοῖς ἔχουσιν (ἦν γὰρ ὀλίγος) οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι.

c Tacit. c. 15. Quinquaginta. d Hasta subfixa, ubi sectio publicè venumdabatur. Pet. Pithoeus. Sellas, effossa humo, vtrinque per ora hastarum.

[1] Two and twenty hundreth millions: *bis & vicies millia ſeſtertium*] *Mille* by errour for *millies*. Tacit. 2. Hiſt. *Nouies millies ſeſtertium*; not *nouies mille*; for so is the vse of the tongue. Now in these speeches pronounced aduerbially is vnderstood of course *centena millia*, so that *bis & vicies millies* is as much as if he had said, *bis & vicies millies centena millia ſeſtertium*. Plutarchus, *Antonio* interpreteth Decies by μύρια καὶ δισχίλια δὶς (δραχμῶν) that is *decies centena millia ſeſtertium*; counting as he doeth foure *ſeſtertij* to a *drachma*. *Seſtertius, quaſi ſemis tertius*, that is two and an halfe: and according to the same Analogie, in Greeke τριτάλαντον ἥμισυ is foure talents and an halfe, and in Dutch **drit halb hat jen**, two hats and an halfe. Now ſeſtertius signifying two and an halfe, as the vulgar note also importeth II. S. or ioyned H. S. that is *duo & ſemis*, is meant alwaies of so many *aſſes*, and therefore foure *ſeſtertij* are precisely equiualent to a *denarius*, so called of *dena aſſa*. Now all the Greeke stories without exception writing of the Roman affaires, in steede of *quatuor ſeſtertij* set downe δραχμῶν δισχίλιαι, not onely in small summes, but in huge great, where the difference must of force appeare, if in their opinion there were any betweene them. Seeing then *denarius* and drachma, according to the consent of the most olde writers against a fewe, are of equall value, both containing foure sesterces, eight drachmaes making an ounce, and the ounce in our time esteemed at fiue shillings sterling, our present summe of *bis & vicies millies centena millia ſeſtertium*, reduced to English money now current, amounteth to seuenteene millions an hundreth eighty seuen thousand and fiue hundreth pound. Neither can this summe seeme strange for Nero in fourteene yeeres, when [2] *Vitellius paucissimis mensibus nouies millies H. S. interuertisse creditur*, about seuen thousand thousand pound.

[2] Tac. 2. Hiſt.

VII. *The conspiracie of Otho: the death of Galba, Piso, Vinius, Laco, and Icelus.*

IN the meane season sundry causes concurring incited [a] Otho, whose hope and deuices depended vpon the common disturbance, to trouble the state; riot and excesse too costly euen for the purse of a Prince; bareneſſe and beggery scarse for a meane man to beare; anger against Galba; enuy toward Piso. and that his aspiring

a Suet. Otho. 3. Otho paſſagium Principi prolatum ſic deuitauit, tum cupidus rei, tum ne ſolus quem ſuperaſſet eum.

ring might seeme to be grounded vpon greater reason, he fained also feares to himselfe: how that in respect of his greatnes he had been a burden to Nero: that he was not againe to looke for a new Lusitania, or some other place of honorable exile, but to be murthered, or made away by some meanes; that course might Otho more iustly expect, the rule being almost without instance, That alwaies hee shall bee suspected and hated of the prince in possession, whom men do account woorthy, or like to the Prince in succession, that point alone did him harme with olde Galba, and would doe him more with young Piso, a man by nature not of the mildest, and made by long exile sauage and rough: and therefore he must of force doe and dare, now or else neuer, whilest Galbaes authority was waning, and Pisoes as yet not fully well waxen; sith * changes were times most apt for greatest attempts, and delaies there dangerous, where soft quiet dealing draweth more euill, then hazarding rashly, that death happens by nature to all men alike, with onely this difference of fame, or obliuion with posterity: and if he must die either guiltles or guilty, then were it more valiantnesse to die for desert. Otho was not effeminate in minde as in body, and his freedmen and seruants, the neerest about him, being brought vp in more licence than vsually in a priuate mans house, laied before him, who greedily gaped after such baites, the court of Nero, and riotous liuing; wiues at will of his owne, and of other mens, with such like pleasures of princes, as his owne proper good, if he durst seaze vpon them; if not, vpbraiding them to him, as left vnto others. [1] The Astrologers also vrged him forward, assuring by their star learning great changes at hand, and a yeere of aduancement for Otho: a kinde of people to Princes vnfaithfull, to hopers deceitfull, that in our common-wealth shal be alwaies forbidden, and alwaies retained. Many of that profession were emploied by Poppæa in her secret affaires, the baddest instruments a [b] Princes wife can vse: of which number Ptolomæus, who followed Otho into Spaine, promised he should ouerliue Nero: and so by the euent hauing won credit, perswaded him further, by coniecture alone, and speech of people comparing the yeares of Galba and Otho, that hee should be assumed to the Empire: but Otho embraced it as foretold by art, and by the forewarning of fate; as the humour is of most men to beleeue that soonest, which they least vnderstand, or know what it meaneth. Neither was Ptolemæus behind for his part, perswading him now to the points in that kind of fact, which in a mind so desirous is soone apprehended. But whether it came in his minde on the sudden or no, to commit this foule act, that is not certainly knowne: certaine it is that long before that, he had by all possible meanes practised the fauour and good will of the soldier, either vpon the hope of succession, or as preparing the way to his treason: in iourneying, in marching, in warding, calling by name such as were of greatest continuance, and tearming them mates, vpon the remembrance of liuing together in Neroes traine; with some renewing acquaintance; some calling for, and releeuing their needs with his purse, and his countenance; inserting withall now and then complaints, and glauncing at Galba with speeches of doubtfull construction, or what other way he could bethinke him, to stir vp, and alter the vulgar sort. The trauailes in iourneying, the straitnesse of prouision, the hard hand held ouer them were much mislik't of the souldiers: for whereas before they were wont to visit the [2] lakes of Campania, and townes of Achaia at their ease vpon shipbord, now it seemed sore to trot all a foot ouer the Pyrenees and Alpes, and huge long voiages at small ease in their armour. The soldiers mindes being thus already incensed, Meuius Pudens an acquaintãce of Tigellinus, ministred matter to inflame them further; who alluring some vnstaied heads, or such as were needy of money, and desperate

* Translate rare: that is, the very time and moment when the state passeth from one to another, or suffereth extraordinarie alteration. cap. 22

b Principale matrimonium, i. vxor principis, as Tacitus speaketh also, 11. Annal. At Claudio matrimonia ignara, lasciuam pellicem ferre edicto increpat: that is, ignorant of his wiues behauiour at home.

cap. 23.

cap. 24.

desperate vpon new desires, by litle and little proceeded so farre, that so oft as Galba was feasted at Othoes, vnder pretence of a banquet-beneuolence, he distributed to ech man of the cohort which waited, [c] an hundreth sesterces. which, as being a *publicke largenesse, Otho strengthened with secret rewards to particular persons: so confident a corrupter, that whereas Coccius Proculus a [‡] bilman of the Gard had a suite with his neighbour about a small parcell of ground, which lay doubtfull betweene them, Otho with his owne money bought the neighbours whole ground, and freely bestowed it vpon him: such was the insufficiencie of Laco the captaine, grossely to ouersee not onely close practises, but euen those dealings, which all the whole world espied beside. But at that time Otho appointed Onomastus one of his freedmen for master workeman to contriue the treason, who bringing Barbius Proculus the watch-word-carier of the bilmen, and Veturius a Centurions Lieutenant anon to his master, after that Otho by sundry speeches, and much priuate conference, perceiued them to be crafty, and bould, fit for his purpose, hee lades them with rewards in hand, but much more with promises to come; giuing them money to assay the minds of moe of their fellowes: and so two common souldiers tooke vpon them to transferre the Empire of the people of Rome, and accordingly performed it indeed. Few were by them made priuy to the principall purpose, and they by diuerse deuices incited the houering mindes of the rest; drawing into the association the chiefe of the souldiers preferred by Nymphidius, as being suspect to the present estate; the meaner sort, and the rest, by meanes of the anger and displeasure conceiued vpon despaire of their donatiue so often differred: some also there were, whom the memory of Nero, and desire of former licence did mooue: in generall, all were afraide they should finde a change in the seruice. This contagion infected also the Legions and Aydes, whose faith was weakened already, when as they heard their fellowes of Germany had left their allegeance. And so ready were the bad to rebell, yea the good to dissemble, that vpon the fourteenth of Ianuary, they had determined, as Otho returned from supper to haue taken him vp by the way, [d] had they not feared such casuall chances, as night might haue bred; and by reason the soldiers were lodged scatteringly throughout the whole towne; and that drunken men would a great deale more hardly agree; not for any care of common wealth, which they purposed, when they were sober, to pollute with the bloud of their Prince; but least in the darke by errour it might chance, that in steed of Otho, some other man should be offered to the [e] Pannonian and German souldiers, and so be accepted for Emperour, the most part of them not knowing Otho by sight. Many signes of treason euen now as it were discouering it selfe, were suppressed by the conspiratours: some other in Galbaes hearing Laco the captaine put away with a iest; a man litle seene in souldiers affections, and of any aduise, were it neuer so excellent, whereof himselfe was not auctour, an enemy, and against the skillfull obstinately contentious. The fifteenth of Ianuary as Galba was sacrificing before Apolloes temple, Vmbricius the Priest, by view of vnprosperous entrailes, foresheweth daungers at hand, and a home enemy in Othoes audience (for he was the next man) who contrarily construed it as good lucke on his side, and happy successe in his affaires. Anon after, Onomastus bringeth in worde, that the master carpenter, and those which had vndertaken the worke at a price, stayed for his comming: for that was the watch word agreed betweene them, to signifie, that now the souldiers were drawing together, and the conspiracy ripe. Otho fayning an answere to such as demanded the cause of his departure, that hee had certaine ould tenements to buy, which he suspected were ruinous, and therefore would haue them

[c] *Aureum vnum* (as saith *Plutarch*, and *Suetonius*, that is, 15. s. 7 d ob. Now this cohort or band consisted of a thousand souldiers; so that his whole liberality that way cost him one dinner 781 l. 5. s.

[‡] *Publicam, ipsorum*, or rather *Speculatorum*.

[d] Suet. Oth. c. 6. yeeldeth another reason: *nihilo minus reflectus cohortes quæ tunc excubabant, ne noctu irruerent inuidia, quod eiusdem flamma & Caius Iulius sub Augusto, & postea Nero. Medium quoque tempus vulgus, & Mathematici euerterunt.*

[e] For before hee had said, that *multæ Germaniæ & Illyricæ legiones* remained in Rome.

them viewed before, * following his seruants direction, went through Tiberius house into the Velabrum, and thence to the 3 golden Milliarium vnder the Temple of Saturnus. There three and twenty " Bilmen attending his comming salute him Emperour: and as he stood amazed, trembling for feare at their fewnesse, they snatch him vp hastily into a chaire, and with their swords drawen carrie him away. As they went forward toward the Camp, about so many mo souldiers ioyned themselues, some acquainted indeede with the cause, but most for the wonder and strangenesse: part with showtes, and drawne swords, part holding their peace, meaning so to proceed, as the euent should direct them. Iulius Martialis warded as Tribune that day in the Campe: who being either terrified with the greatnesse of so sudden a treason, or else fearing the Campe was further corrupted, and death, if he should make shew of resistance, gaue most men to misdeeme by his dealing, that he was somewhat of counsell with the case. The rest likewise of the Tribunes and Centurions preferred present security before duty with danger: and generally after that maner were their mindes and affections inclined, that into so horrible a treason few only durst enter, more wished it so, and all were contented to suffer it to passe. Galba in the meane while ignorant of all which had passed, was busily occupied about his deuotion, importuning the gods now of another mans Empire, when as sudden ly word was brought, that a Senatour, they wist not well who, was carried to the Campe; and straight-waies that it was Otho. Anon flocked thither out of all quarters, * as they happened to meete him, some making the feare more then it was, some lesse, not forgetting euen then to fall to their flattering biace. The matter being consulted vpon, it was thought conuenient, to sound the minde of the Cohort, which warded in the Palace, not by Galba himselfe, whose authority was to be reserued intier for greater exploites, but by Piso: who calling them before the staires of the house, vsed this speech. It is now, fellow-souldiers, six daies, since that I was, not knowing what might after befall, and whether this name were to be wished, or feared, adopted Caesar: with what successe to our house, or to the common-wealth, that lies in your hands: not that I am for mine owne particular, afraid of any heauy chance that can happen: froward fortune I haue proued with the most; and the good I doe take to bring no lesse danger: but my fathers case, the Senates, and the whole Empires I lament, if this day of force we must either kill or be killed; a hard choise for any good man. In the last troubles these comforts we had: the Citie was kept cleane without any bloud-shed; the State passed ouer without any discord; order was taken as it seemed, sufficient, by declaring a successour, that here after also there should be no new occasion of warre. I will not extoll and magnifie here mine ancient house, or modest behauiour; neither in the comparison with Otho, neede we to recken vp vertues: his vices wherein alone he triumphes, haue ruined the State euen then, when he was but a minde of the Emperours. By his gesture and gate should he deserue to be Prince, or by that womanish attire he weareth? they are fowly deceiued, whom riot deceiues with shew of liberality: to cast away and consume well may he be learned; to giue in good order he hath not the skill: bodily pleasures and banqueting, wanton dalliance with women, these be the points which now he proposeth himselfe; these he accounteth the prerogatiues of Princes; whereof the lust and pleasure shall be only his owne, the shame and ignominy redoundeth to all: for neuer any man yet vsed the Empire well, which he got by ill meanes. The consent of the world made Galba Emperour, and Galba by your consent made me. If the weale publike, the Senat, the people, be friuolous names, and no substance; yet for your owne interest prouide, fellow-souldiers, that the rashalleſt

* Tacitus liberty.

" Speculatores.

cap. 28.

cap. 29.

* As it seemeth, about the Temple of Concord, or Castor, as I think.

cap. 30.

"kalleſt ſort be no Emperour makers. The Legions abroad haue ſometime mutined
"againſt their Generals; that hath been heard of: your truth and good name hath re-
"mained as yet to this day vntouched: and Nero alſo forſooke you, not you Nero.
"Shall leſſe then thirty renegates and traitors, whom none would permit to chooſe
"their Centurion, or Tribune, diſpoſe of the Empire? doe you allow the example? doe
"you winke at their crime, and ſo make it your owne? the prouinces will vſurp the like
"licence, and the end of theſe treaſons wil fal to our ſhare, the end of thoſe wars vnto
"yours. Neither is there more gotten by murthering your Prince, then by keeping
"your hands innocent and cleane: as wel ſhal you receiue of vs a donatiue for truth, as
of others for treaſon. The "bilmen being ſlipped away, the reſt of the cohort ſeeming
to bee moued with his words, more of feare, as it hapneth in tumults, and yet with
ſome reaſon, make ready their enſignes, which afterward mē ſuppoſed was done for
a color and fraud. Marius Celſus alſo was ſent to the ſelected ſouldiers of the Illyrian
army, encamped in Vipſanius cloyſter: and commandement was giuen to Amulius
Serenus, & Domitius Sabinus, which had been * leaders of the principall enſigne, to
fetch forth the German ſoldiers * out of the court of Liberty. The legion of mariners
Galba diſtruſted, as being incenſed againſt him for the ſlaughter of their fellows at
his firſt entry. Cerius Seuerus, Subrius Dexter, and Pompeius Longinus Tribunes
were ſent to the Prætorian camp; to try whether the ſedition might now at the be-
ginning, & before it were grown to a ripenes, by better aduiſe be aſſwaged. Subrius
& Cerius with threats, & menacing were put by the ſouldiers to ſilence: vpon Longi-
nus they lay violent hands, and diſarme him, becauſe he had come to that place not
by order of ſeruice, but by extraordinary fauour of Galba; a man faithfull to his
prince, & therfore of rebels worſe liked. The legion of mariners without any ſtay ioi-
ned themſelues to them of the gard: the ſelected of the Illyrian army, with darts bent
vpon him, driue Celſus away: the German enſignes [f] were long in ſuſpence, beeing
as yet feeble in body, but in mind wel affected for that being ſent by Nero before to
Alexandria, at their returne tired & ſick with ſo long a cut, they were by Galba care-
fully cheriſhed. Now was all the common people & bondmen withall aſſembled in-
to the palace, requiring with tumultuous cries, as if they were to demand in the ſtage
or Race a paſtime, that Otho might be pulled in peeces, & thoſe other traitors exiled
not vpon [t] iudgement or any true meaning; for the ſelfeſame day with as vehement
inſtance they would be as ready to demand the other way: but only vpon a receiued
cuſtome to flatter the Prince whatſoeuer he be, framing [s] acclamations at pleaſure,
& vainely indeuouring to ſhew their good wils. In the meane ſeaſon Galba was di-
ſtracted with two diuers opinions. Titus Vinius thought beſt to ſtay within dores, to
oppoſe the bond men againſt them to fortifie the paſſages, and not to go forth to
men in their fury: that he ſhould giue a ſpace for the bad to repent, for the good to
conſent: that treaſons preuaile on the ſudden, good counſels gather forces by lea-
ſure: and laſtly if he would, or reaſon required it, then might he well go, as now, ſo
anon: but to come in again, if he chanced to repent him, were likely to lie in the wil
of another. The reſt were all of a contrary minde: that it was the much better way,
to cut off delaies with all poſſible ſpeed, before the conſpiracy of few, as yet without
force, tooke further increaſe: that euen Otho himſelfe would tremble for feare, who
being conueid priuily away, and brought in among thoſe which knew not the mat-
ter, through ſlothful delaying, and trifling the time, learns now at his leiſure to coun-
terfait the Prince. what? would they expect till Otho hauing compoſed the Campe,
and ſet all in order, ſhould inuade the Place of publike aſſembly, and as Galba
peeped out of a hole, vndef his noſe enter the Capitol; whileſt he, like a goodly trim

Captaine

"Spiculatores. vſp. 31

* Primipilares. *3 Libertas aſtrū.

[f] Suetonius ſomewhat otherwiſe, c. 20. omnes qui acceſſerunt, ſpreuerunt nouitium, excepta Germanorum cohortatione. Hi, ab exercitu meo miſſi, quaſi apud ſuos & in vrbe dominum inuenerunt ſuum ſed frigide, tamen donec per ignauiam incuria tuendi.

[t] Capitol.

taine, with his couragious friendes, so they may be in couert, kept close within dores, and shut vp the gates, meaning be like to attend the siege there? much helpe might one hope for at bond-mens hands, if the agreement of so great a multitude, and their first indignation, which is alwaies the hoatest, were suffered to coole: that therefore the party dishonorable was also more dangerous: or if needes they must die, then better to meete and encounter the danger: that would at least breed Otho more enuy, and were withal most for their honour. As Vinius replied against the opinion, Laco, at the instigation of Icelus, persisting in priuate displeasures to the ouerthrow of the publicke estate, beginneth to charge him with manacing and threats: and Galba without any longer delay gaue himselfe wholly to follow their counsell, which had the fairer shew in appearance. Yet first was Piso sent to the Campe, as being a yoong man of great name and gracious, fresh in mens fauour, and enemy to Vinius, either because he was so, or that Vinius ill-willers did wish it to be so; and it is thought rather he was so indeed. Piso was scant gone abroad, when first a flying rumour without Author was spred, that Otho was slaine in the Campe: anon, as in great lies it falles out, some affirmed they were present, and saw it; a report which men partly reioycing, and partly not curious, [6] easily beleeued. Many supposed this rumour was framed, and increased by some of Othoes men, being now shuffled in with the rest, and giuing out vntruly good newes of purpose to allure Galba out of his hold. But vpon the report howsoeuer, not onely the people and simpler sort clap hands, and declare immoderatly their affections, but most of the Gentlemen, and Senators without temporizing, as being now freed of feare, breake open the gates, rush into the Palace, presse forward to Galba, protesting how sory they were, the reuenge of his quarrell was thus preuented by others; the greatest cowards, and such as in danger dared the least, as triall made proofe, being most excessiue in words, and hardy of tongue. Thus whilest all affirmed, and no body knew, Galba yeelding to an vntruth so generally soothed, [8] puts on * a brest-plate, and being not able for body nor age to sustaine the presse which came in vpon him, was lifted vp in a Chaire. In the Palace Iulius Atticus met him, one of the "Bill-men, holding out a bloudy sword in his hand, with which he cried aloude he had slaine Otho. My friende, quoth Galba, who bad thee? a man of rare vertue to keepe in awe a licentious souldier, whom neither threates could terrifie, nor flattering speeches corrupt and abuse.

cap. 34.

cap. 35.

[8] Purposing onely, as *Plutarch* reporteth, to shew himselfe abroad to the people and doe his sacrifice to the gods for his deliuerance, as making no doubt but that Otho was dead.

By this time the souldiers were wholly agreed, with so great feruency fauouring Otho, that not content to assist him in companies with their bodies, they cast a ring about him with banners, as he stood * in the middest of the ensignes in the Tribunall, in which a little before the image of Galba was planted in gold, not suffering the Tribunes or Centurions to approch, yea and further the common-souldier bidding beware of Officers. All the whole Campe resounding with clamours, with tumult, with mutuall encouragement: none of those different chantings of dull flattery practised among the popular: but as they espied any souldier comming, they would take him by the hand, embrace him in their armour, set him fast by them, begin him the oath, recommending sometime their Emperour to the souldiers, and sometime the souldiers to their Emperour. Neither was Otho slacke for his part to stretch forth his hands, to bow himselfe to euery meane person, * to throw kisses abroad, and what seruile crowching else not for an Empire! When the whole Legion of Mariners had sworne allegeance, trusting now to his strength, and supposing it requisite to incense them in Common, whom as yet hee had onely incited in seuerall, standing vpon the Rampier of the Campe, hee begins in this manner.

cap. 30.

τότε δὴ θύσαντι καὶ φανῆναι τῇ πολίτιδι βουλόμενος: but in the end he found himselfe bidden to another banquet.

* *Thoracem* Sueton. *Loricam lineam.*

* Or a priuy coate

" Spiculatores.

* *Medium inter signa, & medium inter milites, subsignanos.*

* *facere osculū.*

ἀσπάσματα δὲ ἐνδόξοις ἄχρι καὶ δεκτύλων ἔπεμπε. *Xiphilinus.*

cap. 37. "I am come here, as you see, to your presence, my louing companions: but what I "am, that cannot I tell. A priuate man I will not be tearmed, being named Prince "by you; nor Prince well I cannot, whilest yet another possesseth the place: your "name also, whether traytors or true subiects, shalbe likewise in doubt, till it be decided what maner of man you haue in your campe, an Emperour of the people of "Rome, or an enemy. Do you not heare how my death, and your punishment are both [h] required at once? so euident it is, that we can neither perish nor be safe, but ioyntlie together: and perhaps Galba, according to the measure of his discretion, hath promised it already, as one that could finde in his heart, vnaskt, vnrequired, to murther so many thousands of most innocent Citizens. A horrour perceth my heart, as oft as I call to remembrance the dismall entry, and that onely conquest of his, "when he did in sight of the City command to be slaine the tenth person of those, "which vpon their humble request he had receiued into his protection. Such was "his vnprosperous entry: and what glorious fact brought he beside to commend "him withall to the Princes place, sauing the slaughter of Obultronius Sabinus and "Cornelius Marcellus in Spaine, of Betuus Chilo in France, of Fonteius Capito in "Germany, of Clodius Macer in Africke, of Cingonius in the way, Turpilianus in "the City, Nymphidius in the campe? Nay, what Prouince is there, what campe any "where, that he hath not, as he pretends, amended and corrected, but in truth with "cruelty misused and stained with bloud? Those things which other men account "haynous faults, he tearmes them gentle remedies: cruelty he clokes with the name "of seuerity; and wretched couetousnes he tearmeth prouident sparing; your stripes and indignities ancient discipline. Since the death of Nero it is scarce seuen monthes, and yet hath one Icelus already raked more together, then all that rable, Polycletus, Vatinius, [i] Elius, and their fellowes haue done in so many yeares. And certainly with lesse couetousnesse, and more respect would Titus Vinius haue raged if himselfe had beene Emperor: now he oppresseth vs as vassals, and holdeth vs vile as strangers: the only wealth of that man were enough for the donatiue, which daily is cast in your teeth, but neuer paied to your purses. And least we might hope to better our estate, at the least when Galba were gone, he hath fetched out of exile one, that in cruelty and couetousnesse he iudged likest himself. You saw, fellow-soldiers, by that notable storme, that euen the gods much abhorred that vntoward adoption. The Senat, the people are of the same minde: your part now only remaineth: your valor and vertue is looked for: you are the men who adde strength to good causes: without you, be the attempt neuer so worthy, it shall neuer take any worthy effect. I desire you not to a war, I cal you not to any dangerous exploit: the souldiers be all of our side, and that one vnarmed cohort, which waits vpon Galba, endeuors not now to defend him against vs, but rather detaines him from scaping out from vs: when you shall come in their view, when they shall see my enseigne [k] this will be their only contention, who shall in my behalfe do greatest seruice. No delay in that enterprise is to be vsed, which neuer is commended, before it be [l] ended. Then he commanded the Armory to be opened: armes by and by were taken contrary to custome, and order of seruice, where the Prætorian and Legionary man is seuered by his different cognisance: with Helmets and Targets they mingle themselues, among the Aide souldiers: no Centurion nor Tribune encouraging them, they become Captaine and encourager, ech man to himselfe; and that which cheefely encouraged the bad, the good were discouraged, and quite out of heart. Now Piso being scared away with the noise, as the sedition grew fuller and hoater, with showtes resounding euen into the City, by this time had ioyned himselfe to Galba againe, who

[h] For so Tacitus saith a little before *dissonus clamor plebis & seruitiorum, eadem Othoni & commilitonum exitium poscentium.*

[i] Elius was left by Nero, at his pilgrimage into Achaia, as his vicegerent in Rome, with absolute authority; and with him Polycletus: which two as *Zephilinus* witnesseth, ἦγον, ἐπὶ θεὸν ἐσυλῶν πολλὰ ἔσχε νεόδοτα. Of Vatinius *Tacitus* maketh mention 15. *Anna. Vatinius inter fœda ministeria vultu habituque absonus, corpore distortus, facetiis petulantibus primo inconsultæ domui assumptus, deinde apertam contumeliam ea usque valuit, ut gratia potiretur, vi nocendi, quam malo prouenerat.*

[k] Or know my watch word *signum illum.*

[l] *Suscepisse c. 6. adverb: Ad concitandas pulsæ seruientibus mili tum animos inlud magis pro seruitio fuit, quòd ipse dimissis se habitu, quasi sibi nihil relinquatur.*

cap. 39.

was

was in the meane seaſon issued out of the Palace, and come neere to the place of publicke assembly. Marius Celsus likewise had brought an heauy answer againe: whereupon some thought it expedient to retire into the Palace againe, some rather to possesse themselues of the Capitoll, some other to take the Rostra: but the most did onely impugne the opinions of others; and as often it chanceth in Counsels crossed with euill successe, that way was commonly iudged the best, whereof the time was forepassed. It is reported that Laco, vnwitting to Galba, had a meaning to haue slaine Titus Vinius, hoping belike by his death to mitigate the souldiers, or mistrusting he was confederate with Otho, or els vpon priuate displeasure: the time and the place bred scruple in the matter: for when men are set in a killing, it is not so easie to stop when you list; and many other accidents staied the purpose; fearefull messages, the slippings away of his friendes, their courages being all quailed, euen of those which cheerefully at first made most ostentation of loyalty and stoutnesse. Galba was driuen to and fro with the croud of the company, as it waued vp and downe. [m] The standing in * Temples and Churches on euery side were taken to view this *sorrowfull sight: the people all mute, with countenances amazed, and listening eares; no tumult, no quietnesse: such a silence as argued great feare, and great anger: notwithstanding it was carried to Otho, that the common people were a putting in armes: whereupon he [n] commanded his men to march in all speed, and preuent the danger. So the Roman souldies, [7] as if they had gone to pull Vologeses or Pacorus out of the throne anciently possessed by Arsaces line, and not to murder their owne Emperour vnarmed, and aged, dispersing the people, trampling the Senat vnder foote, [o] set spurres to their horses, and fiercely in armes rush into the Place of assembly: neither did the sight of the Capitoll, nor reuerence of the Temples about, nor the Princes past and to come, terrifie them from committing that abhominable act; whereof the next successour is the reuenger. The ensigne-bearer of Galbaes cohort, Atilius Vergilio by report, assoone as he saw a far off the armed men, marching in array, Pluckt downe the image of Galba, and dashed it against the pauement, by that it did plainely appeare, that all the souldiers were wholly for Otho. The people vnbidden make away in all haste, leauing the place of assembly voide, or if any seemed to linger, they were drawne vpon by the souldiers. At Lacus Curtius Galba was tumbled out of his chaire to the ground, through the fearefulnesse of them which bare ir. His last words are diuersly by diuers reported, as they admired or hated the man: some say, he humbly demanded, what ill he had euer deserued, requesting onely a few daies respit to pay their donatiue. The most doe agree; that he offered stoutly his necke, to doe their pleasure, and strike, if it seemed so good to the Common-wealth: it mattered not much to the murderers what he did say. The very man that slew him is not certainely knowen: some say Terentius Euocatus; others Lecanius: the more receiued opinion is, that Camurius, a souldier of the fifteenth Legion, pearced his throate with a sword: his armes and legges ([p] for his brest was armed) others did miserably mangle and hew: many stabbes, vpon a sauage and beastly crueltie, were bestowed vpon the headlesse carcasse. Next after Galba, they assayled Vinius, of whom likewise there is question; whether the present feare wasted his speech, or else that he cried aloud. They had no commandement from Otho to kill him: which, whether he fained for feare, or confessed as associate of the conspiracy, the fame of his leaud life doth make it more probable he was guilty of the treason, whereof he was [q] cause. At the first wound in his hamme he tumbled downe before the Temple of Diuus Iulius, and after by Iulius Carus, a Legionary souldier, was thrust through the

cap. 40.

[m] Or, the standings vpon the common hailes and Temples.

**Basilicæ ac templa. Ἐπὶ τῶν στοῶν καὶ τῶν μετεώρων τῶν ἐμπόρων.*

Sen. Senec. ad Lucil. lib. 3. de ira. Fremitu iudicium basilicæ resonant.

**ingubris prospectu, for prospectui. Tacitus*

[7] *Iust. 93. Luxâ & saginâ mancsparus.*

Plutarch terneth this place. ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Γάλβαν ὁρμὴν καταμαλακίσατο.

[n] Or he himselfe remained still in the campe while this tragedy was a playing; a circumstance which in reason Tacitus should not haue touched so slightly.

o Equites, vbi prætul, Galbæ parum fer festinare, deinde raptim mensati &c. Suet. c. 19.

cap. 42.

[p] *Thorace, or Lorica linteâ supra.*

[q] *Tacitus Suidas, Galbam, Titum Vinium dixisse mendacium, ideo flagitiorum onerabat.*

the sides. A worthy man that day our age did aforde, [r] Sempronius Densus a Centurion of the Cohort which garded Galba, and by him appointed to wait vpon Piso, who [f] with his Raper drawne encountring the armed men, and vpbrayding to them their disloyalty, partly by deedes, and partly by words turning the blowes vpon his owne head, gaue Piso, although he were wounded, time and space to escape away. Piso recouering the Temple of Vesta, and being receiued by the Sextons compassion, and hid in his Cabin, not by the reuerence of sanctuary, or sacred ceremonies of the holy goddesse, but onely by hiding himselfe, differred imminent death, when as straight there comes thither, by Othoes expresse commandement, hotly bent by name for his blood, Sulpitius Florus, one of the Brittish Cohorts, lately by Galba made Citizen of Rome, and Statius Marcus a "Bilman: of these two was Piso drawen out and slaine in the gates of the Temple. No mans death did Otho so ioyfully take; no head did he view and reuiew so insatiably: whether it was that then first of all his minde was at ease, and free to reioyce, lightened of all maner burdens and care; or that the remembrance of maiesty in Galba, of acquaintance in Vinius, had strooke a kinde of horror into his vnmercifull minde: marry for Piso, his enemy and concurrent, he thought he might iustly withal reason reioyce at his ruine. Their heads were planted vpon speares, and caried among the enseignes of the Cohortes, neare the Standerd [t] of the Legion, striuing to shew their bloudy hands, they which had slaine them, they which were present, some truely, some falsely, all making their vaunt, as of a goodly and memorable act. More then a hundreth and twenty supplications, put vp for some good seruice that day, were afterward found by Vitellius, who caused the men to be all sought out, and slaine, not in honour of Galba, but vpon a tradition receiued among Princes as an assurance of their present estate, and a meane of reuenge afterward. Now the Senat and people were no more the same men: they runne all by heapes to the Campe, contending and shouldring who should get formost, defacing Galba, extolling the souldiers iudgment, kissing Othoes hand, and the lesse they ment it in heart, doing so much the more in outward apparence. Neither did Otho reiect any one though comming single, moderating with speeches and countenance the greedy, and manacing disposition of the souldiers; who demanded to the slaughter Marius Celsus Consull elect, and to the last faithfull to Galba, offended with his sufficiency and innocency as capitall crimes. A quarrell was sought apparently to sacke, and massacre, and to ouerthrow personages of honour: but [u] Othoes authority was not sufficiently grounded as yet to prohibite a mischiefe, well might he command one: so making semblance of anger, he willes them to put him in prison; that he would shew at leasure exemplary iustice vpon him, and so deliuered him from present destruction. All things beside were ordered according as the souldiers appointed. They elected Captaines of the Guard Plotius Firmus in time past a common-souldier, and then Captaine of the Watch, and in Galbaes life a fauourer of Otho: to him they adioyne Licinius Proculus, a neare and inward acquaintance of Otho, and therefore suspected to haue beene a furtherer of his proceedings. Flauius Sabinus they ordeined Prouost of the Citie, following therein the iudgement of Nero, vnder whom he had obtained before the said charge, most men in so doing respecting Vespasian his brother. With great instance was it demanded that the fees [s] of vacations vsually giuen to the Centurions might be remitted: for the common-souldier paied them as an annuall pension; whereby some in companies, part wandring by licence abroad, or in the Campe made no dainty to beare any burden, nor tooke any care how they gained, till they had wherewith to pay the Centurion, by robbing and spoiling, or ser-

uile

[r] Both *Plutarch* and *Xiphilinus* write that not Piso, but Galba was protected by Densus.

[f] *Plut* noteth that he first feared them with the vine rod. ὁ πελέκεων ὑπαρχος εἶδε πηγὴν δακρύων.

"Speculator. *cap. 44.*

[t] Of what Legion? of the Mariners as I thinke: for other Legion I finde none in this action: and they receiued *Aquilam & signa* at Othoes hand, as it may seeme by *Tacit. vit.* of Galba they demanded it indeed at his entry, but they were paied with other money for their paines. *cap. 35.*

[u] *Plutarch.* φοβούμενοι δὲ καὶ ὑποπτεύοντες (τὸν Ὄθωνα) μὴ ἔτι ἰσχυρὸν ὄντα καὶ δυνάμενον αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσαι δίκην δοῦναι κελεύουσι. *cap. 96.*

[s] *Vacationes* were the fees which the Centurions had of the common-souldiers, for their exemption from the ordinary seruices, as watching, warding, and the like.

uile miniſters redeeming their eaſe. Further the ſouldier which had any wealth was ſure to be tired with trauell and ſtripes till he brought out his immunity; and when the poore wretch had conſumed his ſubſtance, and waſted his body with ſloth, he returned to his band vnluſty, and beggerly, whereas he was actiue and wealthy before: and ſo likewiſe another and another corrupted with like licence, and brought to like beggery, were caried to mutinees, diſſentions, and ciuill warres in the end. But Otho leſt by gratifying the ſouldier he ſhould aliene the Centurions mindes, promiſed to pay out of his [9] owne Cofers the yeerely vacations; a thing no doubt very profitable, and by good Princes ſucceeding eſtabliſhed for a perpetuall order. Laco confined in ſhew into an Iland, was murdered by Euocatus, whom Otho had ſent before for the purpoſe. Vpon Martianus Icelus, as [10] being a freedman, open execution was done. The day being thus conſumed in miſchiefes, the laſt of all illes was the reioyceing. [11] The Citie-Pretor calleth the Senat to counſell: the reſt of the Magiſtrates contend to exceed in flattery: the Lords of the Senat run thither in haſt: [x] to Otho is awarded Tribunitiall authority, and the name of Auguſtus, [12] with all other Princely prerogatiues, and titles, ech man endeuouring to aboliſh the opprobrious ſpeeches, and reuiling tearmes which they had indifferently vſed againſt him, which neuertheleſſe he ſeemed not much to remember; whether he purpoſed to pardon the offences, or differre the puniſhment, by reaſon of the ſhort time he ruled, could not be ſeene. Otho, the Place of aſſembly being yet imbrued with bloud, was caried thorow the dead bodies, as they lay ſlaine, firſt to the Capitoll, and thence to the Palace, giuing permiſſion to bury, and burne the carcaſes. Piſo was by his wife Verania, and Scribonianus his brother; Titus Vinius by his daughter Criſpina, compoſed and laied in graue; hauing firſt ſought out [y] and redeemed their heads, which the murderers had kept to beſold. Piſo was when he died one and thirty yeeres old, of better fame then fortune: his brother Magnus was ſlaine by Claudius, and Craſſus by Nero: himſelfe liued a great while in exile, and foure daies a Prince, adopted in haſt before his eldeſt brother, with this onely aduantage, that he was thereby the firſt made away. Titus Vinius liued forty ſeuen yeeres, not all after one ſort: his father was of a Prætorian houſe; his mothers father one of the *proſcriptes. At his firſt ſeruice in warre he became infamous: his Lieutenant generall Caluſius " Sabinus wife, carried with an vnwomanly deſire to view the ſite of the Campe; and hauing in ſouldiers attire wantonly peruſed the watch, and other Campe offices, in the very * Principia forfeyted hir honour; and the man accuſed of the fact was Titus Vinius: whereupon by commandement of Caius the Emperour he was impriſoned, and non through change of times being enlarged he paſſed thorow offices of honour without touch; firſt Prætor, then Lieuetenant of a Legion with good commendation: afterward he ſtained himſelfe with a ſeruile crime, conueighing away a golden cup from Claudius boord; whereupon the day following Claudius made him alone of all his gueſtes to be ſerued in * earthen: notwithſtanding being Proconſull of Gallia Narbonenſis he gouerned the country with great ſeuerity and ſincereneſſe: anon by reaſon of credit with Galba being drawen to the place of dangerous downe-fall, he was bolde, craftie, actiue, and as he liſted to bend his minde, miſchieuous or induſtrious in equall degree. The teſtament of Titus Vinius his wealth made voide; Piſoes, his pouerty ratified. Galbaes body long neglected, and in the darke deſpitefully intreated, Argius his Steward, one [13] of his principal bondmen, [z] buried with ſmall ceremony in his priuate Gardens. His head, by the * followers and * raſcalles of the Campe, mangled and ſtabbed was found the day after before Patrobius toombe,

cap. 47.

x By *Suet. c. 7.* it appeareth that Otho was preſent in Senate. *Vergente iam die ingreſſus ſenatum (Otho) poſitaq; breui oratione, quaſi raptus de publico, & ſuſcipere imperium vi coactus, geſturuſq; communi omnium arbitrio, Palatium petiit.*

y Criſpina paid for her fathers ten thouſand feſterces: that is, 78. li. 2. s 6. d. *Plutarch.* cap. 48.

* *Proſcripti ſc. ab Octauio, Antonio, Lepido, triumuiris reip. perdendæ.*

" *De quo vide Senecam epiſt. 27.*

* *Principia* the place in the Campe where the Standerd and enſignes are pitched.

* *fictilibus.*

z Τὸ δὲ σῶμα τῆς Γαλβα Ῥεῖσπος Ἐλβιδιος ἀπέλυτο, τῆ Ὀθωνος ἐπιτροπεύοντος· ὁ δὲ τοῦτο Ἄργιλος ἀπολευθερος. *Plutarch.*

* *ſeruos, qui extra ordinem & ſine armis exercitum ſequuntur, quæſtus gratia. Poſybius Feſtus* * *calones, multum ſeruis* & called, because they caried clubs after their maſters, which he Grecians call κλῶνα Seruius. *Feſtus.*

a Freed man of Nero, whom Galba had executed, and so was put with his body burned before. This end had Seruius Galba, hauing liued [14] seuenty three yeeres, and out liued fiue Princes in great prosperity; happier vnder the Empire of others then in his owne: his house of ancient nobility, and great wealth: himselfe a man of a midle disposition, rather vicelesse, then greatly vertuous; neither neglecting his fame, nor yet ambitiously carefull of it: of other mens mony not greedy, sparing of his owne, of the common a niggard: bearing with his fauorites and freed-men, without reprehension, when they were good; if they were bad, to his owne shame ignorant of their ill doings: but his honorable birth, and the dangerous times couered the matter, entituling that wisedome, which in trueth was but sloth: in his flourishing age greatly renowned for seruice in [a] Germany: Africke he ruled as Proconsul with great moderation: and growing in yeeres, the nearer Spaine vprightly and well: seeming more then a priuate man, whilest he was priuate, and by [b] all mens opinions capable of the Empire, had he neuer beene Emperour.

a *Dio lib. 60.* τοῦτο τοῦ ἔτους which was the fifth yeere of Claudius Empire) ὁ Γάλβας ὁ Σουλπίκιος Κάτ τατ ἀκρατ, b Antonius. *Spem fuisse Senec. principatus sceptra meruit. Visus est imperio praditus inferior. Fama tibi maior tribuit: sed validior ordo est, Complacuisse dicunt, displicuisse priùs.*

a *Gellius lib. 1. c. 9. Geometricum, Harmonicum, Musicæ cet. rasis item auspicijs altiores, μαθήματα veteres Græci appellabant, vulgus autem, quos genitalicos vocat: solo Chaldæos dicere oportet, mathematicos dicit.*
b *Tac. 12. Ann. qui obijcere: Chaldæos, magos interrogatos super nuptijs imperatoris.*
c *Tac. Ann. 12.*
d *2. Histor.*
e *A. V. C. 770. but Tacitus 2. Ann. placeth it in the yeere before.*
f *A. V. C. 615.*

[1] The Astrologers also: *Mathematicis*] This vse of the word *Mathematicus pro Apotelesmatico* is vtterly [a] vnknowen to the ancient Græcians, and to the Romans also, for ought I remember, till the Emperours time. Before they were called *Chaldæi non ex artis, sed ex gentis vocabulo*, saith Tully: then *Mathematici* (a name vndue to their occupation) or *Planetarij*, and [b] *Chaldæi* also in our time *Astrologi*, a word of the ancientest both Greeke and Latine applied to that part of the Mathematicall sciences, both now, and then also, knowen by the name of Astronomy. In Augustus time, Ἀγρίππας τοὺς ἀστρολόγους καὶ τοὺς γόητας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήλασε. *That is, Agrippa banished Astrologers (for so in Dio's time they began to call them) and Magicians out of the City. Dio lib. 49.* In Tiberius time, *Facta & de Mathematicis, magisque Italiâ pellendis senatusconsulta, quorum è numero L. Pituanius saxo deiectus est. In P. Martium Coss. extra portam Esquilinam, cum classicum canere iussissent, more prisco adnuerêre. Tac. 2. Anna.* In Claudius time [c] *De Mathematicis Italiâ pellendis factum senatusconsultum atrox & irritum.* And in Vitellius time [d] *pulsi Italiâ Mathematici, Vlpianus lib. 7. de officio Proconsulis. Præterea interdicta est Mathematicorum callida impostura: nec hodie primum interdici eis placuit, sed vetus hæc prohibitio est, denique extat senatusconsultum Pomponio [e] & Rufo Coss. factum, quo cauetur, vt Mathematicis, Chaldæis, ariolis & cæteris, qui similem artem fecerint, aqua & igni interdicatur, omniaq; bona eorum publicentur*, and anon after, *sæpissimè denique interdictum est ferè ab omnibus principibus, ne quis omnino huiusmodi ineptijs se immisceret*, yea before the Princes campe in, *M. Pepillio Lænate, Cn. [f] Calpurnio Coss. C. Cornelius Hispallus prætor edicto Chaldæos intra decimum diem abire ex vrbe atq; Italia iussit: leuibus atque ineptis ingenijs, fallaci siderum interpretatione quæstuosam mendacijs suis caliginem injicientes*: saith Valerius *lib.* 1. Tertullian in his booke *de habitu muliebri*, and againe in *lib. de Idololatria*, is of opinion, that the Angels which fell from their first creation were authors of Astrology, and therefore exiled out of Italy. *Expelluntur*, saith he, *Mathematici, sicut angeli eorum, vrbs & Italia interdicitur Mathematicis, sicut cœlum angelis eorum, eadem pœna est exitij discipulis & magistris.* All these lawes notwithstanding they remained at Rome, saith Tacitus, and that in as good credit as before, the better beleeued, the oftener they had perused the Gayles. *Iuuenalis Satyra. 6.*

Inde si lesa arti, sonuit si dextera ferro,
Lœuaq; si longo castrorum in carcere mansit.
Nemo Mathematicus genium indemnatus habebit.

And of Ptolemæus the same Iuuenal.

Præcipuus tamen est horum, qui sæpius exul,
Cuius amicitias conducendaque tabella.

Magnus ciuis obijt & formidatus Othoni. *Suetonius* [g] *Othone* nameth him Seleucus, by errour as it may seeme; for Seleucus was Vespasians man. [h] *Nec erat intactus tali superstitione (Vespasianus) vt qui mox rerum dominus Seleucum quendam Mathematicum rectorem & præsciumpalam habuerit.*

g *Tac. 2. Hist.*
h *Tacitus.*

[2] The likes of Campania, and townes of Achaia] The ancientest and best Historiographers, taking their pleasure *in explicationes consiliorum*, and faining Orations, haue left vs sometimes rather an image of their owne wits then of the times wherof they haue written. The nature of which, in mine opinion, were better learned *ex Actis vrbis diuturnis, Actis senatus*, and such like, if any were extant, then by any story we haue. Not that I thinke a simple collection of memories of the like vse in other respects, as a story well written, neither doe I condemne that liberty of faining speeches, which I see granted them by [i] Dionysius Halicarnasseus, and other good writers, so it be done with iudgement and *pro decoro personarum*, including no euident absurdity or contradiction. Thucydides the first, and as many thinke the best Author of such set speeches in stories, challengeth expressly that right. ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τὸν ἔχοντα, ἢ μέλλοντες πολεμήσειν, ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔντες, χαλεπὸν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτῆς τῆς λεχθείσης διαμνημονεῦσαι ἦν, ἐμόντε ὧν αὐτῷ ἤκουσα, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοθέν ποθέν ἐμοὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν. ὡς δ' ἂν ἐδόκουν μοι ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα μάλιστα εἰπεῖν, ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων, ὅπως εἴρηται: vpon which place albeit the Scholiast taking his pleasure affirmes, that his Author ἐπιτηδείως μεταχειρίζεται τὴν ἀγνοιαν ἵνα χρήσηται τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐνθυμήμασιν, yet allowing that for good, which hath so great examples, and where the truth cannot be had, approcheth to the truth, and most commonly enformeth the iudgement more then the truth would it selfe. Let vs see how Tacitus hath caried himself in this points who though otherwise sharpe sighted enough, hath in this place, in my opinion, scarsely auoided an inconuenience. Those which were wont *Campaniæ lucus & Achaiæ vrbes classibus adire* were the [k] Prætorian souldiers: those whom

i *In his booke* περὶ Θουκυδίδου ἰδιωτισμοῦ.

k *Xiphilinus & Suetonius Nero. cap. 19. prætorianos pro conditione ad inchoandum opus coluntatis est.*

whom O ho had here to talke with were the Legionaries of Spaine as they passed the mountaines, who surely could not in possibility accompany Nero into Achaia. Hist 4. in the oration of Vocula: *Non adeò turbatam ciuilibus armis rem Romanam, vt Treueris etiam & Lingonibus despectui sit. Melius Diuo Julio, Diuoq; Augusto notes eorum animos Galbam, & infracta tributa hostiles spiritus induisse. Nam hostes, quia molle seruitium, cum spoliati, exuti q; fuerint, amicos fore*, and yet it is plaine by Tacitus himselfe, and all other historians of that time, Treueri, and Lingones, were of all the French the onely men with Galba *atrocibus edictis, aut damno finium perculerat*, relieuing the rest of their tribute, and making them Citizens. Vulcatius Gallicanus in the life of Auidius Cassius bringeth in M. Antonius the Philosopher profoundly disputing the causes of the fall of certaine Emperours, among other of Pertinax. [1] *Enumerauit deinde omnes principes qui occisi essent habuisse causas quibus mererentur occidi, nec quenquam facilè bonum vel victum à tyranno, vel occisum; dicens meruisse Neronem, debuisse Caligulam, Othonem & Vitellium nec imperare voluisse. Nam de Pertinace & Galbâ paria sentiebat, cum diceret, in Imperatore auaritiam esse acerbissimum malum*, whereas Pertinax was liuing thirteen yeares after Antoninus was dead, succeeding in state to Commodus his Sonne. Appianus συγκατ- placing in the Roman battell Domitius *in dextro cornu*, Lucius Scipio in the middle battel, and *Fumenes in læuo*: and of the enemies Antiocus *in dextro*, Philippus in the middle, and Seleucus *in læuo*, in ioyning like a good and skilfull Captaine matching the middles, opposeth the left to the left (a thing not possible in nature) Eumenes to Seleucus and his people, which indeed was true, as it appeareth by [m] Liuy, but Appians ordering of the battell is false. For Eumenes by Liuy, and in trueth was placed *in dextro*. Appians words be ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ μὲ δεξιῷ Δομίτιος ἦν τος, καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτὸν ἔστη (sc. Domitius) τὸν ὕπατον. τὸ δὲ λαιὸν ἐδώκει Εὐμένει. *That is, Domitius commanded the right wing, in the midale battell was the Consul himselfe, the left wing was giuen to Eumenes*: of the enemies ἐπεσήκει τοῖς μὲ δεξιοῖς Αντίοχος αὐτὸς. τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ θατέρᾳ Σέλευκος ὁ υἱὸς Αντιόχυ. τὸ δὲ Φάλαγ- Φίλιππος ὁ ἐλεφαντάρχης. *That is, The right wing was led by Antiochus himselfe, the left by Seleucus his Sonne, the maine battell by Philip master of the Elephants*, now in the ioyning, Eumenes saith he, τοῦ ἱππέως ἐπίκλω ὅπῃ τοῦ ἀντικὺ Γαλάτας τε καὶ Καππαδόκας. *That is, charged with his horsemen against the Galatians and Cappadocians which were ouer against them*, and least we might doubt where these Cappadoces stood, he concludeth with these words, καὶ πὶ δὲ μὸν ἦν ὧδε τὸ λαιὸν τὸ φάλαγγος τῶν Μακεδόνων. *That is, And these things were done on the left hand of the Macedonian battell.* The like errour is in Dyonisius lib. 6. τῆς τε ῥωμαίων στρατιᾶς, saith he, τὸ μὲ ἀριστερὸν κέρας εἶχεν ὁ ἱππάρχης τος αὐτοκράτος ὀνόματος Σέξτ ω ταρκυνίῳ. *That is, Of the Roman Army the left wing was commanded by T. Aebutius Generall of the horse ouer against Sext. Tarquinius*, whom before he had placed ἐπὶ τῷ λαιῷ τῶν λατίνων κέρατος, *That is, In the left wing of the Latins*, in the battell *ad lacum Regillum*. And in Callisthenes story of Alexander Polybius lib. 12. noteth many σφάλματα τακτικὰ *That is, Errours in marshalling the men in battell.*

[m] *lib. 37.*

[3] The golden Miliarium] *Milliarium aureum* was a golden piller set vp by Augustus, as Dio witnesseth lib. 54. *in capite fori Romani*, saith Pliny, εἰς ὃν αἱ τέλμηνέαι τῆς Ἰταλίας ὁδοὶ πᾶσαι τελευτῶσιν. *That is, At which all the high waies of Italy doe end*: Plutarchus Galbâ, so called because from thence began the account of miles. Beside *Milliarium aurem* there were *Milliaria lapidea*, that is, little pillers of stone erected by order from C. Gracchus at the end of euery mile. Plutarchus Gracchis. ὡσὶς δὲ τάπις διαμετρήσας χῖ μίλιον ὁδὸν πᾶσαν (τὸ δὲ μίλιον ὀκτὼ σταδίων ὀλίγον ὑπολεῖ) κίονα λιθίνους σηρεῖα τῇ μέτρῳ κατέστη σι. *That is, Moreouer hauing measured out the whole way by miles (a mile being little lesse then eight stadia) he erected pillers of stone as markes of the measure*, whereupon grew the vsuall phraise *ad tertium, quartum, quintum ab vrbe lapidem*, for three, foure or fiue miles from the City.

[4] Not vpon iudgement, or any] Tacit. 3 H ii *Populi mobilem animum, & si se ducem [n] præbuisset, easdem illas adulationes pro Vespasiana fore*, which now they vsed to Vitellius, and in the same booke. *Vulgus eâdem prauitate insectabatur interfectum* (Vitellium) *quâ fouerat viuentem.* Iuuenalis Satyra. 10.

Sed quid
Turba Remi sequitur fortunam, vt semper, & odit
Damnatos, idem populus, si [o] Nortia Tusco
Fauisset, si oppressa foret secura senectus
Principis, hâc ipsâ Seianum diceret horâ
Augustum ——

[n] *Flauius Sabinus.*

[o] *Vulsinijs inse vnde Seianus erat autore Tacito Ann 4. templum Nortiæ deæ Liu. lib. 7.*

[5] Framing acclamations at pleasure] The *formula* of acclamations in Senate is to be seene in the later Roman Stories, in fauour, as in Lampridius, to Alexander Seuerus, *Auguste innocens diu te seruent, &c.* In Vulcatius Gallicanus, to Antonius, *Antonine pie diu te seruent, Antonine clemens diu te seruent, &c.* to Diuus Claudius, in Trebellius Pollio *Auguste Claudi diu te nobis præstent (dicit in sexagies) Claudi Auguste, &c.* In Flauius Vopiscus, Tacitus the Emperour, *Tacite Auguste diu te seruent, te diligimus, te principem facimus, &c.* In disfauour, as in Lampridius after Commodus death, *Hosti patriæ honores detrahantur, parricidæ honores detrahantur, parricida trahatur, &c.* Of popular acclamation we may gesse they were much after this forme.

[6] Easily beleeued: *credula fama*] Dionysius noteth in Thucydides among many other innouations in speech, that he commonly changed actiues into passiues, and passiues into actiues, τὰ μὲν παθητικὰ ῥήματα δρᾳστήρια ποιῶν, τὰ δὲ δραστήρια παθητικά. In Tacitus here we haue *credula* to signifie, *cui facilè credatur*, passiuely, whereas *credulus* in common Latin, and so it is vsed in this booke, signifieth only *qui facilè credit*, likewise, *Ne vulgi largitione centurionum animos auerteret, i. largitione quæ fiat vulgo, siue gregario militi.* Againe 15. Annal. *Iniuriæ minorum, i. quæ minoribus inferuntur.* But to giue a taste once for all of Tacitus Grammar, I will note here three or foure places worthy the noting. Hist. 3. *Et omnes Mutiano volentia scripsere, volentia*, pleasing, againe, *Turbæ sacricolarum immixtus, ignarique delituit, i ignotus*: in another place, *gnarum id Cæsari*, for *notum*. and *quæ gnara Vitellianis, incomperta hostibus* 1. Annal. *Fama dedit Segestis vulnera, vt quibus q; bellum inutile, aut cupientibus erat*, ὡς ἦν ἑκάστῳ ἢ βουλομένῳ ἢ ἄκοντι πόλεμος. 15. Ann. *Hæc atque talia plebi volenti fuere*, δήμῳ βουλομένῳ ἦν. In vita Agricolæ: *Ut quibus bellum volentibus erat.* 5 Hist. *Cæsar Titus vt superior sui iam crederetur.* κρείσσων ἑαυτοῦ. Ann. 2. *Appellit q; Colophona, vt Clarij Apollinis oraculo vteretur.* Homer. ὀδυσ. κ. ψυχῇ χρησομένους Θεσπρώτιος τειρεσίαο. Annal. 3. *Adulteros earum morte aut fuga puniuit i. exilio*, φυγῇ To be short, who to list seeke and looke more nearely into Tacitus phrases shall doubtlesse finde as many strange points in his Grammar, as Dionysius hath done in Thucydides.

[7] As if they had gone to pull Vologeses or Pacorus out] Dio lib. 40. διώκουσι δὲ (οἱ πάρθοι) ὑπὸ πλήθους,

τοὺ

τὸ μὲν πολὺ, τείχη καὶ φρούρια, ἤδη δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἄλλας, καὶ κτισφῶντα, ἐν ἧ καὶ βασίλεια ἔχουσι. τὸ δὲ μέχρι τοῦ ὁρᾶν ἦν μέν πως καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πέλαι βαρβάροις, καὶ τόδε ὄνομα τότε, καὶ ἔθος τι περσικὸν βασιλείαν ἄρχειν. οὐκ ἀεὶ τότε δὲ αὐτοῖ τὸ ἐν μέρει κράτος βραχὺ ὂν, καὶ δυναστείαν οὐδέτερον ἐκτήσατο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἥττα τῆς περσῶν ἀρχῆς κατέλυσε, καὶ τὰ τῆδε μακεδόνων ἤμαυσεν, ὅτε τῶν ἀλεξάνδρου διάδοχοι στασιάσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπαυδᾶν ἤρξαντο καὶ μᾶλλον ἐθέλειν, ἐς τε τὸ μέσον τότε πρῶτον ὧν ἀρσάκης ποὺς ἀφικοντο. ὅθενπερ καὶ οἱ ἔπειτα βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν • ἀρσακίδαι ἐπωνομάσθησαν. καὶ εὐτυχήσαντες, ὥστε πλησιόχωρον ἐπίστασθαι πᾶσαν, καὶ τῶν μεσοποταμίαν σατραπίαν κατέχον. τελευτῶντες δὲ ὅπῃ τοσοῦτο καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκόρησαν, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς ῥωμαίοις τότε αἰῶν πλείω σῶσαι, καὶ δεῦρο ἀεὶ ἀντίπαλοι νομίζεσθαι. *That is, The Parthians inhabite beyond the Riuer of Tigris in castles and holds. Now of late they haue some Cities also, among others Ctesiphon where the kings place of residance is. They were a seuerall Nation among the ancient Barbarians, and thus name had they euen vnder the Persian Empire, notwithstanding at that time their territory was small, neither had they any dominion abroad. But when the Persian monarchy was dissolued by the Macedonian power, and Alexanders successors waging war one against another, began to wither and decay, then attempted the Parthians first of all to come forward vnder the conduct of one Arsaces, of whom all the kings afterward were called Arsacidæ, and so good was their fortune that they conquered all the Country adioyning, together with the Prouince of Mesopotamia. In fine they grew to such height both of glory and strength that they opposed themselues in open war against the Romans, and till this day are accounted the onely men to match and make head against them.* Herodianus lib. 6. Ἦρξε δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχων πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφερομένων, πολέμοις τε συνεχέσι τὴν Μακεδόνων δυνάμεως ἐξασθενήσης, ὡς ἔτυχε Ἀρσάκης λέγεται τὸ γένος Παρθυαῖος αὐτοκράτωρ τοὺς ἐπήκοους βαρβάρους ἀποστῆσαι Μακεδόνων. ἐβεβαίωσε τε τὸ διάδημα ἐκείνων Παρθυαίων, καὶ ἦρξε πλειόνων βαρβάρων, αὐτός τε ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ γένους ὅπῃ πλεῖστον παρέμεινεν ἡ ἀρχή. *That is, Alexanders successours being diuided one against another, and the Macedonian power greatly weakned with continuall wars, Arsaces by birth a Parthian is said first of all to haue perswaded the Barbarians of those quarters to reuolt from the Macedonians, and assuming the diadem by consent both of the Parthians and other barbarians thereabout himselfe was King, and after him the crowne continued for a long time in his posterity.* The very precise time of the Parthian reuolt was vnder Antiochus, Tacitus 5. Hist. *Antiochus Parthorum bello prohibitus est: nam ea tempestate Arsaces defecerat* Appianus συριακῇ specifieth which Antiochus, to wit, Antiochus surnamed Deus, Grand-childe to P Seleucus founder of the Syrian kingdome. καὶ παρθυαῖοι τῆς ὑποστάσεως τότε ἦρξαν, ὡς τετραγυμνίης τῆς σελευκιδῶν ἀρχῆς. *That is, At that time began the Parthians the reuolt by reason the Kingdome of the Seleucidæ was in great disorder.* From this Arsaces the Parthian kingdome continued to Artabanus, who raigning in Alexander Seuerus time, was then destroyed by Artaxerxes a Persian, and so the Empire of those Easterne Countries vnited againe to the crowne of Persia. Herodianus lib. 6. *Vologeses* or *Vologesus* (for ¶ both waies we find it written the Grecians call him Οὐολόγαισον) was at this time king of Parthia, sonne to Vonones that died in Claudius time, *Anno vrb. cond.* 802. and brother to Pacorus king of Media, and Tiridates by Nero crowned king of Armenia.

• And *solis & lunæ fratres* also saith Marcellinus lib. 23. *quòd Arsaces astris ritus sui consecrationem (vt ipsi existimant) permixtus est omnium primus.*

P *Ammianus lib.* 23. affirmeth it was Seleucus Nicator.

¶ 4. *Hist. gratiæ Vologesi actæ.*

[s] The fees of vacations: *Vacationes*] *Id est, pretia vacationum,* for so he tearmeth them 1. Annal. *Mox indiscretis vocibus pretia vacationum incusant.* Now *vacationum,* of what? *munerum,* for so Tacitus speaketh in another place. *hinc vacationes munerum redimi.* So that *vacationes* in this place, and in another, is as much as *pretia vacationum munerum,* for the common souldier by the strictnesse of ancient discipline was tied and bound to many seruile ministeries in the Campe, by [r] Tacitus called *munera,* as is aforesaid, and by [t] Vegetius *munia,* as to bring in wood, straw, hay, water &c. Being negligent, or failing in execution therof, they were cudgelled and whipped by the Centurions. Tac. 1. Annal. *Fracta vite in tergo militis, alteram clara voce, ac rursus aliam poscebat centurio Lucilius,* whereupon in all mutinees the Centurions were the men principally shot at by the Common-souldier. In the German sedition at the entring of Tiberius, they muttered first among themselues *venisse tempus quo cunctis modum miseriarum exposcerent, sæuitiæque centurionum vlciscerentur*: and straight after put in execution against them. *Repentè lymphati districtis gladijs in centuriones inuadunt, ea vetustissima militaribus odijs materies. & sæuiendi principium, prostratos verberibus multant sexagenis singulos, vt numerum centurionum adæquarent, Tum conuulsos laniatosque & partim exanimos, ante vallum, aut in amnem Rhenum projiciunt.* Now the wealthy souldier, and those which had meanes, redeemed and bought out for mony this seruice at the Centurions hands. So the souldiers in Pannony complaine. *Denis in diem assibus animam & corpus æstimari; hinc vestem, arma, tentoria, hinc sæuitiam centurionum, & vacationes munerum redimi,* and the German, *mox indiscretis vocibus pretia vacationum, Angustias stipendij, duritiam operum ac proprijs nominibus incusant vallum, fossas pabuli, materiæ lignorum adgestus & siqua alia ex necessitate, aut aduersus otium castrorum quæruntur.* That then which heere they demanded was, that for purchasing immunity from these *munera,* they should not be forced to pay any mony to the Centurions.

r 1. *Annal.*

t *lib. 2. cap. 19.*

[u] His owne Cofers: *Ex Fisco suo*] *Fisci, sparteæ sunt vtensilia ad maioris summæ pecunias capiendas*; Asconius, and so Tully vseth the word, *in Verrem. Fiscos complures cum pecunia Siciliensi à quodam senatore ad equitem Romanum esse translatos.* And in the same sense we read in Tacit. 1. Annal. *cum fisci de imperatore rapti inter signa, interque Aquilas vehrentur,* in Suet. [x] Claudio, *positis ante se cum pecunia fiscis &c.* Whereupon *quia maior summa est pecuniæ publicæ quam priuatæ, vt pro censu priuato loculos, & arcam & sacellos dicimus, sic pro publico thesauro ærarij dicitur fiscus,* saith Asconius, applying the names of *fiscus* and *ærarium,* both to one thing; as Tully doth, Verrinâ 3. *Quaternos H. S. quos mihi senatus decreuit & ex ærario dedit, ego habebo, & in cistam transferam ex fisco.* But after the diuision of the Empire made by Augustus *in publicas, & principis prouincias* the words were no more indifferently vsed, *Fiscus* being appropriated to signifie the Princes treasure, and *Aerarium* the publicke, a difference notwithstanding more of names then of substance. λόγῳ μὲν τὰ δημόσια ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείνου (Αὐγούστου) ἀποκέκριτο, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνου τοῦ γνώμῃ αὐτὰ ἀνελίσκετο. Dio lib. 53. *That is, In name the publike treasure was seuered from Augustus exchequer, but in truth that also was spent at his dispostion.*

u *cap. 18.*

[y] Being a Freed-man] *Ingenui* were commonly murderd priuily; *serui,* or *libertini generis* publikely executed. Such also was Asiaticus end, that carried the credit with Vitellius, as soone as Vespasian came in. Tacit 4. Hist. *Asiaticus, vt libertus malam potentiam seruili supplicio expiauit.*

[z] The City Prætor calleth the Senate] For both the Consuls were slaine. In which case or otherwise in their absence *ius vocandi senatum* belonged to the *Prætor vrbanus.* Cic. lib. *ad familiares* • 10. *Paulò post idem mihi Munatius literas legendas dedit, quas ipsi miseras, & eas quas publicè. Placuit nobis vt statim ad Cornificium prætorem vrb. literas*

x *cap. 12.*

Iteras deserimus: qui quòd Cossi aberant, consulare munus sustinebat more maiorum. Senatus est continuò consultus.

11 With all other princely prerogatiues] The principall titles vsually annexed to the Princes place were these: [1] *Princeps*, [2] *Imperator*, [3] *Cæsar*, [4] *Augustus*, [5] *Tribunitiæ potestatis*, [6] *Pater patriæ*, [7] *Pontifex maximus*. Tac. 1. Annal. *Augustus cuncta discordijs ciuilibus fessa nomine* [1] *Principis sub imperium accepit*, which title of *Princeps*, as I thinke, was borrowed from *princeps senatus* in the former state. [2] *Imperator* hath a double signification both touched by Dio, lib. 52. ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ καὶ τὸν τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἐπίκλησιν ἐπεδέξατο (ὁ Αὔγουστος) λέγω δὲ οὐ τὴν ἐπὶ πάσι νίκαις καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον δηλοῦντα πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑτέραν τὴν τὸ κράτος σημαίνουσαν. *That is, In that yeere Augustus tooke to himselfe the name of Imperator. I meane not that name which in ancient time was giuen to certaine persons vpon some notable victory, but that other signifying soueraigne power and maiesty.* And not onely this later which began first in Iulius Cæsar, *A. V. C.* 709. importing soueraigne maiesty, but also the other was vsual vnder the Emperors, both in the Princes stile, and conferred likewise vpon priuate persons that had deserued it. Tac. 3. Anna. *Tiberius id quoq; Blæsso tribuit, vt imperator à legionibus salutaretur, prisco erga duces honore, qui bene gesta rep. gaudio & impetu victoris exercitus conclamabantur, erant quæ plures simul imperatores, nec super cæterorum æqualitatem. concessit quibusdam & Augustus id vocabulum, ac tunc Tiberius B. æso postremum.* In the Princes stile thus. *Imp. Cæsar Augustus, Imp. decimum sextum*: Imperator in the first place signifying supreme authority, in the second τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς νίκαις obtained either by himselfe, or by his Deputies. So Nero remaining at Rome *ob rem bene gestam à Corbulone in Armenia consalutatus est Imperator.* Tac. 13 Anna. [3] Cæsar by kinred or adoption from D. Iulius to Nero, *in quo*, saith Sueton. *progenies Cæsarum desijt*, Galba and the rest *nullo gradu contingentes Cæsarum domum* were called Cæsars in respect of succession in office and place, rather then bloud: and not onely the Princes themselues, but also their sonnes and designed successours. 5 Hist. *Eiusdem anni principio Cæsar Titus*, in his fathers time. And before that, 3. Hist. *milites Domitianum, Cæsarem consalutant.* And Pilo in this booke, *ex quo Cæsar ascitus sum.* [4] The name of Augustus peculiar to the Prince in possession had his beginning from Octauius, whose originall and Etymologie Dio declareth lib. 53. ὁ καίσαρ ἐπεθύμει μὲν ἱερῶς τοῦ ῥωμύλου ὀνομασθῆναι, αἰδήμων δὲ ὢν ἐπτοήθη μὴ τοῦτο τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπιδυομένην, ὃ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀπεπεράσατο, ἀλλὰ αὔγουστος, ὡς ἂν πλεῖόν τι ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὤν, ἐπεκλήθη. πάντα γὰρ τὰ σεπώματα, καὶ τὰ ἱερώτατα, αὔγουστα προσαγορεύεται, ἐξ ἧς καὶ σεβαστὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἑλληνίζοντες πως ἀπὸ τοῦ σέβεσθαι προσεῖπον. *That is, Octauius desired most earnestly to haue beene called Romulus, but perceiuing that thereby he might come into suspition of affecting the kingdome, he desisted from that purpose, and was surnamed Augustus, as being somewhat more then a man. For in Latine things most pretious and sacred are called* Augusta, *and so the Greekes call him* Sebastos, *which is deriued of a word signifying deuine adoration.* [5] *Tribunitia potestatis.* Dio lib. 53. ἡ ἐξουσία ἣ δημαρχικὴ καλουμένη, διδασκάλιον τούτου ἐστὶ τοῦ λεγομένου ὑφ' ἑτέρου τινός. ἂν μὲν σωφρονῶσι, πάσιν, καὶ ὧν καθυβρίζωσιν, ἧττον ὑβρίζειν· ἂν δὲ καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ὧν ὑπερῴδω, ἢ ἀδικῶσί τινα ἀδικοῦσι δίκῃσι, καὶ ἄκυρον τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ, ὡς καὶ ἐναγῆ ὄντα, λύειν. δημαρχεῖ μὲν γὰρ, ὅτι καὶ ἐς τοὺς εὐπατρίδας πάντως τελοῦντες, οὐκ ὄπον νομίζουσιν εἶναι. τὸ δὲ δύναμιν τοῦ ἧττον δημαρχεῖν πᾶσαν, ὥσπερ τὰ μάλιστα ἐχύετο, περιτίθενται (οἱ αὐτοκράτορες) καὶ δι' αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ ἀεὶδημος τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ κατ' ἔτος αὐτὴν μετὰ τῆς ἀεὶ δημαρχίας λαμβανόντων, προσγαίνει. *That is, Tribunitiall autority giues the Emperours power to stop any thing done by others against their owne liking. Moreouer it preserues their person from all maner of iniury or contumely, giuing them authority immediately to make away without iudgement or formality of law, as an execrable person, whosoeuer shall offer them neuer so little an indignity in word or deed. And albeit the Princes themselues beare not the office of Tribunes, as being Patritij: and therefore by law not capable thereof, yet take they to themall their power and authority at the highest reckoning that euer it was, and by it account the yeeres of their gouernment (writing for example* Tribunitiæ potestatis quartùm Trib. pot. quintùm *the fourth and fift yeere of their Empire) as though they assumed that authoritie from yeere to yeere with the yeerely Tribune.* Tac. 3. Annal. *Tiberius potestatem tribunitiam Druso (filio) petebat id summi fastigij vocabulum* [x] Augustus *reperit, ne* [y] *Regis aut Dictatoris nomen assumeret, ac tamen appellatione aliqua cætera imperio præmineret.* 1. Annal. *Augustus primo Triumuiri nomine, Consulem se ferens, & ad tuendam plebem Tribunitio iure contentum.* Flauius Vopiscus in the life of Tacitus the Emperour; *Tribunitia potestas, quæ pars maxima regalis imperij est.* As for the office of *Tribunus plebis*, vnder the Emperours the [z] name rather then the authority, and *ius intercedendi* in some sort remained. In Tiberius time, *cum pramium accusatori decerneret senatus, Iunius Otho tribunus plebis intercessit*, and in Neroes, *Rubrius Arulenus flagrans iuuenis, & cupidine ciuilis officij rebatur se intercessurum senatusconsulto, nam plebi tribunus erat.* Tacit. 16. Annal. [6] The name and honour of *Pater Patriæ* λόγῳ αὐτὸν δεδημοποιῆσθαι τὸν ἐπώνυμον ἔσχηκε τοῦτο. was giuen by M. Catone Tully in Catilines conspiracy, and after peculiar to the Princes, vnlesse it were some that for modesty, or in respect of their youth refused it. Appianus 2. Emyl. Κάτωνος δὲ αὖθις (τὸν Κικέρωνα) ἐπαινοῦντος, καὶ πατέρα τῆς πατρίδος προσαγορεύοντος, ἐπεβόησεν ὁ δῆμος, καὶ δοκεῖ πολὺ ἦδη ἡ εὐφημία ἀπὸ Κικέρωνος ἀρξαμένη ἐς τὸν υἱὸν Αὐτοκρατόρων τοῦ θείου κλῆσιν ἄξιον. ὃ δὲ ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ τοῦτο βασιλεῦσιν ἐοικὸς, οὐ δέχεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλλοις ἐπωνυμίας, ἀλλὰ συν χρόνῳ μόλις ἦδη ὡς ἐντελὴς ὅτι μάλιστα δὴ μαρτυρία γίνεται. *That is, When Cato called Cicero* Pater patriæ *all the people consented with a shoute. And from thence forth the honourable acclamation in Tully was a precedent for the Senate afterward to confer the same title vpon their Princes, such as seemed worthy: for euen they, though being absolute Princes, yet haue not this at first together with the rest of their state, but after a long time for a full accomplishment of their honour and a finall testimony of their greatest and most vertuous actions.* [7] The office of *Pontifex maximus* was a seuerall charge in the free common weale, vnited in the person of Cæsar at what time he vsurped the State, and so for the most part continued in his successours, of which we shall haue occasion to speake more hereafter. Besides these rules of honour vsually expressed in the Princes stile, many other dignities conferred vpon Augustus, and the first Emperours at seuerall times, and vpon seuerall occasion, were all in one ordinary decree granted to the Prince at the first assembly of the Senate after his comming to State, as [8] *Imperium proconsulare*, [9] *ius relationis* himselfe being not Consull, and that of being aboue all Law, [10] *de iure quæ volebat faciendi*, &c. Dio lib. 53. πᾶν δὲ ὃ τι ἕτερόν τι, ὁπωσοῦν ἦν πάλαι ῥωμαίοις [a] ἐς παῖδα ἐ πατρὸς, ἐδίδου, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις (οἱ αὐτοκράτορες) λέγουσι· τὸ δὲ τῷ νόμῳ, ὡς αὐτοὶ τὰ καινικὰ ῥήματα λέγει, πάντα ἐξῆν ὅσα ἂν ἅπαξ πάσιν ἔναγχος νομίσας εἶναι ἐψηφίσαντο. *That is, And here the Emperours ab earned another prerogatiue such as was neuer absolutely granted to any of the ancient Romans, that is, leerbus solutis to be rid of all lawes, no obseruation of any written law. Againe,* ἐκ παλαιοῦ γεγραπται νεωστὶ γενόμενα ἐκείνῳ (τῷ Αὐγούστῳ) πάντα ἐξεῖναι τῷ θεῷ, ὅσα ἂν ἐκεῖνος βούληται, κἂν μὴ ἐναπτύσῃ, ἔδοξε, τοῦτο ἀρχὴν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐσαεὶ καθεστῆξαι, ὅσα annuit, &c.

x According to Appian the Tribunitiall priuiledges were first conferred vpon C Cæsar ἱερόν εἶναι καὶ ἄσυλον τῷ ἀνδρὶ, ὅσιόν τε ἀπτῶ καὶ ἄπτειν προσφόρου. 2. Emyl. & in Dio among the honours decreed to Cæsar by the Senate A. V. C. 710. ἵνα τὸ δημαρχικὸν διάφορόν πως κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἔχῃ ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων ἐγίγνετο.

y Which both were abolished with great cruelties to himself and all good citizens, since their vsurpation the one by L. Brutus, the other after Cæsar slaine.

z As Tacitus in another place *tribunitia potestas* is taken for the *tribunicium ius*.

a For to some particular purposes some other were ioyned with him. *Ex legibus annuis, &c.*

ὥστε ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ τῇ εἰς τὸ πωμήριὸ καταπίστευσε αὐτῷ, μήτ' ἄνευθις ἀναγκάζεσθαι, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐσιτικόῳ τὸ πλεῖον τῆς ἑκατερχίδι ἐξουσίαν ἰσχύειν ἐπέτρεψε, That is, For these causes the Senate granted Augustus power to propose any one thing which himselfe listed every Senate, though he were not as then Consul. Likewise that he should haue Proconsular authoritie once for all So that he should not neede either to depose it when he entred the Pomerium, nor againe to resume it. Beside that in all other places subiect to the Empire his power and authority should be aboue and superiour to all the particular Magistrates there. The Consul *apud Vopiscum in Probo*, hauing made relation to the Senate of Probus letters elected Emperour by the souldier, *Decerno igitur*, saith he, *P.C votis omnium concinentibus* (Aurelio Probo) *nomen Cæsareum, nomen Augustum, addo Proconsulare imperium, Patris patriæ reuerentiam, Pontificatum maximum, ius* [a] *tertiæ relationis, Tribunitium potestatem. Post hac acclamatum est Omnes, Omnes.* Vopiscus

[a] That is, beside the two Consuls.

[13] Of his principall bondmen: *E prioribus seruis*] *Primoribus seruis* it would be, as I thinke. *Seruorum enim alij primores alij Mediastini*, of *Primores* Tacitus maketh mention 4. Annal. *Lygdus ætate atque formâ carus domino, inter ceteros primores, ministros erat.* Now that *dispensatores* were of the better sort it appeareth by that of Suetonius [b] Nerone. *Certum dominis seruorum numerum indixit* (Nero) *nec nisi ex totâ cuiusque familiâ probatissimos, ne dispensatoribus quidem aut amanuensibus exceptis recepit.*

[b] cap. 44.

[14] Seuenty three yeeres] Galba was borne, saith [c] Suetonius, *Messala & Lentulo Coss. 9 Calendas Ian. Anno ab vrbe conditâ* 751. Rome, 822. 18. *Cal. Febr.* So that Galba liued but 23. daies onely aboue seuenty yeares, and yet Suetonius in two or three places agreeth with Tacitus, onely Xiphilinus hath 72. which is with the most.

[c] cap 4.

VIII. *After the death of Galba, the newes growing hotter of Vitellius and the German reuolt, how the City stood affected betweene him and Otho.*

THE Citie thus terrified, and hauing in horrour both the hainousnesse of the late fact, and the old conditions of Otho, was put in a further feare, by the newes of Vitellius reuolt, which were in Galbaes time suppressed, that men should beleeue no more had rebelled, saue the Army of vpper Germany alone. But then seeing [1] two of all mortall men the most detestable creatures, in slothfulnesse, incontinency, and wastfull life, fatally elect, as it were to ruine the Empire, not only the Senators and Gentlemen, who had some part and care of the State, but the [2] Commons also openly began to waile and lament. Their talke was no more of the fresh and bleeding examples of the late murdering peace: but of ciuill warres recorded in ancient Story, of the City so oft surprized by her owne Citizens, Italy wasted, the Prouinces spoiled; of Pharsalia, Phillippi, Perusia, Mutina, [b] famous names of common calamities. The world was subuerted almost, euen when good men stroue for the State: notwithstanding there remained when Caius Iulius, there remained when Cæsar Augustus was conqueror, the forme of an Empire. [3] If Pompey had preuailed, if Brutus, the popular State would haue stood: now whether for Otho, or for Vitellius should they goe to the Temples! that both praiers were impious alike, both vowes alike detestable, betweene two, in the warre of whom this alone you might know, that he which should win, would be [c] worse then before. Some secretly wished Vespasian with the Easterne armies; and as he was more liked then either of the other, so did they greatly mislike to multiply warres and calamities: and againe Vespasian was not altogether without exception; the 3 onely Prince before his time, which changed to the better.

[a] Tac. *Vulgus & magnitudine nimia curarum expers populus*: and yet expers, not in all circumstances, as here may be seene, nor of all common cares: *Plebi cui vnica cura, vna est annona*, saith Tacitus elsewhere.

[b] At Pharsalia Cæsar ouerthrew Pompey: *an. vr. condit.* 706. at Phillippi Octauianus and Antonius ouercame Brutus and Cassius: *an. v. c.* 712. in the Perusin war Octauius woke armes against L. Antonius and Fuluia. *Anno* 713 at Mutina the Consuls Hirtius and Pansa fought with M. Antonius. *Anno* 710.

[c] For admitting them before equall to vices, the victory it selfe would corrupt the winner: *victoria etiam egregia docet magnos esse, non bonos*, saith Tac. elsewhere.

[1] Two of all mortall men the most] Otho and Vitellius are here compared as like, in opposition both to a good Prince: 2. Hist. as vnlike, with notes of distinction, opposed the one to the other. *Vitellij ignauæ voluptates: Othonis flagrantissimæ libidines. Vitellius ventre & gulâ sibi ipsi hostis: Otho luxu, sectâ, and cetâ reipub. exitiosior ducebatur.* On the one side an ill minde in a man of nothing, of the other an ill minde ioyned with courage and edge.

[2] If Pompey had preuailed, if Brutus the popular State would haue stood] Of Brutus I cannot call it in question carying that honourable minde which no doubt he did to the liberty of his country: but surely for Pompey I cannot affirme it, his doings affirme rather the contrary, and Tacitus himselfe teacheth vs otherwise 2. Hist. *Mox è plebe infima C. Marius, & nobilium sæuissimus L. Sulla, victâ armis libertate in dominationem verterunt. Post quos Cn. Pompeius occultior non melior.* Salust. apud Sueton. lib. de claris grammaticis. *Pompeius oris probi, animo inuerecundo.* Appianus 2. Ἐμφυλ. maketh report of a word that escaped Pompey, a man not vsed to dissemble that way, a little before the battell at Pharsalia. τοιοῦτον δ' ἐνέπεσεν τοῖς φίλοις, ὅτι οὐκ ἐθέλοι, μηδὲ νικῶν ἐς ἀεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἀρχὴν καινὴν, παράστασιν ἐς τὸ μέλλον, ὡς δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτῷ τοῦ δίκαιον ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ βίᾳ νομίζοντος ἡγεῖσθαι δεῖν. That is, Pompey before he

[3] Otho and Vitellius are here compared as like, in opposition both to a good Prince: 2. Hist. as vnlike, with notes of distinction, opposed the one to the other. *Vitellij ignauæ voluptates: Othonis flagrantissimæ libidines. Vitellius ventre & gulâ sibi ipsi hostis: Otho luxu, sectâ, and cetâ reipub. exitiosior ducebatur.* On the one side an ill minde in a man of nothing, of the other an ill minde ioyned with courage and edge.

he set his men in array at the battell of Pharsalia, to them about him let fall vnawares a word, whereby it was discouered that Iuppiter if the victorie had gone on his side, would still haue retained the monarchy. This day, quoth he, whether soeuer of vs two shall win, will be the beginning of great calamity for euer to the Roman estate. Of the same opinion is Tully also in his letters *ad Atticum*, whose iudgement, as of a man of affaires, and *in re præsenti* we may iustly account aboue all exception, lib. 8. epist. 11. *Neutri σκοπὸς est ille, vt nos beatissimus, vterque regnare vult. De Pompeio & Cæsare.* lib. 9. epi. 6. *Aliquando tu modum Cucumæstor Sullani regni similitudinem concupiuit* εἰδὼς σοι λέγω. *That is, I tell you this vpon mine owne knowledge.* Lib. 7. 5. *Ex victoria tùm multa mala, tum certè tyrannis existet.*

3 The onely Prince before his time which changed] For after him Titus his sonne changed also the same way Suetonius Tho cap 1. *Titus amor ac deliciæ generis humani: tantum illi ad promerendam omnium voluntatem vel ingenij, vel artis vel fortunæ fuit; & (quod difficillimum est) in imperio, quando priuatus, atque etiam sub patre principe, nec odio quidem, nec ullum vituperatione publicè meruit.*

IX. *The reuolt of the Armies of both Germanies, and rising of Vitellius.*

NOW will I set downe the beginning and causes of Vitellius commotion. After that Iulius Vindex with all his host was slaine, the [1] Army growing insolent with spoile and glory, as hauing obtained, without paine and danger, a most rich conquest, loued much better exploits and fighting, * rewards and booties, then ordinary pay, they had passed before a long, fruitlesse, and hard seruice there, partly through the * quality of the soyle, and climate, and partly through the straitnesse of discipline, which in time of peace being rigorously obserued, by ciuill wars is vtterly dissolued; corrupters being ready at hand on both sides, and fugitiues escaping as then without punishment. Men, Armour, Horses they had sufficient for vse, and ornament too: but before the [a] war they had no further acquaintance together, but with the men of their owne Troupes, and Companies: the Armies lay seuered [b] in seuerall Prouinces, then against Vindex the Legions being assembled in one, and hauing prooued themselues and the forces of Gallia, sought now a fresh occasion of wars, and new troubles, not terming [c] them as they were wont, friends and allaies, but enemies and conquered persons. The tract of Gallia, which lies vpon Rhene, hauing followed before the souldiers side, aduanced themselues then with the foremost to instigate the Armies against the Galbians: for so now they called them, disdayning the name of Vindex as stale. Thus being incensed against the Sequani and Hedui, and so further, as the townes were in wealth, they conceiued in hope sacking of Cities, wasting of Countries, rifling of houses; irritated next after couetousnesse and presumption, principall vices of them which be stronger, by the peruersenesse of them of Gallia foolishly bragging, that Galba had released a fourth part of their tribute, and * generally made them Citizens of Rome in despite of the Army. Moreouer it was giuen out craftily, and rashly beleeued, [2] that in the Legions euery tenth man was allotted to die, and the ablest men of the centurions should be cassed: from euery quarter hainous rumours, sinister reports from Rome, the [3] Colony of Lions discontented, and as it were a nurcery of tales by reason of their constant affection to Nero: but greatest matter to forge out a lie, and win it credit, the camp it selfe did yeeld vpon hatred, feare, security also, when they had measured their owne ability. Aulus Vitellius entering the yeere before about the first of December into lower Germany, with great care and diligence had visited and surueyed the standing camps of the Legions: many he restored to their roomes, to their fame and honor most part to win fauor, and some vpon iudgement; vndoing that with integrity, which Fonteius Capito vpon bribery and lucre had done displacing or placing for mony in degrees of seruice: neither were his doings accepted after the measure of an ordinary Lieutenant generall, but in a far higher degree. And as among the seuerer sort Vitellius was thought base and demisse, so his fauorers termed it curtesie and

cap. 51.

* *præmia*: as the sacke or spoile of a Citie, or Country, donatiues, or any other extraordinary liberality.

* *ingenio loci cœli*. 2. Hist. *Germanica hiberna cœno ac laboribus dura.*

a Against Vindex.

b And so remained, for ought I know, in the war against Vindex, where onely the vpper army was present, by the testimony of all writers, and *Tac.* himselfe in many places.

c To wit, them of Gallia, with whom they had fought.

* *publice, i. non datis*, for the *primores* of Gallia had obtained the priuiledge before Claudius time. 1. *Ann. primores Gallica fœdera & ciuitatem Romanam pridem assecuti.*

cap. 52.

and goodnesse, because without measure or iudgement he gaue out his owne, lasht out other mens, construing vices for vertues * vpon an extreme desire of the Empire. Many in both Armies there were, as modest and quiet men, so likewise bad and valiant; by name among other Alienus Cœcina and Fabius Valens [d] Lieutenants of Legions, in appetites immoderat, and singularly rash. Valens offended with Galba, as being not recompensed according to his deserts for discouering Verginius doubtfull proceeding, and the oppressing of Capitoes conspiracy, ceased not to vrge and incite Vitellius; laying open before him the souldiers feruent good will; the honorable report that went euery where of his doings: as for Hordeonius Flaccus that silly man could hinder but little, that Britanny would ioyne, the German Aides follow him, that the Prouinces were not assured; in fine that the old man was Emperour of curtesie and quickly would lose it; let Vitellius onely but open his bosome, make towards, and receiue in good fortune, as she offered herselfe: that Verginius indeed had good cause to be doubtfull, being only of a Gentlemans house, his father hauing not borne office; the place was aboue his capacity, if he had vndertaken it, and then refusing it, he was out of danger: that contrariwise Vitellius father had beene thrise Consull, Censor, * collegue with the Emperour: that these qualities in the father tooke long agoe from the son the security of a priuat person, and put vpon him the dignity of a Prince. His dull spirits were mooued with these speeches rather to desire then to hope. But in vpper Germany Cæcina a comely yoong man, of body big, and minde insatiable, quicke of speech, of gate stately, had maruellously won the good will of the souldier. This yoong man Galba promoted to gouerne a Legion, for that being Questor in Bætica, he came without stay to his side: by and by being conuicted to haue dealt falsely with the common treasure, hee was by Galbaes commandement endited of purloyning: Cæcina taking heauily the disgrace, determined to trouble the state, and with the calamities of the commonwealth to couer and close vp his owne priuate wounds. Neither in the Army wanted there seedes of sedition: for they all had beene present in field against Vindex, and could not be brought to sweare vnto Galba, before they did know that Nero was slaine; and were also in taking the othe preuented by the enseignes of low Germany, againe the Treueri, Lingones, and those other Cities, which Galba had pinched with heauy edicts, or with losse of Territory, lay neare to the standing Campes of the Legions: whereupon grew seditious conferences, and the souldier by conuersation with the [4] Countrey-man more corrupted, and by [e] reason of the good will borne to Verginius to be imployed for any other man. The Lingones according to their accustomed maner had sent gifts to the Legions [f] Right-hands in token of mutuall loue and hospitality, their messengers purposely with sad cheere and heauy countenance in the Principia, in the souldiers cabins, lament and bewaile, sometime the wrong done to themselues, sometime the honour done to their neighbours, and perceiuing their talke had so ready an audience, they passed on further, incensing their mindes, and bewailing the hard hap euen of the Army it selfe, their dangers, and contumelies. The matter thus growing toward a sedition, Hordeonius Flaccus commandeth the messengers to get them away; and that their departure might be the more secret, he commands them to auoide the Campe in the night season. Thereupon a suspition and grieuous rumour arose, the most part affirming they were made away: and that without doubt, vnlesse they prouide for themselues the more surely, it would come to passe that those of the soldiers which were of most courage, and most misliked the present estate, should likewise by night, vnawares to the rest, be secretly murdered. Vpon this the Legions priuily conspire, and couenant together:

* audacissimi imperandi.

d Valens in lower Germany where Vitellius and Cæcina in higher, where Hordeonius Flaccus was Lieutenant generall.

* collegium Cæsaru. Suetor. Vitel. Lo. c.2. L. Vitellius imperatorii pater, cum Claudio principe duos ordinarios consulatus censuramque gessit.

cap. 53.

* τὰς δεξιὰς ἐπιφερόμενοι τῶν ὁμοφύλων. Xiphilinus. § 2. Hist. Conuersionem Sisennam dextras, concordiæ insignia, Syriaci exercitus nomine, ad Prætorianos ferentem, variis artibus aggressus est.

ther: the Ayde-souldier was made also of the party, whom at first they suspected, as though with his cohorts and wings enuironing them he ment them a mischiefe; but anon he appeared more earnest then any, as the bad agree better to broach a new warre, than in peace to keepe concord one with another. Notwithstanding the Legions of lower Germany, the first date of Ianuary, sware their solemne allegeance to Galba, with much adoe, and slow comming forward, some few in the first rankes yeelding a weake applause; the rest standing mute, each looking his neighbour should dare, as it is the nature of men, to follow with speed that, which they are otherwise of themselues loath to begin: but euen the Legions were diuersly minded, the first and the fift rebelliously affected, so that some cast stones at Galbaes Images: the fifteene and sixteene murmuring and threatning, and daring no further, stoode waiting for others to shew them the way. In the higher Army the fourth Legion and the eighteenth, wintering both in one *place, [5] the very first day of Ianuarie brake the Images of Galba in pieces; the fourth very resolutely, the eighteenth after some little staie, anon by common consent: and lest they might seeme to haue shaken off the obedience of the Empire, they sware [6] To the Senate and people of Rome, a stile long agoe ouerworne; no Lieutenant, no Tribune laboring for Galba, yea some, as in tumults it happeneth, troubling more: neuertheless no man presumed to make any solemne oration assembly-wise, or out of Tribunall: for as yet they had none to bestow their benefit vpon. Hordeonius Flaccus Lieutenant generall stood by [h] and lookt on, while this pageant was playing, not daring neither to restraine the rebellious, nor stay the doubtfull, nor encourage the good; a timorous slugge, and innocent, as being a coward. Fower Centurions of the eighteenth Legion, Nonius Receptus, Donatus Valens, Romilius Marcellus, and Calpurnius Repentinus, endeuouring to saue and protect the Images of Galba, with the souldiers violence were caried away, bound and laide vp: neither did there remaine any more in any of them all any sparke of faith, or allegeance, no memory of the [i] oath before giuen; but as in seditions it hapneth, as the most part went, so did they all goe. The same day at night the * Standerd-bearer of the fourth Legion brings word to Vitellius, as he sate at banquet in Coleyne, that the fourth and eighteenth Legion had broken downe the Images of Galba, and sworne to the Senate and people of Rome. That oath seemed friuolous and voide: wherefore it was thought good *to vse the opportunity, and profer them a Prince. Thereupon Vitellius dispatcheth in post to the Legions and Lieutenants of his owne Prouince, aduertising them that the higher Army was reuolted from Galba: wherefore either fight they must against the reuolters, or if they liked better of peace, and concord, set vp an Emperor: and with lesse dangers they might take a Prince, then seeke one. The first Legion lay neerest, and Fabius Valens Lieutenant, of all the rest the forwardest man: who the very day after, with the horse-men of his Legion, and of the Aides, entring Coleyn, [k] solemnely saluted Vitellius Emperour. The rest of the Legions of the same Prouince strooue who should be formost to follow the example: and higher Army, laying aside those glorious titles, and goodly to shew, of the Senate and people of Rome, the third of Ianuary roundly come ouer to Vitellius side: a man might easily perceiue that the other two daies they meant nothing lesse, then a free Common wealth. They of Coleyn, the Treueri, and Lingones, were not inferiour to the souldiers in forwardnesse, offering aides, horses, armour, money, as they were able in body, wealth, or wit, and not only the [7] principall men of the Colonies and camps, which presently had wealth at will, and vpon the victory hoped for great matters, but also the * bandes and common souldier, vpon an instinct and heat of affection,

cap. 55.

* At Magontiacum.

5 Stetimq; (saieth Iust. c. 10.) legationes ad Vitellium cum mandatis de fastigio imperij deferendi; displicere imperatorem in Hispania factum, elegerent ipsi quem euncti exercitus comprobarem. But the embassage, as it may seeme, vpon the reuolt of Vitellius was reuoked.

cap. 56.

6 Yet was he left by Vitellius Lieutenant of both Germanies. 2. Hist. afterward he followed Vespasians side, and lastly was slaine by his owne souldiers 4. Hist.

7 Which they had sworne to Galba, pressed thereto by Vergining after Neroes deceale.

* Aquilifer.

h occupare naturalem fortunam, is peradventure properly to catch fit hold, or put your selfe in time post-fit on of fortune wauering, and now standing in doubt, whether she might best bestow her fauor.

k Sueto. Vitel. c. 8. somewhat otherwise: vix dum mense transacto, neq; die, neq; temporis horum ratione, ac tum vesperi subito à militibus cubicula rapta, et vocatus in vestibulo domus in Imperator ciij conclamatum, cunctantem, ac per celeberrimos vicos, Plut. saith it was at mid-day.

i magnipatres, i. magnates, in opposition to primores castrorum.

affection, and couetous humour, gaue vp their money, and in stead of money their *belts, their trappings, the siluer trimming of their harnesse. Vitellius hauing greatly commended their cheerfull willingnes, committed the offices of court, commonly supplied by freedmen, to Gentlemen of Rome; and paies the vacations to the Centurions out of his cofers. The souldiers cruelty demanding many to death hee doth oft condescend vnto: sometimes he deceiues them with shew of emprisoning. [l] Pompeius Propinquus, Procurator of Belgica, was streight put to death: Iulius Burdo admirall of the German nauy he saued by slight, the whole army was incensed against him, as first an entiser of Fonteius Capito to rebell, & then a great helper to make him away: wel beloued was Capito, & gladly remembred; & in that raging and bloudthirsty company a man might openly kill whom hee list, marie pardon or saue but by policie hee could not: so Burdo was presently had into prison, and after the victory, the souldiers malice being appeased, enlarged againe. In the mean time Crispinus the Centurion was yeelded vnto them, as an *expiatory sacrifice, who had embrued his hands with Capitoes bloud, and therefore more in the eie of the souldier, and of lesse account[m] with Vitellius. Next after was [8] Iulius Ciuilis, a man of great might, and credit among the Batauians, deliuered from danger lest by his death that fierce nation should become foes. Moreouer in the state of the Lingones there lay [o] of Batauians eight cohorts, the aides of the fourteenth Legion, but then by meanes of the troublesome times they were departed away, of no small moment to swaie the whole cause, as they hapned to fauour the one or the other. The foure Centurions before mentioned, Nonius, Donatius, Romilius and Calpurnius, Vitellius commanded to be executed, being attainted of truth: a most hainous crime among rebels. Then came to the side Valerius Asiaticus Lieutenant of Belgica, to whom anon after Vitellius married his daughter; and Iunius Blœsus Gouernour of Gallia Lugdunensis with the Italian Legion, and Taurin wing encamped at Lions. The Rhœtian souldier without any stay ioined himselfe. In Britannie also the matter went cleere. [n] Trebellius Maximus was Lieutenant generall there, contemned and hated of the army for his niggarly sparing and polling: and Roscius Cœlius Lieutenant of the twentieth legion inflamed them further against him his ancient enemy, but now by occasion of ciuill dissentions they were fallen out further, & brake into more hainous termes: Trebellius obiecting to Cœlius, and charging him with factious behauiour, and dissoluing of discipline: Cœlius againe that Trebellius had spoiled and beggered the legions: but in the meane time, the Lieutenants thus iarring, the modesty of the army was marred; the discord at length growing so great, that Trebellius being railed away by the Aydes also, in cohorts and wings sorting themselues to Cœlius side, was glad to giue place being forsaken, and flee to Vitellius. The prouince although the Lieutenant generall was absent, remained in quiet, the Lieutenants of the Legions supplying the charge, in right of equall authority; but Cœlius indeed bare the most stroke, because he was of most boldnesse. [10] Now that the brittish host was adioined, Vitellius growing strong in men and money, ordaines for the warre two sundry Generals, and two sundry waies for the Generals to passe. Fabius Valens was willed to allure by faire meanes, or if they refused, to waste and destroy the countries of Gallia, and so by the Cottian Alpes to enter by force into Italie. Cæcina was commanded a shorter passage, by the Penine Alpes to make his discent. Valens had vnder his conduct the choise men of the lower army, and the fift Legion with cohort and wings, [o] fortie thousand armed men. Out of higher Germany Cæcina ledde thirty thousand, the flower and strength whereof consisted in the one and twentieth Legion. Moreouer they

*balteos Varro lib. 4. de ling. Lat. Balteum, cingulum decorio bullatum, vsually trimmed with siluer or gold. Spartianus Hadriano, vsum humi manu frequenter, & sine auro Balteum ferens. [l] That wrote the first newes to Galba of the German rebellion *supra*.

* vt piaculum &c. *Supra*.

[m] For it might be his owne case.

[8] *Iosephus lib. 7. de bello Iud. cap. 6.*

[n] *Tacitus 2. Hist. vita Agric.*

[o] This number of fortie thousand far exceeding the number of a legion in any age, was made vp by gelding the other Legions of that prouince, yet leauing vnto them their standerd and their name, and by Auxiliaries of the Germans: as it appeareth by the words of Tacitus.

they had both assigned vnto them [p] Aides of the Germans; out of whom Vitellius, who was to follow with the maine weight of the warre, furnished vp his Army also. Strange was the difference between the Army and their Emperor, the souldier was instant, demanding Armes whilest they of Gallia stood in a feare, whilest Spaine in a doubt: as for the winter, that was no let, nor such like excuses receiueable, only in idle and peaceable times: that Italy must out of hand be inuaded, the Citie surprized; that nought is more safe then speed in ciuill dissension, where dispatch is more needfull then long consultation: on the other side Vitellius, a man of nothing, playing the Prince before hand in rioting and prodigall banquets, drunke at noone-day, and heauy with surfet; but the souldiers forwardnesse and feruency fully supplied the place of the leader, as if he were present in person, encouraging or terrifying the valiant or dastard. When all was in order ready to march, they call to sound the remoue, increasing Vitellius stile with the [11] name of Germanicus: for Cæsar, euen after the victory, [q] he refused to be called.

p Or aides of the French side, but I rather take it for the name, and such I thinke were principally vsed in this place.

q Tu perpetuum saith Suet. Vitel. c. 8. but Tac. 3. hist. teacheth vs otherwise. Quam & Cæsarem dici se voluit aspernatus antea,

[1] The Army growing insolent, &c. *Cæso cum omnibus copijs Iulio vindice ferox prædæ, gloriæque exercitus*] *Exercitus ex re ipsa atq; opere exercity nomen accepit.* Vegetius lib. 2. cap. 1. and so it seemeth that Tacitus here doth in some sort appropriat the name to the Roman trained souldier, tearming the raw and vntrained of Vindex, *copias*, which word notwithstanding is common to both sorts. 1. Hist. *Aegyptum, copiasque quibus coerceretur*, meaning of the two Legions remaining there. Beside this vse *copiæ* hath also in Tacitus another signification for prouision, or victuales, 3. Hist. *Vt species parandarum copiarum ciuili prædæ milesimbueretur* and, *Lixas calonesq; Hebraicum mittit, copias cæteraque vsui allaturos*, againe, *& locus ipse cæsorum placebat, late prosectans, tuto copiarum augustissimè per tergum municipijs*, 4. Hist. *Nihil æquè exercitus nostros, quàm egestas copiarum fatigabat*, and so it is taken in this booke, *Primùm & promiscuus copijs inuere militem.*

[2] That in the Legions euery tenth man was alloted to die] In ancient time if some great part of the Armie had lost their ensignes, throwen away their weapons, and run cowardly out of the field, the maner was for the Generall to put all the Standerd-bearers, Centurions, &c. to death, and of the common sort euery tenth man. The example is in Liuy lib. 2. of Appius Claudius in the Volscian war, in Dio, of Augustus and Antony; lib. 49. and in Tacitus of L. Apronius Proconsul of Africke, when ancient discipline was welny expired. Annal. 3. The maner is in Polybius lib. 6 ἐὰν ποτε συμβῇ ἐκ σημαίας πυας ὁλοκλήρους πεδεῖσας λιπεῖν τὰς τάξεις, τὸ μὲ ἅπαντας ξυλοκοπεῖν, ἢ φονεύειν ἀποδοκιμάζουσι, λύσιν δε τῶ πράγματος εὑρίσκουσι συμφέρουσαν ἅμα καὶ καταπληκτικήν. συναθροίσας γὰρ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὁ χιλίαρχος, καὶ προαγαγὼν τοὺς λελοιπότας καταγρεῖ τυχάς. καὶ τοτὲ μὲ τρεῖς, ποτε δὲ ὀκτὼ, ποτε δὲ εἴκοσι, πάλ' ὅλους ὡς τὸ πλῆθος ἀεὶ στοχαζόμενος, ὡστε δύνασθαι μάλιστα γίνεσθαι τὴν ὑποστολὴν, τούτους ἐκ πάντων κληροῖ τὴν ἀποδεκατείαν καὶ τοὺς μὲ λαχόντας ξυλοκοπεῖ ἀπαραιτήτως. τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς, τὸ μέτρημα κελεύει δὸς αὐτοῖς πυρῶν ἔξω κελεύει τὸ χάρακος, καὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ποιεῖσθαι τὴν περιοχήν. That is, if at any time it happen that whole ensignes pressed by the enimy doe forsake their standing and run away, the maner of the Romans is not streightwaies to put them all to death without difference, but they follow a meane course both profitable and terrible. For the Tribune calling the Army together and producing those which failed in seruice, first heckleth them sharply, and in conclusion out of the offenders he chuseth by lot sometime fiue, sometimes eight, sometimes twenty (alwaies hauing an eye to the number, and aiming as neere as he can to take euery tenth man) and those on whom the lot falles are bid en to death with clubs without remission. To the rest he giues them their allowance in Barly in stead of Wheat, and so commandes them to quarter without the trench and places of surety. And not onely vpon the causes before rehearsed of λιποταξία and δίλοσταξία, That is, For taking their standing and casting away their armour, but vpon [a] occasion of a murmure Scipio in Spaine in the second war Punicke, and in later times also, when seuerity of discipline was much decayed Cæsar at Placentia renewed the custome, and Antony at Brundusium. Liuius lib. 28. Appianus, 2. Ἐμφυλ. & 3. Ἐμφυλ. Dio. lib. 41.

a *Appianus* 3. Ἐφορ in oratione Ciceronis dicta λιποταξίου (Αντωνίου) ἐς διαφθορὰν στρατιώτου ἢ φυλακῆς ἢ τάξεως ἢ πολεμοκλοπίας ἢ ὁπλίτου ἢ στρατοπέδου κτείνειν τὸν ὁποιονοῦν ἐξῆν.

[3] The Colony of Lyons discontent] The Senate fearing that Lepidus and Plancus, whom they had called into Italy, would betray the side, and goe to Antonius, willed them still to stay in France, and found the Colony of [b] Lyons, at the confluent of the Rhone, and Saone and thereto place those which before had beene driuen out of Vienna by the Allobroges. Dio. lib 46. Now Lyons in Neroes time being burnt, *hunc eladem*, saith Tacitus 16. Annal. [c] *quadragies, H. S. solatus est princeps*, and therefore they had cause to loue Nero, as of the other side to hate Galba, *qui reditu ipsorum ad ignes in scum verterat.* Tac.

b λουγδοῦνον πρὸ ἐπικαιροτάτου, τοῦ δὲ λόγου ἕνεκα καὶ λεγόμενον Dio.

c 312500. pound English.

[4] The Country-man: *Paganos*] *Paganus* a Towne's man, a Country-man, in opposition to *miles*. Veget lib. 2. cap. 3. *Nemsi desectum esset armorum, nihil paganus distat a milite*, and that which Suetonius [d] Galba vttereth in these words, *Dimota paganorum turba*, the selfe same circumstance Tacitus in this booke noteth with these *Disiecta plebe, conculcato senatu*; and Tacitus himselfe 4. Hist. *Tria millia legionariorum, & tumultuaria Belgarum Chubartes, simul paganorum, lixarumque ignauæ, sed procax ante periculum manus*, and againe 2. Hist. *Multæ & atroces inter se militum cædes, manente leuissimo, auxiliares magis discordias; vbi aduersus paganos certandum foret, consensu.* Antonius Primus, 3. Hist. disgracing the Prætorians (who were before discharged of their seruice and disarmed by commission from [e] Vitellius) names them *paganos Vos, impiæ, nisi vincitis, pagani, quis alius imperator, quæ castra alia excipient?* like as Cæsar at Rome in a mutinee and afterward Alexander Seuerus at Antioch, dismissing his souldiers in displeasure, called them *Quirites. Quirites discedite atque arma deponite.* Suetor. Cæsar cap. 70. Lampridius Seuero.

d cap. 19.

e Tac. 2 Hist.

[5] The very first day of Ianuary] And before that day, as it may appeare by Plutarch, the Army of vpper Germany

Germany had giuen sharewd signes of small good liking of Galba. Ἐπεὶ γάρ ποτε ἔκπης, ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ χιλιάρχων καὶ λοχαγῶν τὸ Ρ'ωμαϊκὸν σύνηθες, εὐτυχίαν ἐπευχομένου τῷ αὐτοκράτορι Γάλβᾳ, διεθορύβησαν οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ πρέπον, εἶτα τῶν εὐχαῖς ἐπιμενόντων ἐκείνων, ἀντεβόησαν, Οὐκ ἄξιος. That is, For in a publicke play the Tribunes and Centurions wishing good Lucke to Galba the Emperour, according to the vsuall maner of the Romans, many of the souldiers at the first murmured, and when as the Captaines persisted in their wishes, they answered and cried againe, He doth not deserue it. Now to breake downe the images of the Prince was the vsuall beginning in all rebellions. 3. Hist. *Trierarchi magno tumultu Vitellij imagines inuadunt, & paucis resistentium obtruncatis &c.* in the same place. *Simul Vitellij imagines deripiunt.*

6 Coleyn: *Coloniam Agrippinensem*] Founded by Agrippina Claudius wife. Tacitus 12. Annal. *Sed Agrippina quo vim suam sociis quoque nationibus ostentaret, in oppidum Vbiorum in quo genita erat, veteranos, coloniamq; deduci imperat, cui nomen inditum ex vocabulo ipsius.*

7 The principall men of the Colonies] *Principes coloniarum*, be the *Decurion*, *Principes castrorum*, whom Vegetius lib. 2. [f] calleth also *milites principales*, and Tacitus 3. Hist. *primores castrorum*, are the *Aquiliferi, Signiferi, Optiones, &c. qui priuilegijs muniuntur.* Where as the rest, the common souldiers are called *munifices, quòd munia facere coguntur.*

f cap 9.

8 *Iulius Ciuilis*] The same man who afterward with the Batauians, and aide of the French and Germans, maintained war so long with the Romans, as it appeareth. 4. and 5. Hist. Of the euent heere noted Tacitus maketh mention againe, 4. Hist. *Iulius Paulus, & Claudius Ciuilis, regia stirpe, multò cæteros* (Batauos nobiles) *anteibant. Paulum Fonteius Capito falso rebellionis crimine interfecit, iniectæ Ciuili catenæ, missusque ad Neronem, & à Galbâ absolutus, sub Vitellio rursus discrimen adijt, flagitante supplicium eius exercitu. Indè causæ irarum, spesque ex malis nostris.* Where is to be marked, that he calleth him there Claudius Ciuilis, whom here he nameth Iulius Ciuilis, forgetting himselfe in the one or the other, or else the describers of bookes not forgetting their accustomed negligence.

9 Of Batauians eight Cohorts, the Aydes of the fourteenth Legion] The great and notable rebellion of Britanny, by the vertue of Suetonius Paulinus, and valiantnesse of the fourteenth Legion, not without great losse of men being suppressed. Nero sent out of Germany thither a fresh supply of 2000. Legionaries, a thousand horse and eight Cohorts of Auxiliaries, which I take to be the very eight Cohorts of Batauians mentioned here Howsoeuer, certain it is that these Cohorts of Batauians were assigned as Auxiliaries to the fourteenth Legion: That Nero, for what occasions soeuer, vpon special confidence of their valour sent for into Italy the same Legion, with her Auxiliaries: That in the troubles of Vindex the Auxiliaries vpon some quarrell departed from the Legion, in preiudice, as it may seeme of Neroes cause: That Galba a comming to state the Legion was sent into Illyricum, the Batauians into Britanny againe, and in the meane season, as they were in their way thitherward, hearing the newes of Vitellius commotion they ioyned themselues to the side. For confirmation of the premisses Tacitus alone may suffice. 14. Annal. *Auxit quoque copias Cæsar missis è Germaniâ duobus legionariorum millibus, octo auxiliariorum cohortibus ac mille equitibus.* 2. Hist. *Motæ ad imperium Othonis, è Dalmatiâ, Pannoniâque legiones, præcipuâ fama Quartadecimani rebellione Britanniæ compressa. Addiderat gloriam Nero eligendo vt potissimos, vnde longa illis erga Neronem fides*, and in the same booke, *cohortes Batauorum, quas bello Neronis à Quartadecima legione digressas, cum Britanniam peterent, audito Vitellij motu in ciuitate Lingonum Fabio Valenti adiunctas retulimus, superbè agebant, vt eiusque legionis tentoria accessissent, coercitos à se quartadecimanos, ablatam Neroni Italiam, atque omnem belli fortunam in ipsorum manu sitam iactantes.*

10 Now that the British host was adioyned] if it be true that *Trebellius desertus* (à militibus) *ad Vitellium perfugerit*; if it be true which Paullinus alleadgeth. 2. Hist. *Britannicum militem hostle ac mari distineri*, which Tacitus himselfe writeth. *In Britannico exercitu nihil tractum. Non sanè aliæ legiones per omnes ciuium bellorum motus innocentius egerunt*, how can it be true that here is said, *Adiuncto Britannico exercitu*, and in another place: *Vitellius è Britannico delectu octo millia sibi adiunxit?*

11 With the name of Germanicus] The first of the Romans that bare the name of the place the conquered was Cn. Martius of Corioli named Coriolanus; then P. Scipio the elder of Africke subdued, [g] Africanus Lucius his brother likewise of Asia, Asiaticus. Many of the Metelli, more for distinction, then for any notable conquest obteined. The former Emperours at pleasure sometime tooke some few names to themselues, sometime bestowed them on others. In the later times, vertue decaying, ambition in titles increased. Xiphilinus Commodo. Ὅ τε καὶ ὑφ' ὧν Κολὴν ἐμεμήνει τὸ κράδαρμα, καὶ τὴ βουλῆ ὕστερον ἐπέστειλεν. Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Αἴλιος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος, Αὔγουστος Εὐσεβὴς, Εὐτυχὴς, Σαρματικὸς, Γερμανικὸς, Μέγιστος, Βρεττανικὸς, Ἑσπεριοπειὸς τὸ δικαίωμα, Ἀνίκητος, Ῥωμαῖος Ἡρακλῆς, Ἀρχιερεὺς, Δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ δεκατεσσαρακαιδέκατον, Αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ὄγδοον, Ὕπατος τὸ ἑβδομον, Πατὴρ πατρίδος. That is, So exceeding great was the madnesse of that vile monster Commodus, and with this first he sent a letter to the Senate; Imp. Cæsar L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus. Augustus Pius Felix, Sarmaticus, Germanicus, Maximus, Britannicus, concordia orbis terrarum, Inuictus, Romanus Hercules, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitiæ potestat. xviij. Imperat. viij. Consul. vij. Pater patriæ. And Iustinian accounted of as a sober Emperour hath his style notwithstanding not much shorter. *Imp. Cæsar Flauius Iustinianus Alemanicus, Gothicus, Francicus, Germanicus, Anticus, Alanicus, Vandalicus, Africanus, Pius Felix, Inclytus victor ac Triumphator semper Augustus.* Now what right Vitellius had to the name of Germanicus, where he had neuer seene enimy in face, sith he was Emperour, the fountaine of iustice, who can doe no wrong, we will not dispute it.

g Liuius lib. 30.

X. *How Fabius Valens guided his charge of forty thousand fighting men from Coleyn to the Cottian Alpes.*

THE very day of remooving there appeared a lucky signe to Fabius Valens, and the Army which he led to the war, an Eagle softly flying before, as the army marched, as it were to note out the way; and for a great space the souldiers

ers so shouted for ioy, and the bird passed on without feare so assuredly, that it was reputed an vndoubted token of great and prosperous successe. The state of Triers, as frindes, they passed thorow with all security. At Diuodurum a towne of the Mediomatrici, although they were with all kind of curtesie receiued, a sudden feare came vpon them, and the alarme was giuen to sacke the poore innocent City, not for the pray or desire of spoile, but vpon a fury, and rage, and causes not knowen, and therefore the remedies harder to finde: till at length, being pacified by Valens entreating, they held their hands from razing the City: notwithstanding about foure thousand men were slaine. This accident strooke such a terror into them of Gallia, that alwaies after, as the Campe was a comming, whole Cities with their Officers and humble supplications went out for to meet them, with women and children downe on their knees along the way side; and generally all meanes by the which men asswage their enemies anger; though war they had none, yet then were they forced to purchase their peace. Valens in the [a] City of the Leuci receiued the newes that Galba was slaine, and Otho in place: the souldier was neither gladder, nor sadder, hauing nothing but war in his minde: the French thereby were [b] resolued; Otho and Vitellius they hated alike, and Vitellius they feared beside. The next City, was that of the Lingones, sure to the side: being intertained there curteously, they requited it with modest behauiour: but the ioy lasted not long through the disorder of those Cohorts, which being departed, as before I haue said, from the fourteenth Legion, Fabius Valens had ioyned to his Army, hard words grew at the first, then quarrelling betweene the Batauians, and Legionaries: and as the rest of the souldiers suted on sides, it had welny come to a hot fray, had not Valens in time, by punishing a few, reclaimed the Batauians, who had now forgotten their duty. Against the Hedui was fought, but in vaine, some occasion of war: being willed to bring in both mony and armour, they brought also vittailes for nothing. That which the Hedui did vpon feare, the same did the Lugdunenses for ioy, neuertheless the Italian Legion and Taurin wing were taken away. The eighteenth Cohort it was thought conuenient to leaue there at Lions in the accustomed standing campe. Manlius Valens Lieutenant of the Italian Legion, although he had well deserued of the side, was not in any credit with Vitellius: Fabius by secret sinister reports had defaced him vnwitting, in outward speech commending him, that he might be at more vnawares circumuented. The ancient hart-burning [c] betweene them of Lions and them of Vienna, was by the late war freshly reuiued: much hurt was done on both sides, [d] so often and in so cruell sort, that a man might easily see, they fought not alone for Nero and Galba: and Galba by occasion of displeasure had confiscated the reuenewes of the Lugdunenses; contrariwise much honoured them of Vienna: whereupon grew emulation and enuy, and inseparable hatred betweene them, whom one riuer separated. Vpon these causes, the Lugdunenses incited the souldiers seuerally to the subuersion of the Viennenses; shewing vnto them how they had besieged Lions, furthered Vindex attempts, mustered of late Legions for Galba: and hauing so placed in the first shew the causes why iustly they were to be hated; then they suggest to the souldiers minde, what a rich and welthy pray they might get; and so from secret exhorting proceeding to publike requests, they besought them to go and reuenge so many wrongs, to raze the seat-towne of the French war: that there was [2] nothing else but strangers and enemies: contrariwise themselues a Roman colony, and part of the army, their companions in welth and in wo: and if fortune should chance to disfauour, they praied not to leaue, and abandon their friendes, to the mercy of their mortall and mercilesse enemies. With these

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a *Suet Vitellio* cap. 64 c. 9. saith that Vitellius hard the newes of Galbaes death before Valens departed.

b For as long as Galba their benefactour liued, they were loth any way, but enforced to aide Vitellius: but now hating alike Otho, and Vitellius, and fearing but the one, it was great reason to make the most countenance thither, whence they feared most present danger.

c The discord as it may seeme was sourded vpon this ground. The first inhabiters of Lions had beene driuen by force out of Vienna, and therefore were iustly to hate them, as vniust vsurpers of that which was theirs.

cap. 65

d *Municipalem aemulationem bellis ciuilibus miscentes*, as Tacitus writeth 3 *Hist.* of Capua and Puteoli.

cap. 66

these speeches and many such like they had wrought and incensed the souldier so, that euen the Lieutenants, and Captaines of the side did scantly thinke it a possible matter to quench their choler; when they of Vienna in very good season, foreseeing their danger, with [3] sacred veles and infules afore them, as the Army marched, embracing their armour, their knees, their feet, mollified the souldiers mindes: beside, Valens bestowed vpon them [c] three hundreth sesterces a man. Then was the antiquity and dignity of the Colony respected: then were the words of Fabius, commending vnto them the liues, and welfare of the Viennenses, patiently heard: being fined notwithstanding to forsait their publike munition, ech man according to his ability with priuate prouision helped the souldier. But the report went constantly that Fabius fauour was bought with a large summe of mony: the man, a great while needy and poore, becomming now rich on the sodaine, cloaked not wel the change of his fortune; exercising excessiuely the lusts and desires which long pouerty had kindled; and of a beggerly yong man a prodigall old. Afterward the army marched on slowly thorow the Territory of the Allobroges, and the Vocontij, the Generall setting to sale the length of his iourneies, and places of lodging; bargaining shamelesly with the owners of the grounds, and magistrates of the Cities, and that in such threatning manner, that he offered to set [4] Lucus a free-towne of the Vocontij, on fire, till he was appeased with mony: where matter of mony was wanting, there payment was made with women and such like pleasures. And so at the last they came to the Alpes.

[c] That is, 40 s. sterl. or 48 s. 8 d. ob. and in the 40 sesterces (for so many so had he before the estimation of Tacitus words, the 400 sesterces, and ala Tacitus 4000) 390 pound.

[1] A luckie signe] Many of the Latin stories [for to them and their disciples this vertue is peculiar) account it, I thinke, a capitall crime to set downe any notable mutation in state without many prodigious *portenta*, miraculous *omina* &c inducing the change, most of them being counterfait, and coyned to driue [a] the Reader into an extasie, in my happening commonly, and remembred onely when any notable euent did ensue. In the second booke, at Othoes death, we haue another tale much of this making, or somewhat worse, with a preface to giue it some credit. As for our Eagle here she was surely either a notorious cousener, or else notoriously ignorant of what would befall, thus to giue *omen haud dubium* of great prosperity, which in effect dured but a moment.

[a] *more vlus Tacitus of such exaggerations*

[2] Nothing else but strangers and enemies · contrariwise themselues a Roman colony] And so was Vienna too. The Emperour Claudius in a speech in Senate which yet is extant at Lions grauen in brasse: ORNATISSIMA ECCE COLONIA VALENTISSIMAQVE VIENNENSIVM QVAM LONGO IAM TEMPORE HVIC CVRIAE SENATORES CONFERT? And Tacitus himselfe almost in the next sentence, *Tam vetus illa dignitasque coloniæ valuit*, speaking of Vienna, so that both being Colonies, and both externall alike, this Rhetoricke of his was here out of season.

[3] Sacred veles, and infules: *Velamenta & infulas*] *Velamenta & infulæ* signes of submission and humble demanding of mercy. 3. Hist Antonius Primus vehemently assaulting Cremona, *primores velamenta & infulas pro muris ostentat*. And Coriolanus wasting the Roman Country, *sacerdotes suis insignibus velatos isse supplices ad castra hostium ea ætate est*, Orith [b] Liuy, and the same Liuy lib. 30. *Haud procul aberat* (Carthagines portu Scipio) *cum velata infulis ramisque olex Carthaginiensium occurrit nauis*. Now [c] *infulæ* saith Varro and Festus, were certaine *velamenta lanea, quibus sacerdotes & hostiæ, templaque velabantur*, so that by their description there should seeme to be no great difference betweene *velamenta* and *infulas*.

[b] lib. 2. [c] *infulæ in Festo & in Liuy Simonis infula lib. 30.*

[4] Lucus a free-towne: *Municipium id Vocontiorum est*] *Municipium* and *Colonia* though vsed indifferently in many good Authours, yet indeed, and in precisenesse of speech carry seuerall senses, and so doth Tacitus. 2. Hist. put them as diuers. *Disperse per municipia & colonias Vitellianis*. The difference is that *municipia in ciuitatem extrinsecus assumuntur*, and *coloniæ ex ciuitate eduuntur*, Gellius [d] lib. 16. *ex oratione D. Hadriani ad Italicenses*, distinguisheth them in this manner. *Municipes sunt cives Romani ex municipijs, suis iure & suis legibus vtentes munere tantum cum P. R. communi, pro ipsis, a quo munere capessendo appellati videntur: nullis aliis necessitatibus, neque vllis P. R. lege astrictis, quam quicunque P. R. earum fundus fuerit esse. Colonarum alia necessitudo est; non enim veniunt extrinsecus in ciuitatem, nec suis legibus vtuntur, sed ex ciuitate quasi propagatæ sunt, & iure & institutis quæ omnia P. R. non sui arbitrij habent.* Now that Lucus was indeed *municipium*, according to the exquisite vse of the word, may appeere by Pliny lib. 3. ca. 4. *Vocontiorum ciuitatis fœderatæ duo capita, Vasio & Lucus Augusti.*

[d] cap. 13.

XI. *The iourny of Cæcina from Coleyn with thirty thousand men thorow the Penine Alpes into Italy.*

CÆCINA gained more spoile, and shed more bloud. The Heluetians (a [a] people of Gallia anciently in name for warlike men, and after for the memory of their renowne) hauing not heard of Galbaes death, and refusing to be

[a] *Liuy lib. 11. seemeth to call them Semigermanos Illyrios ad Pennam*

be at Vitellius deuotion, had exasperated his froward and troublesome disposition. The warre was commenced through the rauening and hastinesse of the one and twentieth Legion; who by force tooke away certaine mony, which the Heluetians had sent to the pay of a Garison, in a Castle anciently kept with their owne men, and at their owne cost. The Heluetians being highly displeased at the fact, intercepted letters sent from the Army of Germany to the Legions of Pannonia, committing a Centurion, and certaine souldiers to warde. Cæcina desirous of war, and ready to reuenge faults as they fell, without giuing time of repentance, remooued his campe hastily forward, waſteth the country, and sacketh a place well peopled, by reason of the pleasant and holesome bathes, and through long peace beautified with buildings in forme of a free towne: word also was sent to the Rhœtian Aides to assaile the Heluetians backes, as they made head to the Legions. The Heluetians fierce before danger, in danger fearefull, though at the first tumult they had chosen a Captaine Claudius Seuerus, yet wist not at all how to handle their weapons, to keepe their array: they had no common counsell amongst them to direct their doings all to one end: to venture the battell against the old experimented souldier, would be their ruine: to trie the siege seemed vnsafe, their walles being decaied, and fallen for age: on the one side was Cæcina with a puissant Army; on the other the wings and cohorts of Rhœtia, and the Rhœtian youth practised in armes, and trained vp souldier-like, on euery side there was burning and killing: in the middest the Heluetians straggling, flinging weapons away, and for the most part wounded or wandring in disarray, fled to the mount Vocetius; and being straightway by a cohort of Thracians beaten downe from their hold, and chaced by the Germanes and Rhœtians, they were in the woods and couerts put to the sword: many thousands of men were slaine, * many solde to be slaues. And as the Army, hauing spoiled the country marched toward Auenticum head-citie of the Nation in battell array, messengers were sent to yeeld vp the Citie: which being accepted, Iulius Alpinus a principall man was by Cæcinaes sentence adiudged to die, as one which had raised the trouble: the rest he referred to Vitellius to pardon, or punish as pleased him best. Whereupon the Heluetians send Embassadors thither: it is hard to say whether of both they found Emperour or Armie, harder to be appeased: the souldiers require the towne to be razed, they bend their weapons and fists against the Embassadours faces; and Vitellius for his part spareth no threats, nor speeches, till Claudius Cossus one of the Embassage, a famous Orator, but cunningly cloaking his Arte with an apt kinde of feare, and so much the more of force to perswade, appeased the souldiers furious wrath: * as vsually the common sort is suddenly changeable, and within a moment as prone to pitty, as it was before excessiuely cruell: with shedding of teares, and importunate begging a better answer, they obtained at length that their Citie should be saued and pardoned. Cæcina hauing staied a few daies in Heluetia of purpose to heare how Vitellius resolued, and withall preparing to passe the Alpes, receiued from Italie a ioyfull message; that the Syllan wing which lay about Po had sworne to Vitellius. They had serued in Africke vnder Vitellius being Proconsull, and afterward being remooued from thence by Neroes appointment to passe into Ægypt, and staied vpon the troubles of Vindex, and so remaining in Italie, they went to the side, perswaded thereto by the Decurions, who being beholding to Vitellius, and vtterly vnacquainted with Otho, extolled the strength of the Legions comming, the fame and renowne of the German Army; and as a present for a new Prince, they brought ouer to his side the strongest Free-townes beyond the Po, Milan, Nouara, Eporedia and Vercelles. That aduertise-

ment

ferunt vnora obsequia genium Germanici fuscant.

cap. 68.

* *sub corona venundata. Corona capiti imposita,* saith *Gellius*, lib. 5. cap. 4. following the opinion of *Sabinus* the Lawyer, *signum fuit captiuorum venundatorum. Antiquum,* saith the Lawyer, *mancipia iure belli capta corona vinciri solita, & ideo dicta sub corona venire. Cato lib. de re militari,* alluding to this custome, better it were, saith he, *vt populus tua operapotius ob rem bene gestam coronam supplicum esse, quam te malle gesta coronatum videat.*

cap. 69.

* *vt est mos vulgo mutabilis iubeo.*

cap. 70.

ment Cæcina receiued by their meanes: and because the Garrison of one only wing seemed not sufficient to keepe and defend the largest Country of Italy, he sent beforehand certaine cohorts of Frenchmen, Portugals and Brittans with the German enseignes, and [1] Petrin wing, himselfe pausing a while, and standing in doubt, whether he shoul turne aside into Noricum by the Rhœtian mountaines, against Petronius the Procurator, who had raised the Country, and broken the bridges in Othoes behalfe: but fearing to lose the Aides he had sent; and counting it more reputation to retaine Italie; and that Noricum, wheresoeuer the matter should chance to be tried, would follow, and increase the conquerours heape; he conducted ouer by the way of the Penine mountaines, thorow the winter snowes, [2] his heauy Legionary souldier.

[1] Petrin wing] our printed bookes haue *in Alpe Graia*, corruptly no question, for *Alpes Graiæ* are the passage out of Sauoy into Italy, as I thinke, by mount Semis, or S. Bernardo minor, the direct way from Lions to Millan. Out of Sussterland, where Cæcina was, be the *Peninæ* by mount S. Bernardo maior. The Cottiæ are out of Daulphiney into Italy by mount Gineura. In the Vatican copy of Tacitus it is, *cum Alpe tarina*, which with lesse mutation of letters and more possibility of circumstance, we may rather imagine should haue beene, *cum ala Petrina*, then *cum ala Taurina*, which passed the other way with Valens, and Tacitus himselfe 4 Hist. maketh mention of one Claudius Sagitta which was *à Vitellio*, and *Præfectus alæ Petrinæ*.

[2] His heauy Legionary: *Subsignanum militem & grauem legionum agmen*] *Subsignanus miles & grauis legionum agmen* (and yet there was here but one whole Legion, the One and twentieth) may seeme to signifie both one thing, as being contradiuided both to Auxiliaries. 2. Hist. *Erupere legionarij in perniciem auxiliorum* 4. Hist. *Id solum, vt in tumultu, mouit, subsignano milite media firmare. Auxilia passim circumfusa sunt*, and yet in another place we haue; *Quicquid sub signis sociorum.*

XII. *Marius Celsus pardoned.*

Cap. 71.

NOw Otho in the meane time, contrary to all expectation, did not giue ouer himselfe to pleasure and idlenesse; but differred his delights, dissembled his riot, and ordered all as was most fitting for the honor of the Empire. This glose of vertues, and vices which would returne to their course, increased mens feare And first he [a] commandeth Marius Celsus Consul elect, whom before he had saued from the souldiers rage by a colourable casting in prison, to be sent for into the Capitoll: his meaning was, by pardoning so noble a man, so odious to the side, to purchase a name of mercifull dealing. Celsus being called, constantly confessed the whole accusation of faithfulnesse vnto Galba, affirming that Princes were not to [1] mislike such examples: and Otho, not as remitting a fault, but admitting the defence as iust and vertuous, straight-way put him in place neerest about him, and anon in the war appointed him one of his principall Leaders; lest lying aloofe as a pardoned enemy, he might peraduenture suspect the breach were but badly made vp: and Celsus, fatally fauouring the losing side, persisted vnfortunately faithfull for Otho also. The sauing of Celsus, an act which reioyced the chiefe of the City, and was to the common sort plausible, euen of the souldier was not misliked, admiring that vertue, with which they were displeased ere-while.

[a] The very next day after that Galba was slaine, saith Plutarch.

[1] Were not to mislike such example: *Exemplum vltrò imputauit*] *Imputare* in Tacitus is a word of a middle signification, indifferent to the good part and bad: yet more vsually standing for *beneficij loco numerare*, or some such like thing. Examples, Hist. 1. *Neque enim erat adhuc, cui imputaretur*, that is, for as yet there was none whom they might account benefited by the reuolt. In this place *Exemplum vltrò imputauit*, he accounted this fact of his standing sure to his old master beneficiall to Otho also, and the example not to be disliked of any Prince whatsoeuer. Plutarch, I know in the beginning of Otho seemeth to take it otherwise, καλὸν (ὁδῶν) Μάριον Κέλσον ἀφεῖναι δεθέντα πάλαι τὸν, ἐπαύσατο καὶ διελέχθη φιλανθρώπως, καὶ παρεμύθησε τῷ εἴδει ἐπιλαθέσθαι μᾶλλον, ἢ τῷ ἐλεῆσαι. τὸ δὲ Κέλσου μητ' ἀγνοῶν ἔπτηξε αὐτὸν μητ' ἀναιδὴς ἦν. ἀλλ' ἐπίστευτο ἀυτῷ τὸ πρόσπολλάκις τὸ ἐγκαλεῖσθαι πίστιν (ἐγκαλεῖσθαι γὰρ ὅτι Γάλβα βέβαιον ἑαυτὸν παρέσχεν, ὃ μέλλειν ἐκείνῳ ὄφελεν) ἠμείψαντο οἱ παρόντες ἀποδοκιμασίᾳ καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπῄνεσεν. That is, Otho commanded Marius Celsus to be brought before him, whom he embraced and intreated very kindly, desiring him rather to forget that euer he was in fault, then to remember that he

he was forgiuen, to whom Celsus made answer both courageous and pertinent, saying that the accusation it selfe gaue sufficient proofe of his honesty, for what else was he charged withall but that he had beene faithfull to Galbate whom he was nothing beholden? whereupon they that were present much admired them both, and the souldiers did not dislike it. But we may giue him good leaue to erre in constituing one hard place of Tacitus, that in so many easie in Cæsar mistaketh. But to proceed in examples. 2. Hist. *Produtionem vltrò imputabant; spatium longi ante prælium itineris, fatigationem Othonianorum, permixtum vehiculis agmen, ac pleraque fortuita fraudi suæ assignantes.* 5. Hist: in the like sense. *Potuisse tunc opprimi legiones, & voluisse Germanos, sed data à se flexos imputauit Ciuilis*, in both places the meaning of Tacitus is, that in benefit of their aduersary they had preuaricated with their owne side. *Vnde metus, & ex metu consilium, posse imputari Vespasiano, quæ apud Vitellium excusanda erant*, that is, that they might recken and score it vp as a benefite to Vespasian, which with Vitellius needed excuse. 4. Hist *Ambiguam fortunam belli Vespasiano imputaturos; victoriæ rationem non reddi*: that is, if the war fell out ill, or hard of their side, then forsooth they tooke armes in Vespatians behalfe: if well, they should neuer be brought to the reckoning. 3. Hist. *Reipub haud dubiè interera: Vitellium vinci. Sed imputare perfidiam non possint, qui Vitellium Vespasiano prodidere, cum à Galba defeciissent, id est, qui Vitellium Vespasiano prodidere, perfidiam suam reipub. beneficij loco numerare non possunt*, as though they had done it for the good of their Country, who before had reuolted from Galba a good Emperour to cleaue to Vitellius or Otho. In the booke *de moribus Germanorum Gaudent muneribus, sed nec data imputant, nec acceptis obligantur*, that is, neither in bestowing doe they account it as though they had done you a benefite, nor in receiuing as though they were bound or beholden. This vse of the word *imputare*, in that time was not strange. Suetonius Tiberio. cap. 53. *Imputauit etiam, quòd non laqueo strangulatam in Gemonias abiecerit, proque tali clementia interponi decretum passus est, quo sibi gratiæ agerentur.* Plinius li. 8. epi. 21 *Recitauit biduo, hoc assensus audientium exegit, & tamen vt aliqua transeunt quædam, imputantq; quod transeant; sic ego nihil præterco, atque etiam non præterire me testor*, in both places *imputare* for *beneficij loco numerare*. But further I say it standeth also for *maleficij loco numerare*, and *vitio vertere*. Tacit. 2. Hist. *Vitellio initium belli nemo imputabat*, that is, no body charged him with that fault. 3. Hist. *Casum Cremonæ bello imputandum. In vita Agric. Approbate reipub. nunquam exercitus imputari potuisse aut moras belli, aut causas debellandi*, and so likewise in all the Authors of that age, as Seneca, Lucan, Statius, Martial, &c. this word is so vsed in both senses.

XIII. *Tigellinus put to death. Crispinilla escapeth.*

LIKE ioy was conceiued vpon causes vnlike, when Tigellinus death was obtained. [1] Sophonius Tigellinus was a man by birth obscure, a beastly boy, and a vicious old man: who hauing attained the Captaines place of the watch, and the Gard, and other rewards due vnto vertue by vices (because it was the more expedit way) exercised in those places cruelty, and auarice, and other lewd qualities incident to * riper yeeres, corrupting Nero to all kinde of mischiefe; some things attempting vnwitting to him, and at last a Traitor, and backslider from him: whereupon both the ill and well willers of Nero, vpon [2] diuers respects, cried out importunately to make him away. In Galbaes time the credit, and might of Titus Vinius did protect him, who pretended that Tigellinus before had saued his daughter, as indeed he had done, not vpon any mercifull minde, as hauing murdered so many, but onely proiecting for time to come a plot to escape: for the lewdest men misdoubting the present, and fearing a change, prepare before hand priuate friends to set and oppose against publike hatred: whereupon it groweth that no care is taken of innocent life, but onely a care to passe without punishment. But now for Vinius sake he fared the worse, to his owne ancient hatefulnesse the others late enuy being adioyned: insomuch that the people running by heapes to the Palace, and Places of common assembly, and where the Commons are most in their kingdome, to the Race and Theatres, ceased not seditiously to molest, till such time as message of death [b] was sent to Tigellinus being at the Bathes of [c] Sinuessa, where wallowing among his Concubines, dallying and kissing, and vsing vnhonest delaies, he cut his owne throate at length with a Razour, fouling his infamous life with a slow and dishonest departing. About the same time Galuia Crispinilla was likewise required to the slaughter; but the Prince, although with some obloquie, shifting it off, saued her selfe: one which had beene in her time Schoole-mistresse of Neroes lusts; and after his death had sailed into Africke to incite Clodius Macer to war, and euidently endeuoured to [2] famish the City of Rome: afterward shee married a Consull, and had the good will, and good word of all the whole Citie, vnhurt and vntouched

[1] *virtus scelera* in opposition to *fœda pueritia*, for all vices are not incident to all ages. cap. 72.

[2] The ill-willers hating him as Neroes chiefe instrument of all wickednesse; the wel-willers: as one that had left and betraied his maister.

b *Plutarch Othone*, ὑπεμνήσθη δὲ καὶ Τιγελλίου ὁ Ὄθων ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦτον Σπουδάσας ἀχρὶς ἐκείθεν διώκητο πλοίων παρρμύθων ἀσφαλῶς ἔμπλεος, καὶ γε πυνθάνεται χρήσιμα πολλὰ πεῖσαι ὑπερέμενος παρεῖναι. μὴ πανδήμου δὲ ὀδυρμοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ γενομένου, ἀπειλῶν δὲ ἀνακομιεῖσθαι τὸν καὶ ἀποχωρήσαντα τὸ χρήσιμον καλέσων δυτικὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀλλοτρόπως.

c A place of ordinarie repaire for pleasure and health. cap. 73. *Tac. 12. Ann. In tanta mole curarum Claudius valetudine aduersa corripitur. Personandisque vicibus mollire cœlum & salubritate aquarum Sinuessam pergit.*

ched whilest Galba, Otho, and Vitellius liued; and after their times 3 mighty in mony, & becauſe ſhe was childleſſe, good helps in all the worlds both good and bad.

a The Scholiaſt of Iuuenal. lib 1. Sat 1. calleth him C. Fulcinium Tigellinum, where alſo his fonda puerilia is deſcribed.

b 14. Annal.

1 a Sophonius Tigellinus] Of Tigellinus all the Stories are full. After the death of Burrhus, Nero, ſaith b Tacitus, *duos Prætorij cohortibus impoſuerat, Penium Ruſum ex vulgi fauore: Sophonium Tigellinum ex intimis libidinibus aſſumptum, ἀναιδείᾳ τε καὶ ἀκολασίᾳ παντὸς καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἀσωτέρους ὄντας.* That is, *In luxurious neſſe and crueltie exceeding all the men of his time.* Xiphil. for thoſe were indeed the two vertues, by which Tigellinus wan credit with Nero. Tacitus 15. Annal. *Penium vita famaq; laudatum, per ſæuitiam impudicitiamq; Tigellinus in animo principi anteibat*, againe, *Poppæa & Tigellino coram, quod erat ſæuienti principi intimum conſiliorum, interrogat &c.* 14. Annal. he is deſcribed as the onely Authour of all the miſeries of that time. *Validior in dies Tigellinus, & malas artes, quibus ſolus pollebat, gratiores ratus, ſi principem ſocietate ſceleris obſtrinxiſſet, metus eius timetur &c.* Tacitus beſtoweth as fauours vpon him theſe friendly termes: *flagrantiſſima flagitia, aduiteria, rerum impudicitia, infamia*, in another place. *Tigellino ſcilicet comitante cum pellicibus*, againe, he notes him as Authour, or priuy at leaſt to the burning of Rome. *Pluſq; infamiæ id incendium habuit, quia prædijs Tegellini Æmylianis prouoluerat.* A fit man in all reſpects for ſuch a bad maſter, and vnfit to haue beene by Galba protected.

2 To famiſh the City of Rome] Tacitus 3. Hiſt. *Africam eodem latere ſitam, terra, mariq; inuadere parabat, claudere annonæ ſubſidijs inopiam ac diſcordiam boſti facturus*, for ſo was it, that Ægypt and Africke furniſhed the City of Rome for corne. Ægypt for foure monthes in the yeare, and Africke for eight. Ioſephus ἀνθ. 2. cap. 23. γωνὲς δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ, ὀκτὼ μησὶν ἐκτὸς τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ῥώμην πόνου τρέφουσι, καὶ ἔξωθεν παντὸς φόρου ἀγάλλονται (οἱ Λίβυες) καὶ τοῖς χρείαις τῆς ἡγεμονίας παρέχουσιν ἑτοίμους τὰς εἰσφοράς. That is, *They of Africa beſide eight monthes prouiſion of corne yearely for the people of Rome, pay all maner of tributes, and willingly ſupport all other charges of the Empire*, & paulò poſt. τὰ δὲ ἑκατονταπλάσια παρ' ὑμῶν (ἰουδαίων) φόρος καθ' ἕνα μῆνα πλέον ῥωμαίοις παρέχει (ἡ αἴγυπτος) ἢ τὸν σῖτον ἐξέπεμπεν, τὴν ῥώμην σίτου μῆνας τέσσαρας. That is, *Egypt paies more tribute in one moneth then the Iewes doe in a whole yeare, and beſide this great ſumms of money they yeeld prouiſion of corne for Rome for the ſpace of foure monthes.*

3 Mighty in money and becauſe ſhe was childleſſe] Rich and childleſſe, two good helps to get many friends, euery man contending to pleaſe them, of whoſe wealth he may hope to be heire. Siluanus being in Neroes time

c 13. Annal.

accuſed *repetundarum valuit* ſaith c Tacitus, *pecuniosa orbitate & ſancta*: and yet in the end he deceiued them all, ouerliuing thoſe *quorum ambitu enaſcitur, in ciuitate noſtra* (ſaith Seneca *Conſol. ad Martian. cap 19.*) *plus gratiæ orbitas conferit quàm eripit.* Contrarily in Germany *nullis orbitatis pretia, ſed quanto plus propinquorum, quo maior affinium numerus, tanto gratioſior ſenectus. De moribus Germanorum.*

XIIII. *Of the letters, meſſages, and practiſes that paſſed betweene the ſides.*

a Suet. Othone. c. 8. *Otho per internuncios & literas conſortem imperij generumq; ſe Vitellio edocet.*

IN the meane time Otho ſent to Vitellius many a letters ſpiced with womaniſh perſwaſions, and b offring him money and countenance, and what place of reſt he would chuſe to paſſe therein his prodigall life: Vitellius quit him againe with the like; at the firſt in milde termes, with fond and vncomely diſſembling on both ſides: afterward in ſcolding maner, obiecting ech to other vicious life, and villanous actes: neither amiſſe. Otho reuoking the Embaſſage which Galba had ſent, ſendeth a new in the name of the Senate to both the German Armies, the Italian Legion, and Companies which remained at Lions. The Embaſſadours that went ſtaied with Vitellius, being as it ſeemed quickly intreated, and willingly with-holden. Thoſe of the Gard, which Otho had aſſigned c in ſhew to attend vpon the Embaſſadors, were turned home againe, not ſuffered to haue conference with the Legions: Fabius Valens ſendeth withall a packet in the name of the German Army to the Prætorian, and Viban Cohorts, extolling the ſtrength of the ſide, and offring amity, blaming them beſide in that they did conuert vpon Otho the title of the Empire, whereof Vitellius had ſo d long before the rightfull poſſeſſion. So were they with threats and promiſes doubly aſſaied, as being in war not able to ſtand, in peace not likely to looſe: notwithſtanding the Prætorians perſiſted for Otho. Plots alſo were laid for priuy attempts: Otho ſent ſome into Germany, to practiſe againſt Vitellius perſon, and Vitellius to Rome againſt Othoes, both miſſed of their purpoſe: the Vitellianiſts, miſſed the puniſhment, ſcaping vnſpied. as in ſo great a multitude of men, where no body knoweth nor marketh another: but Othoes men, among ſuch as knew ech other, were quickly bewraied, as ſtrangers. Moreouer Vitellius wrote letters to Titianus Othoes brother, threatning the death of him and his ſon,

b The like conditions offered by Flauius Sabinus to Veſpaſians name were accepted by Vitellius as much as in him lay, had not his friends withſtood the againe. 3. Hiſt.

c For as much as they were ſent to gratifie the Legions.

d For Vitellius was proclaimed Emperor the ſecond of Ianuary, and Otho the fift. month.

if

if his mother and children tooke any harme: and so [c] both the houses continued entier; for feare paraduenture in Othoes time, but Vitellius being conquerour, and without such a bridle, caried away the vndoubted commendation of clemency.

[c] To wit, of Vitellius and Titianus.

XV. *How the Prouinces declared themselues in fauour or disfauour of the sides.*

THE first aduertisement which put Otho in courage was out of Illyricum, that the Legions of Dalmatia, Pannonia and Mœsia had sworne vnto him: the like was reported of Spaine, and Cluuius Rufus by publike edict solemnely prayssed; and by and by it was certified that Spaine had reuolted to Vitellius. Aquitania likewise, though hauing receiued the oth to Otho tendered by Iulius Cordus, remained not long in obedience: fidelity or loue bare no where sway: by feare and force they changed to and fro. The same feare brought to Vitellius the Prouince of Narbon, a gentle passage, and easily made, vnto the nearer and stronger. The Prouinces which were far off, and all the armies seuered by sea, remained at Othoes deuotion, not for loue to the side, but the name of the City, and shew of the Senate did greatlie countenance, and credit the cause: and he had first possessed their mindes, as being the former in speech. In Iury Vespasian sware his Army to Otho, and Mucianus the Legions in Syria: Ægypt likewise and Eastward the Prouinces were all possessed in his name: Africke also in his obedience, they of Carthage being most forward; not expecting the Proconsull Vipsanius Apronianus authority, Crescens a Freedman of Nero (for he was in those bad times become a part of publike affaires) had feasted the people for ioy of the new Emperor, and the people hastned many things disorderly. The rest of the Citties followed the example of Carthage.

XVI. *Otho bestoweth offices: restoreth the banished: relieueth the Prouinces. and erecteth the images of Poppæa his old loue.*

THE Armies and Prouinces being thus distracted, for Vitellius it was needfull, if he would be Prince, to win it in field. Otho as in time of great peace disposed the affaires of the Empire, some according to the dignity of the State, and most otherwise, hasting and shifting vp as present necessity forced. And first he declareth himselfe and Titianus his brother, Consuls till the Kalends of March: the next two Monthes were assigned to Verginius, to please in some part the German Army: with Verginius he ioyneth Poppæus Vopiscus, vnder the colour of old acquaintance, most thought it was done to honour the Viennenses: the rest of the Consuls, as they were by Nero or Galba appointed, remained vnchanged; Cœlius Sabinus and Flauius Sabinus till Iuly; Arius Antoninus, and Marius Celsus till September: whose Offices Vitellius also after the victory confirmed vnto them. The Pontificall dignities and Augurs roomes Otho bestowed vpon ancient men, such as had borne already great Office, completly to perfit all points of their honour: and yongue noble men, lately returned from exile, hee friendly remembred with their Fathers, and Grandfathers places among the Priests. Cadius Rufus, Pedius Blœsus and Seuinus Promptinus, in Claudius and Neroes time condemned for [2] polling the Prouinces, were restored againe to their places in Senate. It pleased them which granted the pardon to change the true name, and terme that, which indeed was extortion and bribery, crime of [3] Maiesty and treason; an accusation so hatefull, that in respect of it euen good Lawes were not obserued. By

the same way of bounty he sought to win the Cities and Prouinces; granting * to the Hispalenses and Emeritenses a new supply of families; making all the Lusitanes Citizens of Rome; vpon the Prouince of Baetica bestowing in pure gift the Townes of the Moores; new liberties vpon Cappadocia, and new vpon Africke, more for a shew then for to continue. Among these things which the necessity of the present affaires and cares at hand made pallable good, Otho euen then not vnmindfull of his old loues, by an order of Senate, caused the Images of Poppæa to be erected againe. It was also supposed he had a purpose to celebrate the memorie of Nero, in hope to allure the hearts of the Commons: and some there were which set out the Images of Nero; yea and certaine daies the people and souldier, in their acclamations to Otho, as though they ment to enable and honour him more, cried TO NERO OTHO: he now withstanding held it in suspense, ashamed to acknowledge, or afraid to forbid it.

* Or enlarged Romulus limit with those two Other Troiles under that the sollempne the Legiones in Numidia (for other I know not) the standard bearers of the Legions vsed to carry the ensignes of the Emperor.

* Ex the Pontifex Maximus lib. 1.

† Hamilcar and Tiberius his brother Consuls till the Kalends of March.] In the text here the two Consuls entring the first of January remained in office the whole yeare out, vnlesse they chanced to die, or vpon speciall and rare occasions resigned. After we saw [illegible] Tacitus speaketh, when many more for their good seruice to the state had deserued to be placed in it, then there were places to preferre them in, a distinction found to abridge the time, and so to afford many in one yeare. The author of this deuice was C. Caesar, *Anno* who would vse often times at being Consul *sine collega*, he obliged to Fabius and Trebonius. Dio lib. 43. [illegible] Suidas (*Ἰούλιος*) *τὸν ἐνιαύσιον ἄρχοντα, ἐς μῆνας ἓξ, ἐς δὲ τέσσαρας, καὶ ἐς τρεῖς, καὶ ἐς δύο, καὶ ἐς ἕνα, καὶ ἐς ἡμέρας ἐνίοτε ὀλίγας, καὶ ἐς ὥρας ἔστιν ὅτε ἐπέκοψε.* So if he [illegible] that the whole yeare, *Romae* [illegible] *ἐπὶ τὸν ἐνιαύσιον ἄρχοντα, ἐς μῆνας ἓξ, ἐς δὲ τέσσαρας, καὶ ἐς τρεῖς, καὶ ἐς δύο, καὶ ἐς ἕνα, καὶ ἐς ἡμέρας ἐνίοτε ὀλίγας, καὶ ἐς ὥρας ἔστιν ὅτε ἐπέκοψε.* That is, They chose not one Consul for the whole yeare according to the ancient vse, *Rome*, but once at that time of civil warres nominated more for six yeares before this time had succeeded others in the same room, though the former number by death, or misfortune, or other cause were deprived. Howbeit then they were made at a shift then who were chosen for the whole yeare: but now vsed at the first creation to make two accustomed for the whole yeare, but some for one part of the yeare, and some for another. In August his time, specially towards the later end, as it may appeare by the Capitoline tables, foure Consuls were yearely created, two to be in office from the Kalends of Ianuary to the Kalends of July, and two more, ex *Kalend. Iulij* to the end of the yeare. After his dayes, although I cannot precisely define when it began, the ordinary time was no more but two monthes, and the ordinarie number of Consuls twelue. In our present yeare.

Ex Kalend. Ianuar. *	Seruius Galba 2. / Titus Vinius.	which two being slaine in their office M. Otho, and L. Titius supplied their roomes in *Kal. Mart.*
* Tac. 1. Hist. Ex Kalend. Martij. *	L. Verginius Rufus. / Poppæus Vopiscus.	
Ex Kalendis Maij.	Cluuius Rufinus. / Blasius Sabinus.	
Ex Kalend. Iulij.	Arius Antoninus. / Marius Celsus. / Fabius Valens.	
* Tac. 1. Hist. Ex Kalend. Septembris. *	Alienus Caecina, *adiudged enemy of the State*, in his place for one day that succeeded *Fulcinius Rufinus.* Tac. 3. Hist.	
* Tac. 3. Hist. Epist. Ex Kalend. Nouembris. *	Cn. Caecilius Simplex. / C. Quintius Atticus.	

This number & this time continued euen to Dions age (*ἐς τοσοῦτον*) (saith he) *ἐλθὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα*, till by reason the *ἀρχαιρεσίαι* of the Consuls *ἐπιτηδεύονται*. That is, *For in our time no man desireth the Office for a whole yeare, nor well remedy for more then two monthes.* lib. 43. Now of these Consuls the two which entred the first of Ianuary were *Ordinarij*, named the yeare, and were called *ordinarij*: the rest *minores*, as being obscure and not heard of abroad,

abroad, so that with great reason a man might demand in whose Consulships they were Consuls: otherwise in authority &c. not differing any thing the one from the other. Dio. lib. 48. καὶ ὁι μὲν πρῶτοι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ὑπατείας διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἔτους, ὥσπερ καὶ νυνὶ γίγνεται, ἔσχον. τοῖς δὲ ἑτέροις αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ ἐν τῇ τε λοιπῇ ἰταλίᾳ ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν χρόνῳ ὠνόμαζον· ὃ καὶ νυνὶ ποιοῦσι. ὁι δὲ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες ἢ ὀλίγοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σπανιώτεροι ὀφθέντες ὑπερήδοντο. That is, They which were first to enter had the name of Consuls (as euen yet it is vsed) during the whole yeere, as for the rest they which liued in Rome and other parts of Italy called them so during the time of their Office. But all that liued abroad either knew none or but few of them, whereupon they were called Consules minores. and againe lib. 3. τοὺ μὲν ἄλλα οὐδὲν διαφέρομεν (nos Consules, lest we might haue beene ignorant of his preterment) ἀλλήλων. τῷ δὲ ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι τοῦ ἐτῶν ὁι πρῶτοι αὐτῶν ὑπατεύοντες χαρπτόμεθα. That is, In all other things there is no odds betweene vs Consuls, onely they which enter first enioy the prerogatiue of giuing the name to the yeere. notwithstanding this minor Consulship serued well enough to make vp a number. Example in Vespasian who bearing the office of Consul in Claudius time [g] *per duos nouissimos anni menses*, of ordinary neuer before. *Ann.* 823. is stiled *Vespasianus iterum*. Tac. 4. Hist.

[f] *sc.* ἡμέρας καὶ μήνας.

[g] *Suet. Vesp. c. 4.*

[a] For polling the Prouinces: *Repetundarum criminibus*] The action of *Repetundæ* lay against the Gouernours of Prouinces for mony vniuly extorted, or cruelly exercised in their iurisdiction, so called of the more principal part, because by that action, *pecunias iniustè ablatas, vel si quid aliud ablatum, captum, conciliatum, auersumue sit, Prouincialibus repetere ines fusque esset*: and not onely the summe extorted, but an arbitrary mulct was imposed beside, double, or treble *nomine pœnæ*. This law was induced by *L. Calpurnius Piso, Anno primo tertij belli Punici*: and afterwardrenued by other with many new clauses and straight sanctions. Tac. 15. Ann. *Magistratuũ auaritia Calpurnia scita peperit*. And yet notwithstanding all the good lawes in that case enacted the Proconsuls and Proprætors, both before and vnder the Emperors, ceased not to racke and poll the poore Countries. Nay the more lawes there were and greater penalties established, the more they robbed and spoiled the Prouinces to make good great extortion abroad with great bribery at home, according to the Greeke seuarie, ὁ πολλὰ κλέψας, ὀλίγα δὲς ἐκφόξαι. That is, He that hath stolne much with giuing a small matter shall escape well enough. And therfore Tully telleth vs (in iest, or in earnest) that the Prouinces would surely preferre supplication to the Senat, that the Law *de repetundis* made in their behalfe, at their request might be repealed. His words be these, *prœmio prioris actionis in verrem. Planum facere multis testibus possum, C. Verrem in Cicilia multis audientibus sæpe dixisse, se habere hominem potentem cuius fiducia Prouinciam spoliaret: neque sibi soli pecuniam quærere, sed ita triennium illud prætura Siciliensis distributum habere, vt secum pulchre agi diceret, si vnius anni quæstum in rem suam conuerteret: alterum patronis & defensoribus suis traderet; tertium illum vberrimum, quæstuosissimumque annum totum iudicibus reseruaret. Ex quo mihi venit in mentem illud dicere, quod apud M. Glabrionem nuper cum in reijciendis iudicibus commemorassem, intellexi vehementer Populum Romanum commoueri, me arbitrari fore, vti nationes exteræ legatos ad Populum Romanum mitterent, vt lex de pecuniis repetundis iudiciumque tolleretur, si enim iudicia nulla sint, tantum vnumquemque ablaturum putant, quantum sibi, ac liberis suis satis esse arbitrentur. nunc quòd eiusmodi iudicia sint, tantum vnumquemque auferre, quantum sibi, patronis, aduocatis, prætoribus, iudicibus satis futurum sit. Hoc profectò infinitum esse. Se auaritiæ hominis cupiditati satisfacere posse, nocentissimæ victoriæ non posse*. Vnder the Empire the law was vnderstood, as it may seeme by Pliny lib. 2. epist. 11. against extortion onely.

[b] Crime of Maiestie and treason] *Lex Maiestatis* in the ancient free Common-wealth comprehended onely points of greatest importance in State: [h] *si quis proditione exercitum, aut plebem seditionibus denique malè gestâ Republica maiestatem Populi Romani minuisset*. Augustus put it in vre against libellers, whereas before *facta arguebantur, dicta impunè erant*, or at least not punished with the penalties *læsæ Maiestatis*. In Tiberius, Caius, Claudius and Neroes time it was *vnicum crimen eorum, qui crimine vacabant*, as Pliny speaketh. [i] One was accused to Tiberius, and all was maiesty, *quòd venditis hortis statuam Augusti simul mancipasset*: [k] another *quòd violasset periurio numen Augusti*. [l] a third beside some vndutiful speeches, that he had set vp his owne image higher than those of the Princes, and that in another image he had cut off the head of Augustus, and clapped in place one of Tiberius for fauing of cost. [m] Another for making an Epitaph for the Princes sonne, before he was dead, arraigned and condemned. [n] another, *quòd effigiem principis promiscuum ad vsum argenti vertisset*. [o] another, for that he had done greater seruice for the Prince, than that he was able any other way to requite it. [p] another, for that in his story he had commended Cassius and Brutus enemies of the Monarchy, and dead aboue threescore yeeres before. [q] others because they were descended of those which in their time had beene of neere acquaintance with Pompey. [r] another, because hee had beene a follower of Germanicus, of whom Tiberius without iust cause had euer beene iealous. [s] another for making a Tragedy wherein certain verses were of doubtfull vnderstanding. In Claudius time [t] one was arraigned, and condemned of maiesty for dreaming a dreame, another for [u] being dreamed of. In Neroes time one [x] Cassius, *quòd inter imagines maiorum etiam C. Cassij effigiem coluisset ita inscriptam* DVCI PARTIVM. And infinite moe for such trifles as these. Seeing therefore that *lex maiestatis* had beene so late so odiously executed, it pleased the pardoners to tearme that which indeed was extortion, crime of maiesty, the memory whereof was so hatefull, that in respect of it euen other good lawes were neglected.

[h] *Tac. 1. Annal.*

[i] *Falanius 1. Ann.*

[k] *Rubrius ibid.*

[l] *Granius Marcellus. ibid.*

[m] *Lutorius Priscus 3. Ann.*

[n] *Ennius Ann. 3.*

[o] *C. Silus 4. Ann.*

[p] *Cremutius Cordus Ann. 4.*

[q] *Pompeia marcrina cum marito, socero patre, ac fratre. 6. Ann.*

[r] *Titius Sabinus 4. Ann. C. Silius 4. Ann.*

[s] *Mamercus Scaurus 6. Annal.*

[t] *Petra 11. Ann.*

[u] *C. Silanus Dio*

[x] *16. Annal.*

[c] To the Hispalienses and Emeritensis a new supply of families] in deducing of Colonies a certaine number of families were assigned, which if tract of time, or any mischance had diminished, or adulterated, to haue them supplied a fresh, or increased, was esteemed of the rest, as a speciall great benefit. Liuius lib. 32. *C. Acilius tribunus plebis tulit, vt quinque coloniæ in oram maritimam deducerentur. Tricenæ familiæ in singulas colonias iubebantur mitti, eodem libro. Narniensium legatis querentibus ad numerum sibi colones non esse, & immistos quosdam non sui generis pro colonis se gerere, earum rerum causa triumuiros creare L. Cornelium consul iussus, creati P. & Sex. Aelij (Petis fuit ambobus cognomen) & C. Cornelius Lentulus. Quod Narniensibus datum erat vt colonorum numerus augeretur, id Cossani petentes non impetrauerunt.* And another place, *postulantibus à senatu Aquilesiensium legatis, vt numerum colonorum augeret, M. & D. familiæ ex S. C scripsere*. Tacit. 13. Annal. *Cæterum coloniæ Capua atque Nuceria, additis veteranis firmatæ sunt*. Now that Hispalis was a Colony of the Romans, Pliny affirmeth lib. 3. cap. 2. *Antea Hispalis colonia, cognomine Romulensis*: That Emerita Dio. lib. 53. παρασκευάζεται δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ τούτῳ ὁ Αὔγουστος καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀφῆκε, καὶ πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐν λυσιτανίᾳ τῷ αὐχένι ἐπιοίσαν καλλιστην κτίσαι ἔδωκε. That is, This war being ended Augustus

Augustus dimissed the souldiers which were past yeares of seruice, and gaue them licence to build a City in Portugall called *Augusta Emerita*. The reason of the name is apparent *Emerita, quòd emeriti milites ἀπολυόμενοι eò deducerentur*. For militar Colonies (to leaue the other kind which in the free state were deriued abroad by the Senates appointment, for so [y] Velleius seemes to diuide them) they were deuised for a recompence of old souldiers, who hauing spent the flowre of their age in the seruice of their Country, small reason it were to turne them a begging when they were aged. Wherefore Sylla, Cæsar and the Emperours following, at the end of their seruice rewarded the old souldiers with an honourable maintenance of land of inheritance. In this kind of Colonies at the beginning [z] *vniuersæ legiones ducebantur cum tribunis, centurionibus, & sui cuiusque ordinis militibus, vt consensu & caritate remp. efficerent.* Mela. lib. 2. cap. 5. nameth some speciall Legions, and where they were placed. *Secundanorum Arausio, Sexanorum Arelate, Septimanorum Elitera, Decumanorum colonia Marcius Narbo.* In processe of time this good order decaying, [a] *non vt olim vniuersæ legiones, sed ignoti inter se ducebantur, diuersis manipulis, sine rectore, sine affectibus mutuis, quasi ex alio genere mortalium repentè in vnum collecti, numerus magis quam colonia*: and the proofe thereof was according, the souldiers slipping away *in prouincias, in quibus stipendia meruerant*, and leauing the colonies desolate. Whether vpon this or whatsoeuer occasion, apparent it is that Hispalis and Emerita were both decaied, and therefore with new families here by grace from Otho stocked againe.

y lib. 1.

z Tac. lib. 15. Annal.

a Tacitus.

XVII. *The Rhoxolani a people of Sarmatia vanquished, and slaine by the souldiers of Mœsia.*

Cap. 79.

MEns mindes being set vpon ciuill warres, externall matters were lightly regarded: by reason wherof the Rhoxolani a people of Sarmatia, hauing the winter before slaine to Cohortes, ventured more boldly to inuade Mœsia. Their former exploit, and conceit of themselues had assembled nine thousand horse, more minding the spoile, than prouided to fight: whereupon the * third Legion with the Aydes assailed them suddenly as they were straggled and careless. The Romans had all things fitted for fight: the Sarmatians being scattered, or through greedinesse of spoile heauily charged, their horses being tired by reason of their burdens and slippery waies, as if their hands had beene tied behind them, were hewed in peeces. It is wonder to see how all the Sarmatians valour is as it were out of themselues: to fight a foote no nation so cowardly, on horse-backe by troupes they are hardly resisted: but then the weather being wet, and the frost somwhat thawed, neither their staues, nor long two-handed swords serued in stead, through the sliding of their horses, and great waight of their cataphracts; a kind of harnesse, that Princes and Noble-men vse, composed of iron plates or stiffe bend-leather, which as against blowes is sure and of proofe, so if one be borne downe by the force of the enemy it maketh him vnable to rise vp againe: beside they sinke into the snow being deepe, and not able to beare: contrarily the Roman souldier in his easie * corselet nimble and light, a far off with a * dart, or with launce charging vpon them, and with a light sword neare at hand, the case so requiring, gored so long the vnarmed Sarmatian (for it is not their maner to warde with their buckler) till at length a few which remained fled to the Marishes: in the one place the mortalnesse, in the other the misery of their wounds wasted them all. When this was by certaine aduice vnderstood at Rome, Marcus Aponius Lieutenant generall of Mœsia was honored with a [1] triumphall image, Fuluius Aurelius, [2] Titus Iulianus, and Numisius Lupus Lieutenants of the Legions with Consular ornaments; Otho reioycing, and drawwing the glorie to himselfe, as if he also were fortunate in war, and had by his Leaders and armies enlarged the Empire.

* perad-uenture it is so written by Tacit. for the third Legion: for so many Legions were at this present in Mœsia, and the Lieutenants of all the three Legions were honored with Consular ornaments, and therefore present in the action, and in all likelihood with the Legions vnder their charge.

* lorica.

* missile pila.

1 In the 2. and 4. it is the 1. still named *Triumphalis*.

2 Titus Iulianus.

[1] Honoured with a triumphall image: *Triumphali statua*] Tac. 4. Ann. *Iamque tres erant laureatæ in vrbe statuæ* &c. and the sentence before of the same matter. *Priores duces impetrando sibi triumphalium insigni sufficere res suas crediderant.* againe 15. Ann. *Triumphale decus*, and *Triumphales in foro imagines* of the same. So that we may reasonably gather *Triumphalem statuam* to be either the same with *Triumphalia insignia*, or else parcell of them, and yet inducting the whole. This title of honour, τιμὴ ἐπινίκιος, vnknowen in the free Common-wealth, was first conferred, as some do suppose, by Augustus vpon Tiberius Anno vrb. condit. 742. Sueton. [2] Tiberio. *Quas ob res & vnans & curru vrbem ingressus est* (Tiberius) *primus* (vt quidam putant) *triumphalibus ornamentis honoratus, nouo, nec antea cuiquam tributo vrbis honore.* But [b] Dio writeth that it was to Agrippa two yeeres before first granted: Συνέβη τῷ τε Ἀγρίππᾳ ἀνδριάντα ἐψηφίσθαι, ἅ μόνοις τοῖς τριόμφοις ὕστερον ἐπέτρεψαν. ὅτε γὰρ ἐγράφη ἐς τὸ

a Tac. 4. Ann.

b lib. 4.

σωιδέσειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀρχθέντων ἐδέν. ἀφ' ὧν δὴ κἀ ὁι μετὰ ταῦτα ὡυτῷ ὁμοίως νέμειν τινὰ τοῦ ἐκείνου τρόπου χάριτα εἰσ αὐτὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐτ ἐπίστελλον, ἔτε τῷ πέμψαι τοῦ νικητήριον ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' μόνας τὰς διαδήμασις τιμᾶς ἐκαρπώσατο. *That is, Sacrifices were made to the gods in the name of Agrippa, yet was there no triumph decreed vnto him. For he did not at the first certifie the Senate concerning the successe of his actions. Whereupon in succeeding ages men of his place following his example as a rule neither wrote to the Senate, neither accepted the grant of triumph, but contented themselues with triumphal ornaments alone,* and so consequently to Tiberius. The cause as I iudge of the innouation was, that to Augustus who of the old state left nothing standing but names, and hardly that, the pompe triumphall seemed a thing too full of maiesty for any subiect, and therefore seeking euery way to cut the sinewes of liberty, and yet to retaine a shadow of anciency, he cunningly conuerted the solemnity of a triumph into *Triumphalia insignia*. Onely the Princes themselues or their children, as Germanicus in Tiberius time, solemnely triumphed. Next to *Triumphalia* in lower degree of honour were *Consularia insignia*, or *ornamenta*, πομπικὰ στολισμὸς, and *Prætoria* likewise, πομπικὰ στρατηγικὰ, vnder them, obtained by those, I suppose, whom Dio in sundry places termeth τὰς τῶν ῥαβδούχων στολὰς κεκτημένους, and lastly *Quæstoria ornamenta*, to make them as Consuls, Prætors, Quæstors fellowes. Tacit. 4. Hist. *Multo cum honore verborum Mutiano triumphalia de bello ciuili data, sed in Sirmatas expeditio fingebatur, adduntur Antonio Primo consularia, Cornelio Fusco, & Arrio Varo prætoria insignia*, Annal. 11. *Decreta Norbano quæstoria insignia, &c.*

XVIII. *A mutinee of the Gard souldiers.*

ABOVT the same time vpon a small sparkle a flame of sedition arose, from whence no danger was feared, to the destruction almost of the Citie. Otho had commanded the seuenteenth Cohort to be called from Ostia to Rome, and charge was committed to Varius Crispinus, one of the Prætorian Tribunes, to furnish it with Armour. Which that he might doe at more ease, and without interruption, the camp being quiet, at the shutting of the euening he opened the Armory, and commanded the Cartes of the Cohorts to be laden. The time wrought suspition, [1] the cause bred a crime; the affecting of quietnesse proued to a tumult; [a] and weapons seene among drunken persons stirred vp a desire in them to be doing. The souldiers mutin and charge the Centurions and Tribunes with treason, affirming they purposed to put in armes the Senate, and Senatours men against Otho; some vpon ignorance, and ouercome with drinke, the worst seeking occasion to spoile, the common sort (as it is commonly seene) desirous of nouelty howsoeuer: and as for the better and sounder part, the darknesse did not permit them to shew their obedience. And first they murder Crispinus the Tribune; and the [b] seuerest of the Centurions repugning to their seditious attempts: then taking armes, and drawing their swords, on horse-backe they make [c] toward the towne, and the Palace. Otho that night had the [d] principall men and women of the City at banket: who standing amazed and misdoubting what it might be, a casuall rage of the souldiers, or a practise of the Emperor; whether were more danger to stay and be taken or to flee and disperse; sometime make shew of stoutnesse, sometime bewraied their feare, still casting an eye vpon Othoes countenance, who, as it fals out where mindes yeeld to suspition, did feare, and was feared. And fearing no lesse for the Senatours sakes than for his owne person, he both sent by and by the Captaines of the Guarde to appease in some sort the souldiers anger, and [e] willed his Guestes to get them away in all possible speed. Then might one haue seene magistrates, euery where cast down the marks of their office, eschewing the multitude of followers and seruants, old men and women in darke without torch creep this way and that, few to their owne houses, most to their friends, and meanest Clients where they least would be lookt for. The souldiers furiously breake open the gates of the Palace, and thrust into the banquetting place, rudely requiring a sight of Otho, hauing wounded a Tribune Iulius Martialis, and Vitellius Saturninus * Lieutenant of a Legion, as they endeuoured to withstand their violence. On euery side armes and threates, sometime against the Centurions, and Tribunes, sometime against the whole Senate, franticke vpon a blind

cap. 80.

[a] Ὀλίγοι τ. Μὴ πως οἰνωθέντες ἔρεν τι σπασάντες ἐπ' ὑμᾶς ἀπόλλυσι τὸν ἄρχοντα, κατασχόντες δὲ ἁρπάσωσι, καὶ μηχὴν αὐτὸς ζῶν ἐφύλαττε αἰδέσεως οὐδεμιᾶς.

[b] Ἑκατοντάρχας δύο. Plut.

[c] Suet. Othone, c. 8 cum arma in castris sub noctem promerentur, insidias quasdam suspicati tumultum excitauerunt, ac repente omnes nullo certo duce in palatium cucurrerunt, cedere senatui flagitantes, repulsique tribunorum, qui inhibere tentabant, nonnullis, & occisis, sicut erant cruenti vbertim Imperator esse reputarent perrupere in triclinium vsque, nec nisi viso de interitu.

[d] Ὀψὲ δὲ κατὰ σπουδὴν κλητικὸς. Plut. cap. 82.

[e] Καθ' ἑτέρας, θέρους ἀρχὴς Plut.

* Præfectus legionis: a kind of speech which I doe not remember in Tacitus elsewhere.

blinde feare, and because they could not name any one to the slaughter, demanding licence indifferently against all the Senate; till such time as Otho standing vpon his dining bed, contrary to the maiesty of an Emperor, with teares and humble requests, at last, though hardly, refrained their rage: and so they returned to the Campe vnwilling, though after so much harme done. The next day, as if the Towne had been taken, the houses were shut, small stirring in streetes, the people all sad, the souldiers hanging their heads, with many heauy lookes and little repentance. Licinius Proculus and Plotius Firmus the Captaines dealt with the souldiers by bands, in gentle or rough sort, each after his nature: the conclusion was this, that they should receiue
f Tacit. 3. hist. 59. lib. 2. c. 3. f fiue thousand sesterces a man. Then Otho boldly entered the campe: the Centurions and Tribunes come round about him, and [2] casting away the markes of their degrees, desire dimission from so vnsafe a seruice. The souldiers perceiued the meaning and framing themselues to obedience, require vnbidden the authors of the sedi-
cap. 83. tion to death. Otho, although things were in such a confusion, and the souldier so diuersly minded (the best requiring a remedy for the present disorder; the common sort, and more part, who liked seditions, and corrupt gouernment being more easily brought by troubles and spoiling to make ciuill war) and withall remembring that a state gotten by leaud meanes cannot be retained at first with suddaine modesty, and ancient grauity; neuertheless carefully considering the danger of the City and Senate, at last he spake in this wise. My fellow souldiers, I am not come hither to incite you to loue me, and lesse to exhort you to vertue and valour; for of both you haue great store and too much: but I come to request a moderation of your valour, and a meane in your loue toward mee. No hatred it was, no desire to haue (which things haue set many Armies at discord) no danger you feared and meant to auoide, but a tender care, and excessiue affection it was toward me, more zealous than considerate, which bred and excited the yesternighrs trouble: for oft the causes of things being good, yet where iudgement is wanting, pernicious ends doe often ensue. We are going to war, what? Is it expédient that all messengers haue open audience, that all matters be handled in presence of all? The nature of warring will not endure it, the swift sliding away of occasions permitteth it not. I tell you it is as behouefull that the souldiers should be ignorant of some things, as know other some. The authority of Captaines, the rigor of discipline is of that nature, that many things must be onely commanded and simply bidden by the Centurions and Tribunes. If when things are bidden euery one may demand, and question the matter, obedience failing, gouernment withall will fall to the ground: or shall there at midnight likewise the alarme be giuen? shall a lost and drunken companion or two (for I cannot beleeue they were moe which madded in the last vprore) shall they dare to embrue their hands in a Tribunes and Centurions bloud? rush into their Empe-
Cap. 84. rours pauilion? you did indeed the same for my sake: but yet in the darke, in such a confusion, occasion might also haue serued against me. If Vitellius and his adherents had choise to dispose our mindes as they listed, what else would they wish but sedition and discord? that the souldier should not obey his Centurion, the Centurion his Tribune, foote-men and horse confusedly should run to their ruine. Surely fellow-souldiers by duely obeying, not curiously scanning the Captaines commandements, is all good souldiery and militare matters maintained: and that army in danger is alwaies most valiantly, which before the danger is most quiet of all. Be you onely well armed, and valiant minded, to aduise and direct your valour leaue that to me. The fault was of few: the punishment shal be only of two: contend you the rest, to abolish and raze out of memory that dismall nights worke: such bloudy

wordes

words against the Senate, *let neuer any Army once dare for to speake. The head " *audeat.
of the Empire, the ornament of all Prouinces, no not the very Germans themselues, "
whom Vitellius specially raiseth against vs, durst euer haue demanded to death: "
and shall the children of Italy then, and the true Roman race require to murder that "
honourable order, through whose glorious brightnesse we dimme and disgrace the "
obscure baseneese of Vitellius faction? Vitellius hath indeed some Countries at "
commandement, he hath a certaine counterfaite of an Army: but the Senate is of "
our side; and therefore the State is of our side, Traytours of theirs. What? doe "
you thinke this goodly faire City consisteth in houses and stones put together? these "
are dumbe and dead things, they may decay, they may be repayred againe, as it "
chanceth: the eternity of the State, the peace of the world, your weldoing and "
mine, is founded vpon the safety of the Senate. The father and builder of our Ci- "
tie did *first by [3] the God approbation ordeine and institute this worthy assembly; " *auspicato.
from the Kings to the Princes neuer discontinued: then as we haue taken it from
our progenitours, so let vs deliuer it to our successours. The Senate is the seminary
of Princes, and you of the Senate. The Oration thus framed to bite and to please cap. 8.
the souldiers mindes, and the moderate seuerity vsed withall (for onely on two iu-
stice was done) were gratefully accepted; and they for the present composed,
which hardly could haue beene duely corrected. Yet was not the Citie thorowly
quiet: weapons clashed, and to shew it seemed a season of war; the souldiers in
common ceasing to trouble, but dispersed in houses in disguised apparell, maligning
all those whom nobility or wealth, or some other speciall excellency had made the
matter of talke.

[3] The cause bred a crime: *Causa in crimen vertebat*] If these rimes haue in them any reason, the meaning may be, that which the Tribune did to the end to execute the Princes commandement, that the souldiers drew to a sinister sense, as done not for the seruice of the Prince, but rather *seruitiorum in imperatorem arma in suorum gratiã*. Plutarch. Οἱ δεξιώτατοι πάντες ἔλεγον, ὡς οὐκ ὀρθὴ τοῦ Κεκίλιου ἴσχει διανοίμενον, οὐδὲ πάντων ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦτο ποιοῦντας, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἑνὸς Καίσαρος ὁ Καικίλιος ἐφάσκοντο. That is, the boldest of them cried out with one voice that Crispinus had no good meaning, that the Senate intended innouation, and that those armes were carried out against the Prince, not in his fauour.

[4] Calling away the markes: *Abrectis militiæ insignibus*] *Tribunatus insigne*, the badge or marke of his office was ἐγχειρίδιον, a dagger. Martialis lib. 14. of a Centurion *Vitis*, a vine-rod to correct the trewanting souldier. Iuuenal. of Marius, Satyra octaua.

Arpinas aliam Volscorum in monte solebat,
Poscere mercedem alieno lassa aratro.
Nodosam prisci ferebat vertice vitem
Solennis pœnæ nunquam cessura dolabræ,
Hic tamen &c. ———

Tacitus 1. Annal. *Centurio Lucilius inter fictas, cui militaribus facetijs vocabulum, Cedo alteram, indiderant; quia fusta vite in tergo militis, alteram clara voce, ac ruptâ aliam poscebat*, of the Captaine-slap of the *Pretorium ξίφος*, a sword. Xiphilinus speaking of Licinius Sura made Captaine of the Guard by Traian. ἔτι οὖν τοῦ μέλλοντος τὸν δορυφόρων ἐπάρξειν τὸ ξίφος, ὃ παραδίδωσι σφίσι τὸ ἐκεῖνος, ἀφύξας, ἐξετάσας τε αὐτὸ καὶ ἀκριβῶς, εἰ καλῶς τοῦτο ἔχοι, ἔφη· εἰ μὲν γὰρ καλῶς ἄρχοις, ἐκείνῳ· εἰ δὲ κακῶς, κατ' ἐμοῦ αὐτῷ χρῆσαι. That is, when as first he recalled to him whom he intended to make Captaine of the Garde the sword wherewith he was to be girt, he drew it forth, and looking vp said: Take this sword, that if I gouerne well thou maist vse it for me; if ill, against me, and Nymphydius in Plutarch depriuing his fellow Tigellinus of his office, ἀφῃρεῖτο τὸν Τιγελλῖνον τὸ ξίφος. That is, Commanded him to put vp his sword. To this priuiledge of wearing a sword was annexed perpetually power of life and death ouer the souldiers. Dio l. 53. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἧσσον, ἢ τὸν ἀνθύπατον, ἢ τὸν πρεσβευτὴν, ἢ τὸν ἔπαρχον ξιφηφορεῖν ἔξεστιν, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τινὰ ἀποκτεῖναι ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς· ὃ γὰρ ἐν πόλει βουλευτὴς, οὐδὲ ἐν πόλει ἐστρατήγει, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐξουσίαν ἔχει. That is, No man had authority (were he Proconsul, or Propretor, or Procurator) to carry a sword, but only he that had power to put a souldier to death. For to such it was lawfull whether he were Senator or Eques. *Gradiua ξίφος* or pugio (for so they seeme to be taken for one) was also one of the markes of soueraigne authority, as it is at this day Vitellius resigning the Empire. τὸ ξίφος ἐς τὸ συνέδριον πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπατεύσασι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βουλευταῖς ἔπεμψεν, ὡς τῆς τε ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς παρρησίας ἐξίστατο. That is, Vitellius in open assembly reached his sword to the Consuls, and the rest of the Senate, as thereby resigning all imperiall authority, and Tacitus of the same matter 3. Hist. *Deferrent ipsi ea clementiæ principis, qui sponte sua imperium abnuisset. Suetonius Vitellio* c. 15. *Prægrandem ventrem vinoli exhalantem à latere transforatum, ense ille recusante magistratibus, ac mox senatoribus singulis porrigente, quos in ea concordiæ professione adsistere.*

[1] By the Gods approbation: *Auspicato*] That is, *addicentibus auibus*. For although neither Liuy nor Dionysius make any mention of any such ceremony obserued in the choise of the Senate, yet seeing we finde that *equitum centuriæ* were by Romulus [a] *augurato scriptæ*, that the Citty was founded and named *captis ad inaugurandum templis*, the Auentin by Remus, the Palatin by Romulus (Liuius li. 1. although [b] Ennius placeth them otherwise) seeing that Romulus ἐν ἔθει κατεστήσατο τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν ἅπασι, μήτε βασιλείας, μήτε ἀρχάς τινας λαμβάνειν, ἐὰν μὴ κῆ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοῖς (δι' οἰωνῶν) δοκίμον ᾖ. That is, Brought vp this custome for all posterity that they should not take vpon them neither the Kingdome, nor any other office, except first the gods per auspicia gaue their approbation, [c] we may probably coniecture that it was not omitted in a case of so great importance, as was the choise of a councell of State. Surely after that Attius Nauius had cut with a razor a whetstone in Tarquinius Priscus time, [d] Liuy writeth that the Augurall discipline grew daily in reputation.

a *Liuius lib. 1.*
b *in his verses reported by Tully 1. de diuinatione.*
c *Dionys. Halicarn. lib. 2.*
d *lib. 1.*

XIX. *Rome full of ielousies: the difficulty that was to cary a mans selfe euenly in the Citie and Senate.*

IT was also supposed by many that some of Vitellius men were come to the Citie to spie out and learne how the sides were affected: whereupon all grew full of ielousies, and scarse were the secret Closets free from feare: and abroade worst of all, where according to the occurrents which came, they turned, and shaped courage and countenance, fearing to seeme, when matters went doubtfull, distrustfull; or when they went well, not enough to reioyce: specially in Senate, there was the hardnesse indeed to beare a mans selfe euenly in so nice and tickliſh a case: silence would be construed for contumacy; free speech had quickly in ielousie; and flattering Otho would soone smell out, hauing passed from priuate estate, and vsed the trade so lately himselfe. Wherefore they were forced to tosse and turne in and out their sentences, to wrest them this way and that, calling Vitellius parricide and traitour; the wiser sort spending vpon him some few ordinary rayling termes, some touching him neerer with viler matters, and matters of truth; but then aboue all times, when for the great noise they least could be heard, or when otherwise the most spake at once, or else by tumultuous heaping of words confounding their owne disorderly tale.

a *Plutarch.* ἡ τὸ ἀεὶ τὸν Σύμβεον δι' εὐμηχανίαν ἢ εὐτυχίαν ὑπεξιὸν ὀλίγοι μὲν ἐδίωκον, πολλοὶ μαχόμενοι. *Plinius lib. 3. c. 5. Dignius vates, intelligitur (Tiberinus amnis) potiùs ac monitor, actu semper religiosus verùs, quàm sæuus.*
b *Which penury grew by reason of the rising of the riuer. Plutarch* πλῆθος δὲ χρημάτων ἐνεπλήσθη τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ὕδατος ἐξαίφνης ἐπιστάντος ἀπολωλεκότων, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐμπορείοις ἁρπαγῇ χρησαμένων.
c *Insulæ dicuntur propriè, quæ non iunguntur communib. parietibus cum vicinis; circumq; publico aut priuato circumfluuntur; a similitudine vtique earum terrarum, quæ fluminib. ac mari eminent, sanctæque in sacro pascuo.* Festus
d *Primo egressu inundationis Tiberis retardatus (Otho) ad vicissitudinem etiam lapidum ruina ædificiorum præcipitatam viam effodit.* Suetonius Othone. cap. 8.

XX. *Certaine prodigious things which happened in Italie and Rome before the warre.*

MOREOVER diuerse myracles vowched by sundry persons terrified the minds of men. In the entry of the Capitoll the raines of the Coch whereon the image of Victory stoode were let slippe: out of Iunoes cell started vp a ghost taller than any man: the image of Iulius of sacred memory in the Iland of Tiber turned it selfe from the West to the East in a day which was cleare and without any earth-quake: in Tuscany an Oxe spake: ougly monsters were borne of beasts, and many other like prodigious things were reported by the old world obserued euen in peace, but now not talkt on, but in times of danger. But the principall terror for the time to come ioyned with present damage was [a] the sudden swelling of Tiber, which waxing hugely, brake downe the Sublician bridge, and by the ruines of it being dammed, reculing againe, ouerflowed not onely the low and plaine places of Rome, but those also which seemed safe from such casualties. Many were carried away as they walkt in the streetes, moe intercepted in shops and lodgings: [b] dearth of vittailes, and no waies of winning, bred a famine among the poore people, the foundations of the [c] Iles, which the water by washing against them had weakned, after the Riuer returned, became ruinous: and assoone as that perill was ouerpast, the [d] stopping by casuall, or naturall causes, Of Campus Martius and the

Fami-

Flaminian way, by which the Army should passe, at that time when Otho prepared to march, was construed for an ominous signe of calamities to ensue.

XXI. *The prouision of Otho for the warre.*

OTHO hauing [a] hallowed the Citie, consulting how to manage the war, and seeing the Penine and Cottian Alpes, and the other passages of France stopt by Vitellius Armies, determined to inuade Gallia Norbonensis with a strong Nauie and [b] sure to his side: for he had enrolled for Legionary souldiers the remnant of those which were slaine at the Miluian bridge, whom Galba had cruelly [c] laied in prison; and the [d] rest of their fellowes conceiued thereby good hope of honourabler seruice hereafter. Which the Nauie he shipped City-cohorts, and many Guard-souldiers, for a strength and support to the army, and for a counsell and guard to the Generalles. The general charge of this voiage was committed to Antonius Nouellius, and Suedius Clemens (* which had beene chiefe Centurions) and Æmilius Pacensis, to whom Otho had restored his Tribune-ship, which Galba had taken away: Oscus his freed man was Admiral of the voiage, being willed to watch how loyally honester men behaued themselues. Of the Foot-men and Horse [e] Suetonius Paulinus, Marius Cellus, and Annius Gallus were appointed Gouernors: but his speciall affiance [f] was in Licinius Proculus Captaine of the Guard, who being a man seruiceable enough in Citie souldiery, but raw in the field, cauilling and carping at the graue authority of Paullinus, the couragious quickneſse of Cellus, the considerate discreetneſse of Gallus, as each was in vertue, by lewdneſse and craft (a matter not vneasy) bare it away from good men, and modest. About the same time [g] Cornelius Dolabella was confined to Aquinum, without either strait or close keeping, for no matter of crime, but only as an eie-sore for his ancient house and kindred with Galba. Then Otho commanded many of the Magistrates, and a great part of those which had been Consuls, to be in a readineſse for the voiage, not as to employ them in any charge in the war, but to accompany him onely: among other Lucius Vitellius also in like sort with the rest, neither as brother of an Emperour, nor as brother of an enemy. Hereupon the cares of the Citie reuiued: no state was voide of feare or of danger: the chiefe of the Senat weake for age, and with long rest vnlusty; the Nobility slothfull, and hauing forgotten the warres; the Gentlemen ignorant in seruice: the more they all sought to couer and hide it, the more they might bewraied their feare. On the other side some vpon a foolish vaineglory bought them braue armour and goodly great horses; some riotous prouision for banquets and [i] allurements of lustes, as instruments of warre. The wiser sort were woe to see the quietneſse of the Weale-publicke perturbed: the witleſse, and not able to see into sequels, were puſt vp with vaine hope: and many a good man, bankerupt in peace, now in the troubles shewed most gallant, then being safest, when the state was vnsafest. The common people, who for their huge greatneſse taketh no care of publick affaires, began now to feele by little and little the smartes of the war, perceiuing the money was turned all to the souldiers vse, and victailes to grow more deare in the market; which euils in Vindex commotion had nothing worne the Commons so bare: the citie was then out of danger, and the warre in the Prouince, which being fought betweene the Legions and them of France might seeme in a sort externall and forraine. For since the time that D. Augustus ordered the Empire, the people of Rome fought a farre off; the care and the credit belonged to one: vnder Tiberius and Caius men feared alone the miseries of peace: [h] Scribonianus attempts

[a] Inaugurated with prayers, and sacrifices, because the new made Legionaries were with the Magistrates sworne to the Emperour: the rest remained with Galba: but rather for that the other souldiers which were kept still in the Gallies, mistrusted good loue of performance by the fauour which Otho bestowed on their fellowes.

[b] Yet were they vnfaithfull at his death to doe him a mischiefe, and made a Legion, as appeareth before, for that the order of enrolling of new seruants Otho, as it might seeme by this place, but Galba.

[c] Galba, they thinke, armed all as a iest.

[d] Prompt Irish of great spirit and disdaine: as Cocceius, and Cassius Longinus.

[e] Otho's Captaines in this warre were six of name: Paul. Suet. Cellus, Gallus, Proculus, rapt hereby Tacitus, Spectator, & Master in the story, and Tacitus his humour for the after-wards.

[f] Prefects Praetorian, Lieutenants of the Guard, as Tacitus stiles them. Proculus was Galbas Captaine of the Marines.

[g] A shrewd aduersary to Otho.

[h] Scribonianus was slaine in Illyricum.

tempts against Claudius were begun and dasht in a moment : Nero was rather by newes, and by rumours, than by force of armes cast out of state : but now the Legions, the Nauies, and that which seldome elsse hath beene seene, the Guard and City-souldier were brought to the field ; the East, and the West, and whatsoeuer was on both sides behinde ; matter for a long war, [i] if other Captaines had warred. Some perswaded Otho, as he was now ready to march, to stay yet a while, making a scruple that the [2] holy shields called Ancilia were as yet not laied vp againe : but he could not abide to heare of delaies, which had beene, he said, Neroes destruction ; and Cæcina hauing already passed the Alpes called him forward. The fourteenth of March recommending the Common-wealth to the Lords in Senate, he granted to the persons restored from exile the residue of Neroes confiscations, such as were not as yet come to his Cofers: a gift most reasonable and in shew very great, but in effect fruitlesse by reason of the hasty exaction. By and by assembling the people he magnifieth the maiesty of the Citie, the consent of the Senate and people of Rome in fauour of his side, modestly touching the contrary faction, and blaming the Legions rather for ignorance, than rashnesse, without any mention at all of Vitellius ; whether it was of his owne temperatnesse, or that elsse he which penned the Oration fearing the worst, did of purpose forbeare to reuile : for as in military matters he followed the aduice of Suetonius Paulinus and Marius Celsus, so in ciuill he was thought to vse Galerius Trachalus wisdome : and some there were, which would seeme to know the manner of phrase, notorious by reason of his often pleading, large and sounding, and framed to fill the eares of the people. The Commons after their flattering fashion receiued the speech with cries and acclamations without either measure or trueth, contending to passe one another in applause and wishes, as if it had beene to Cæsar the Dictator, or the Emperour Augustus ; neither for feare nor for loue, but onely vpon a delight in seruility (* as in priuate families) euery man prouoked by some priuate cause, no man regarding the publicke dishonour. [k] Otho departing away, commended the quiet estate of the Citie, and cares of the Empire to Saluius Titianus his brother.

[i] Tac. 2. Histor. *Quod singula velut victoria transacta sunt bella, ignauia principum factum est.*

Cap. 90.

* vt in familijs. i. inter seruitia ; in opposition to plebs ingenua. 4. Ann.

[k] Otho departed from Rome, saith *Suetonius, die quo cultores deûm matrem lamentari & plangere incipiunt*, that is, the seuen and twentieth of March according to *Marcellinus*.

[1] Allurements of lust, &c.] Iuuenal Satyrâ secundâ writeth, that Otho himselfe *inter instrumenta belli* caried a certaine looking-glasse.

Res memorandæ nouis annalibus, atque recenti
Historiâ, speculum ciuilis sarcina belli.

Contrary to that testimony which Tacitus giueth him. 2. Hist. *Nec Othoni segne, aut corruptum luxu iter ; sed loricâ ferreâ vsus, & ante signa pedester, horridus, incomptus, fameque, dissimilis.*

[2] That the holy shieldes called Ancilia] *Ancilia, clypei* [a] *Martis, ab anciso sic dicti, quòd ea arma ab vtraq; parte, vt pelta Thracum, incisa.* Varro lib. 6. de ling. Lat. Ouidius Fastorum. 3.

[a] Although Liuy in the Oration of Camillus seemeth to attribute them to Romulus also for kindred sake. *Quid de Ancilibus scilicet Martis Gradiui, vnque Martiæ patris, dicam ?* 5.

Atque Ancile vocat, quod ab omni parte recisum est,
Quemque notes oculis, angulus omnis abest.

Dionysius Halicarn li. 2. expressing *Ancile* in Greeke turneth it πέλτιν ἀσπιδικὴν, in figure much like, saith he, ῥαβδοειδῆ δυσὶν στενοτέραις ἔχουσι τοὺς λαγόνας. That is, a Thracian shield, resembling a lozing figure Target whose angles be rebated. Liuy lib. 1. and lib. 5. termeth them *cælestia arma*, and *cælo demissa* : where the story at large is in Ouid, in the place aboue alleaged : *Dum loquitur totum, &c.* and in Dionysius although with some little difference of circumstance. ἐν δὲ τοῖς πέλτας πολλὰς πάνυ ὄτας μίαν εἶναι λέγεται δοκεῖν. εὑρεθῆναι δ' αὐτὴν φασιν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῖς τοῦ Νομᾶ, μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπων εἰσενηνεγκότος, ἀλλ' ἐγνωσμένης ἀρχαίαν ἐν Ἰταλοῖς τοιάυτ' ἰδέαν, ἐξ ὧν ἀνθρώπων ὑπολαβεῖν ῥᾴδιον θεόπεμπτον εἶναι τὸ ὅπλον, βουλόμενα δὲ τὸν τοῦ πράγματος τε αὐτὸ φέρειν ὑπὸ τῆς κομιδῆς νέον ἐν ἱεραῖς ἡμέραις, ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ θυσίαν ἐπετείων τινὰ ἄγειν· δεδοικότα δὲ ἐπιβουλὰς τῶν ἀπ' ἐλπίδων καὶ ἀφανισμὸν αὐτῷ κλοπαῖον, ὅπλα λέγεται πολλὰ κατασκευάσαι τῷ δημιουργῷ ἀρχαῖα, μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς τὸ ἔργον δημιουργὸν ἀναδεξαμένους, ὥστε ἄσημον γνῶναι καὶ δυσδιάγνωστον τοῖς μέλλουσιν ὁπηνδηποτοῦν τοῦ θεοπέμπτου φύσιν, διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίλακτον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνου ἐργασίας ὁμοιότητα. That is, Among these shields which are very many, one they say there is which fell downe from heauen, and that it was found in Numaes Pallace not brought thither by any mans hand, no not so much as the fashion being knowen in Italie before that time. Vpon which two reasons the Romans were induced to thinke that the piece was sent from the Gods. So when Numa had determined to haue it caried throw the City on high daies, by some of the most honourable yoonge men, and to institute yearely sacrifice in memory thereof ; fearing lest the enemy should priuily steale it away, as the report goeth he tooke this course. He caused many other to be made like

vnto

vnto this which fell from above (one Navarius vndertaking the worke) that whosoever sought to steale it, for the nearenesse and likenesse of the rest wrought by mans hands might not be able to discerne the form of that which came from the gods. b Lampridius Heliogabalo. *Matris typum, & Vestæ ignem, & Palladium, & Ancilia, & omnia Romanis veneranda &c.* Now as concerning the *motus Ancilium* I finde of it two seuerall circumstances recorded. Seruius vpon this place of Virgil. 8. Æneid: ------- *vtq; impulit arma*, writeth thus: *Is qui belli susceperat curam* (meaning, as I thinke, the Consul) *sacrarium Martis ingressus primò Ancilia commouebat; post hastam simulachri ipsius dei, dicens, Mars vigila.* After which ceremonie performed by the Censul, the *Salij*, as I gesse, immediately they and their seruants carried the Ancilia about in procession: Which pompe and solemnity is described by Dionysius. ἑορτὴ δ' αὐτῶν ὅδε περὶ τὰ παλαίσια, τῶν πολεμίων μαρτίῳ μηνὶ, δημοτελὴς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἀγομένη, ἐν αἷς διὰ πόλεως ἅλλοι τὰς χώρας οἵστε καὶ ἀφῆλιν, καὶ τὰ καπιτώλιον, καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας ἰδίας τε καὶ δημοσίας τόπους, χιτῶνας ποικίλους χλανίδας τε πορφυρᾶς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐνημμένοι, καὶ τι ἕτερα ἐμπεπαρμένοι πορφυρᾶς ἀκροστολίας καὶ τοὺς πολεμικοὺς ἀσπίδας ἐπικειμένοι τῆς κεφαλῆς. περίεισι δ' ἕκαστος ὀρχούμενος οὕτω ξίφος, καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ χειρὶ λόγχην ῥάβδον, ἤ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον κατέχων. τὰ δ' ἐνόπλια χορεύματα πάλαι ὄντα, καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνων δὲ τοῖς ἐνοπλίοις κινήσεις, τότε μὲν ὁμοῦ, τότε δὲ παραλλάξ, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν πανδήμους ἅδεσθαι ἅμα ταῖς χορείαις. *That is, The Salij celebrate a solemne feast about the time of the Athenian Panathenæa in the moneth of March, continuing many daies, in which they passe thorough the city solemnly dancing into the Forum, the Capitall, and many other both publique and priuate places, wearing party coloured coats giut to them with copper girdles. Ouer these they cast their gownes garded with gardes of purple, in their owne language called* Trabeæ, *which they fasten with a button, lastly wearing on their heads a certaine attire which they call* Apices. *Beside this euery man is girt with a sword, and in his right hand holdeth a speare or rod, or some such other things, and in his left a Thracian shield. They daunce in certaine militar measures to the noise of the pipe, sometimes all at once, sometimes by turnes; & withall sing old songs deliuered to them by tradition from their fathers.* Liuius lib. 1. *Salios item duodecim Martis Gradiuo legit, tunicaq; picta insignes dedit, & super tunicam æneum pectori tegumen, cœleste aq; arma, quæ Ancilia appellantur ferre ac per vrbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudijs, solemniq; saltatu iussit.* This feast as Dionysius writeth, was celebrated ᾠστῶ μησὶ, begun, as it may appeare by Ouid, the very Calends of March. Carisius seemeth to place it in the *Quinquatrus*, which began the 19. of March. *Quinquatrus*, saith he, *à quinquando, illustrando, quòd eo die arma Ancilia lustrari sint solita.* which etymologie no doubt is erronious. for *Quinquatrus* without question is deriued of *quinq;* Ouidius. *Nominaq; à nostris quinque diebus habent.* Varro lib. 5. de ling. Lat deriueth *Quinquatrus quòd erat post diem quintum Idus* Then *Quinquatrus* were holy daies to *Minerua*, not Mars, to whom the *Ancilia* properly belonged. So taking his beginning at the Calends of March, the feast c continued ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἡμέρας, & by this very place of Tacitus it is cleere they were not laid vp againe before the 14. of the same moneth, when as Otho tooke his solemne leaue of the Senate and people. Polybius fragm. extendeth the whole solemnity ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγονδ' ἡμέρᾳ. *That is, To thirty daies.* but *motus Ancilium* began certaine daies after the beginning of the feast, as it may appeare by Polybius in that place, and Liuy lib. 37. speaking of the same matter: during which time no expedition was vsually vndertaken. Suetonius Othone cap. 3. agreeing with Tacitus, and expounding this place; *Expeditionem impigrè atque etiam præpropere inchoauit* (Otho) *nullâ ne religionum quidem cunctâ; sed & motis nec dum conditis Ancilibus, quod antiquitus infaustum habebatur.* Liu lib. 37 *Statiua ad Hellespontum aliquandiu habuere; quia dies forte, quibus Ancilia mouentur, religiosi ad iter inciderant.*

b Varro, from whom Dionysius in matter of antiquity seldome swarueth, seemeth to follow another opinion. *Lib. 5. de ling. Lat.*

c *Dionysius.*

The

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. *Titus Vespasianus sailing toward Rome, hearing of Galbaes death at Corinth, returneth into Syria. The disposition of the Easterne armies.*

NOW fortune in a contrary coast of the world prepared cause, and laied the foundation for a new [a] Empire: *which put vp in sundrie regions, and according to the different gouernment, became [b] acceptable or hatefull to the state, and to the Princes themselues prosperous, or pernitious. Titus Vespasianus being sent by his father from Iewry, before Galba was slaine, gaue foorth, as [c] cause of his voyage the doing of duety to the new Prince, and suing for office, whereunto he was now by his yeeres enabled and ripe; but the common sort, ready to make and deuise, had cast abroad, that hee was sent for to be [d] declared successour. The age of Galba and lacke of issue, and that intemperate humour of the city, to name many till one bee appointed, gaue occasion and ministred matter to the speech: the towardlinesse of Titus increast the report, as being a person capable of any dignitie were it neuer so great: the comelinesse also of his countenance with a certaine maiesty, the prosperous proceedings of his father in Iewry, prophecies and oracles; and lastly, when as the minds of men were once inclined to beleeue, euen common accidents were reputed *ominous, and helped to further the same. At Corinth a citty of Achaia he receiued certain aduertisement, that Galba was slaine, and some also were there who assured that Vitellius was in armes, and doubtlesse would proceed to make warre. Whereupon being perplexed in minde, calling some few of his friends, hee weigheth the reason on both sides in counsell: if hee should proceed in his iourney to Rome it were but a thankelesse office, being first vndertaken to honor another; & beside he should remaine as an hostage to Vitellius or Otho: if return backe againe, the winner without question would be offended, but yet in some tolerable sort, seing the victory as yet rested vncertaine, and the father afterward applying himselfe to the side, the sonne would find an easie excuse: or if his father tooke vpon him the state, then care not to offend were to be forgotten, where open hostility must bee proclaimed. With these and the like discourses was Titus distracted betweene feare and hope, till hope at the length preuailed. Some men supposed the vehement loue he bare to Berenice the Queen did alter his course: and in truth his youthly affections were setled somewhat that way, notwithstanding in no such degree, that it was any hinderance to his honourable actions: his youthfull years he passed in pleasures licentiously, of better behauiour Emperour then [e] Emperours sonne. So coasting along by Achaia & Asia thorow the seas *on the left hand, he sailed to Rhodes and Cypres, and thence [f] by the maine sea into Syria. Touching at Cypres he had a desire to go visite the temple of Venus at Paphos, so much spoken of both there and abroad. It shall not be long summarily to set downe the beginning of that deuotion, the site of the temple, and shape of the goddesse: for she is not elsewhere purtraited so. The ancient tradition is, that the temple was founded by [g] King Aerias, which

[a] For the Empire of the Flauians see Iosephus, *so, which diuersly succeed.
[b] Acceptable and pernicious to the person of Vespasian and Titus: hatefull & pernicious in the person of Domitian.
[c] Iosephus alters, & adds further, that Titus was sent to vnderstand Galbaes pleasure concerning the Iewish matters.
[d] Suet. Titus c 5 Galba ante primum consulatum Tito adoptionem Tui quoque per vniuersa bona quasi adoptato gratulatus est.
[e] Suet. Titus c 5 Vitiis neque principis neque priuati caruit.
[f] Iosephus, Titus sailed through the midst of the Mediterranean sea which lies on the left hand in sailing from Corinth to Syria.
[g] This relation, Titus sacrificed in Cilicia, Tacitus Paphos, Strabo Amathus, Pausanias Old Paphos, Hyginus Cerastae.

3

which some affirme is the name of the goddesse: a later opinion holdeth, that King [g] Cinaras did consecrate the Temple, and that the goddesse, being conceiued of the sea, arriued there: but the skill and arte of Haruspicine was borrowed abroad, brought in by Thamyras the [h] Cicilian; and so it was accorded between them, that the gouernment of the ceremonies should belong equally to the posterity of both families: anon it seemed absurd, that the bloud royall should not haue any prerogatiue aboue the forraine; whereupon the strangers gaue place in the science, which they themselues had induced; and so the Priest-hood remained alone in Cinaraes line. Beasts for sacrifice, as euery man liked to vow, onely of the male kinde were choseu: the fibres of Kids are esteemed of certainest credit: to powre bloud on the altar is not permitted: [i] prayers and pure fire are the incense for the Altars, which are not within [k] any couert, and yet neuer wet [l] with the weather. The Image of the goddesse is not of humane shape, but a [m] figure rising continually round, from a larger bottome to a small top, in [n] conicall fashion: the reason thereof is not knowen. When Titus had viewed the riches of the place, the offrings and liberalities of Princes, and what else soeuer the Greekish Nation, delighting in antiquities, fabulously fathereth vpon times out of minde, he proposed demand first as touching his voiage by sea: and when it was answered, that the way was open and passage prosperous, then causing many beasts to be sacrificed, he enquired couertly concerning himselfe. Sostratus (for so was the name of the Priest) seeing the entrailes fortunate and agreeing, and perceiuing the goddesse to giue assent to his great deseignes, at that present time made a short and ordinary answer; and anon requiring a secreter conference, he opened to him his whole fortune to come. Thus Titus encreased in courage, returned againe [o] to his father, bringing great comfort to the mindes of the Armies, and Prouinces that were suspensed and doubtfull. Vespasian had vanquished the Iewes, and made in a maner an end of the war, it only remained to oppugne Ierusalem; an enterprise of difficulty and hardnesse, more through the nature of the people, and the obstinate persisting in their superstition, than for any strength or ability they had to beare out the siege. Vespasian, as before we haue said, had three Legions trained in war, and Mutianus fower gouerned in peace, from whom notwithstanding emulation, and the glory of the Army adioyning, draue away sloth; and as the one thorow labour with danger grew stronger and more able of body, so the other became more lusty and fresh by rest vndisturbed, and peaceable labour: both had Auxiliary Cohorts and wings, both Fleetes and Kings at commandement; both renowned alike vpon causes vnlike: Vespasian a vigilant Warrior, marching the formost, chusing places for commodious encamping, night and day giuing out direction and order where it was needfull, and the case so requiring manfully fighting with hand; of diet not dainty, apparelled as the common souldier, or not much otherwise; in all respects, set auarice aside, comparable to the commanders of ancient times: Mutianus contrariwise excessiue in wealth and expenses, in all things exceeding the measure of priuate estate; in speech the ableman, very expert in the direction and foresight of ciuill affaires: a well sorted medley of princely qualities, if taking away the vices of both, the vertues alone were laid together. But the one being Lieutenant of Iewry, the other of Syria, countries confining, through emulation and enuy certaine iealousies were betweene them: notwithstanding vpon Neroes decease, they layed grudges aside, and conferred counsels in common, first by friends interposed, then by mediation of Titus, the principall assurance of true reconcilement; who being a person by nature and arte framed to winde in with Mutianus also, induced them both to surcease from such hurtfull contentions, with consideration

[g] Father to Cyprus of whom some say the iland tooke denomination. Eustathius in Dionys. τινὲς δέ φασι κύπρου κλυθῆναι οὕτως ἀπὸ Κινύρα τοῦ Κύπρου.

[h] Of the Cilicians skill that way read *Tully de Diuinatione*, and others.

[i] Eustathius in Odyss Θ speaking of the Altar of Venus in Paphos: ὁ δὲ βωμὸς βαμὸς ἄθυτος εὐχωλαῖς μόνον, οὐκ εἰκῆς, καθά φησιν ἄλλοι παρὰ τοῦ ποιητοῦ φωνηντα, ἀλλ' ἐκ ἰσχυρᾶς ἰδέας. cap. 4.

[k] The like is reported by Polybius lib. 16. and beleeued by others: κατατεθεάμεθα δὲ καὶ παράδοξόν τινα παρὰ μὲν τοῖς βαρβάροις, διότι τὰς κιονίδας ἀστιμήτους ἁλὸς καὶ τοῦ ἀναβρέχειν ὑπερτιθέντες τὸ παράπαν, ἐπὶ ξύλου cap. 5.

[l] remaining then in *Cæsarea* the head towne of *Iudea*. *Ioseph.* 4. ἀλώσ. cap 29.

[m] or spire fashion.

[n] remaining then in *Cæsarea* the head towne of *Iudea*. *Ioseph.* 4. ἀλώσ. cap 29.

sideration of their common vtility: the Tribunes, Centurions, and common souldier, by labour or licence, by vertues or pleasures, according to their seuerall inclinations, were drawen to the party. Before Titus comming both the Armies had sworne allegeance to Otho, the newes of his being in State, as the custome is in such great matters, being brought in great post, and ciuill wars ripening by leasure, into which the East, that had a long time beene quiet and peaceable, the first of all began for to enter. For in time past the most mighty and puissant ciuill wars, beginning in Italy and Gallia, were vndertaken with the power and strength of the West; and they which maintained them in the East, as Pompey, Cassius, Brutus, Antonius, ended alwaies vnfortunately, and Syria and Iewry more often heard tell of, then saw any Cæsars: the Legions had neuer mutined, onely sometimes were led out to braue the Parthian, speeding not alwaies alike: and during the last ciuill war, when the world was shaken elsewhere, among them was assured tranquillity; then faith toward Galba. But after it was publickely knowen, that Otho and Vitellius went about with impious armes to pray vpon the Roman estate, the souldiers began to storme, that others receiued the fauours of Princes, and they serued continually as slaues. From thence they grew to consideration of their owne forces: seuen Legions they saw at hand, and two Prouinces, Syria, and Iewry, with a huge multitude of Aide-souldiers: then Ægypt adioyning with two Legions, and on the other side Cappadocia and Pontus, and the strength which lay encamped against the Armenians: Asia and the rest of the Prouinces, plentifull of mony, and of men not vnfurnished: all the Ilands of that sea, and the sea it selfe [m] shut vp and yeelding security in the meane season to prepare for the war. The forwardnesse of the souldiers was not vnknowen to the Generals: neuertheless it was thought expedient to attend the issue of the other war then being on foot, sith doubtlesse mutuall iealousies between the conquering and conquered party, would neuer suffer any sound and perfect intelligence betweene them: neither mattered it much whom fortune should fauour, Vitellius or Otho: euen singular commanders by prosperity would grow insolent, much lesse might good proofe be expected of these, whom discord, sluggishnesse and riot would ruine; whereof the war would ouerthrow the one, and the victory the other, both of them through their owne vices and faults. So till occasion should serue, the open taking of armes was differred by Vespasian and Mucianus, hauing entred but lately into these communications, whereas the rest had conferred thereof long before; the better sort vpon loue to the common wealth, the rest, some allured with the sweetnesse of spoile, some pricked thereto by reason of their doubtful and decayed estate at home: so the good and the bad, vpon causes vnlike, with like affection ardently all desired the war.

cap. 6.

[m] Or lying out of the way from Vitellius & Others strength, sciences.

[l] By the maine sea, *Audentioribus spatijs*] *i. per altum*, in opposition to *litus & oram legere, seu praetexere*. So that the meaning of the place is, that Titus from Corinth to Cypres went along by the coast, and from Cypres into Syria by the maine sea.

[n] The Temple of Venus at Paphos] *Strabo* lib. 14. Ἔστι παλαιὰ πόλις, ὄσον ἐν ἑπτὰ σταδίοις ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ἱδρυμένη, ὕδωρμον ἔχουσα καὶ ἱερὸν ἀρχαῖον τῆς παφίας ἀφροδίτης. *That is, Next is old Pathos situate about eleuen stadia from the sea, there is an harborow for ships, and an ancient temple of Venus, surnamed of the place Paphia.* Homerus Ὀδυσσ. Θ.

Ἦ ἀρ' ἔρχεαι Κύπρον ἐπὶ φιλομμειδέα Ἀφροδίτην
Εἰς Πάφον, ἔνθα δέ τοι τέμενός τε βωμός τε θυήεις.

Dionysius After calleth the whole Iland ἁπάσαν ἄχρι Δωρικῆς Ἀφροδίτης.

[o] The site of the Temple] A point proposed, but forgotten to be handled, vnlesse we will take those wordes *quanquam in aperto*, as a sufficient discharge thereof, which were some what hard, being spoken particularly of the altars, whereas Homer maketh distinct and expresse mention, both of τέμενος and βωμός. *That is, The Temple and Altar.*

[p] Praiers and pure fire] If it were an vnbloudy sacrifice, as by these words it should seeme, it may reasonably be

be doubted wherefore mention is made before of the choise of beasts, of the fibres of Kids, and anon *Casis complurimis bellis*. But perhaps there might be bloody sacrifices before the Altar, although vpon it none but vnbloody.

5 *A figure running circularly round*] The figure which Tacitus describeth is a *Conus*. Maximus Tirus termeth it τετράγωνον, which is a somewhat different thing in strictnesse of termes. His words be these, Διαλέξου καὶ Κελτοὶ σέβουσι Δία· ἀγάλματα δὲ Διὸς Κελτικὸν, ὄψιν Ἀπόλλωνος· Ἀράβιοι σέβουσι μέν, ὄψιν δὲ οὐκ οἶδα. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ὃ εἶδον, λίθος ἦν τετράγωνος, Πάφιος ἢ μᾶλλον Ἀφροδίτης τιμὰς ἔχων· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἂν ἐπαίνεσαις ἄλλῳ τῷ τινι μὴ λίθῳ. That is, *In his 8. discourse. The Celtæ worship Iupiter: this Image with them is nothing but an high Obelisk. The Arabians adore, but whom I know not; the image which I saw amongst them is a square stone. In Paphos Venus hath the chief honour, howbeit her Image you can liken to nothing so well as to a white Pyramis, or rather a triangular Pyramis.* Of periadum dre it was written πυραμὶς ἄκρα, that is, τετράγωνος.

6 *Reckoned the fauours of Princes*] He seemeth to haue expressed the very words of Iosephus 4. ἀνθρώπους. c. 3. σταλὸ τις Νέρωνος ἢ μᾶλλον ὁ ἐπ' ἐκείνου φανερὸς ἦν μετ' ὀλίγον ἐξελαθεὶς, καὶ διαγανακτοῦντες ἐλεύθεροι ὁπόσοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπαινούμενοι, καὶ ὡς δὲ ἀνὴρ πολέμου φήμην ἐπιδιδόντες διαστρατιῶσιν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ τρεῖς ἐπὶ πᾶσι λεγεῶνας ἐπιλεξάμενοι αὐτοκράτορες. αὐτοὶ δὲ διὰ τεσσάρων καταριθμοῦντες ἐφ' ὧν καὶ γεγήρασιν ὑπὸ τῶν χρόνων ἤδη γέροι χαίζοντες τῷ ἐξουσίᾳ, καὶ τοῦτο τὸν ἀξιώτερον ἄρχειν τῶν αὐτῶν ἔφασαν. *That is, The Leaders and Souldiers banded themselues together, and openly sought to make a change, formally crying; These Souldiers which liue in Rome at their ease, which neuer could abide to heare so much as the rumour of warre, chuse whom they list to the Empire, and vpon hope of gaine pronounce Princes. Whereas they who had passed through so many warres, and were now waxen old vnder their Helmets, must yeeld that authority to other, and that hauing in their owne Campe a man fitted of all other for gouernment,* & paulo post: χρῆναι δὲ ἃ μὲν οὐ αὐτοὺς τότε καὶ ἔχειν ἐπὶ ἀπολαύσεσθαι, εἴτε ποτὲ τύχοιεν, καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως συμμαχίας, ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεργοῦσιν τοῖς ἐφ' ὑπάτου καὶ ὑπὸ Οὐιτελλίου σώζουσι κεχώρισται. That is, *That not only they would employ their forces to the best aduantage of such as should be aduanced vpon them, hauing presently with them three Legions and Auxiliary forces from the King; but that the whole East would conspire, and so much of Europe as stood out of feare of Vitellius.*

II. *A counterfaite Nero oppressed in the Ile of Cythnus.*

ABOVT the same time a false alarme was giuen to Achaia and Asia, as if Nero were approching: for the report going diuersly concerning his death, many gaue out vntruly that he was aliue, and many beleeued it. The aduentures and attempts of the rest of those counterfaits we shall hereafter declare, in the processe of this worke. Now at that time a bond-man of Pontus, or as others haue written, a * libertine of Italy, skilfull in instrument and voice, and thereupon, beside some resemblance in countenance, being more fit to deceiue, adioyning vnto him certaine fugitiue and beggerly vagabond persons induced by great promises, taketh the Sea: and being by violence of weather driuen into the Ile of Cythnus, he associated to him certaine souldiers which passed that way out of the East, commanding the rest to be slaine which refused; and spoiling the Marchants armed those of the slaues which seemed most puissant of body. Moreouer he assayed by sundry deuises to practise the Centurion Sisenna, who carried in the name of the Syrian Army to the souldiers of the Guard, Right-Hands in token of concord: vntill such time as Sisenna for feare, and suspecting violence, left the Iland and fled secretly away. Thereupon the terrour was dispersed abroad, and the matter growing famous, many lent their eares willingly thereto, vpon desire of change, and dislike of the present. Thus reputation daily growing to the cause, it was by a matter of meere chance wholy ouerthrowne. Galba had granted the gouernment of the Prouinces of Galatia and Pamphylia to Calpurnius Asprenas: to waft him were allotted two Gallies out of the Nauy at Misenum, with the which he arriued at the Ile of Cythnus. Vpon his arriuall the Masters of the Gallies were summoned to come vnto Nero: who at their comming composing himselfe to beauinesse, and requiring, as their late master at his souldiers hands, their faithfull assistance and seruice, praied them to set him a land in Syria or Ægypt. The Masters, partly perswaded, or else fraudulently, answered that first they would talke with the souldiers, and so hauing prepared their mindes would returne: but the whole was truely reported to Asprenas, by whose perswasion his ship was forced and taken, and he, whatsoeuer he were, slaine.

* *Libertine.*

cap. 8.

cap. 9.

slaine. His body was carried into Asia, and thence brought to Rome, wondered at for the eies, and haire, and sternesse of countenance.

III. *Annius Faustus, after much adoe and some sturre in the Senate, condemned of prometing.*

IN a dissentious state, and through the often changings of Princes, wauing betweene licence and liberty, euen small matters were not shut vp, without great adoe. Vibius Crispus, a man for mony, might, and wit, accounted rather among the great men than the good, called to his answer in Senat Annius Faustus a Gentleman, who had made profession in Neroes time of accusing: for immediately vpon the election of Galba the Senatours had ordered, that the causes of the accusers should be heard and examined; an order diuersly construed and drawen, and as against a weake defendant in force, so against a mighty too weake. Beside Crispus employed the terrour of his greatnesse, and the vttermost of his might, particularly to ouerthrow him, as the accuser of his brother, and had drawen a great part of the Senat into that opinion, to require him to be executed, being neither defended nor heard: contrarily others fauouring the defendant, so much the more because the plaintife seemed too mighty, were of opinion, that a time should be granted, the crimes specified, and the man, though culpable and odious, should notwithstanding not be excluded from common right of being heard in his iustifications. Which opinion preuailed at the first, and so the hearing of the matter was some few daies put ouer: but in the end Faustus was condemned, albeit not with that generall assent of all partes that his leaude conditions deserued: some men disliking, not that the crime was so punished, but that it was done at his suite, [a] whom they well remembred to haue exercised himselfe the same profession with gaine.

IIII. *The power of Otho by land.*

THE [1] beginning of the war was prosperous on Othoes side. For at his commandement the Legions marched [a] out of Dalmatia and Pannonia, being in number fower, out of which two thousand men were sent before, the Legions followed after with competent iournies; the seuenth lately gathered by Galba, the rest ancient, the eleuenth and thirteenth, and the fourteenth greatly renowned for their seruice in repressing [b] the Brittish rebellion; and Nero had encreased their glory, [c] chusing them out as the most speciall men: whereupon they remained long faithfull to Nero, and were great fauourers of Othoes proceedings. But these Legions the more strength and forces they caried with them, the more confident they were, and consequently the flower in comming forward: the [d] Auxiliary Cohorts and Wings came before, the corps of the Legions followed after. Moreouer the City it selfe furnished good store of souldiers: fiue Prætorian cohorts, and certain Cornettes of horsemen, the first Legion, and beside two thousand [e] Fencers; [2] a base supply, but in [e] ciuill wars vsed euen by seuere commanders. Annius Gallus with [f] Vestricius Spurinna were appointed to lead this power, and sent before hand to put themselues in possession of the [g] banckes of the Po: because their first determination had failed, seeing Cæcina had already passed the Alpes, whom they hoped might haue beene kept within Gallia. Vpon Othoes person a choice company of [h] Spearemen attended, accompanied with the rest of the Prætorian Cohorts, and the old souldiers of the Guard, beside an excessiue number of those which

comp. 60

* Tac. 4. Hist. in a manner word for word, and sometimes following, where you shall finde him forced with Epitus Adamas lib. 4. and so one of Mesia likewise the Legions marched, but came no further then Aquileia. Tacit.

b The flowr is at large in Tacitus 1a. anno. and in the life of Agricola.

c For his intended expedition ad portas Caspias, as I coniecture, and vpon the reuolt of Vindex, retaining them still in Gale.

d Perchance meaning of the two Moesian armies mentioned before, or chance and rather of other besides.

e Plautius in the ciuill warre against Cæsar intended one like but being withstood by his friendes vsed them not. Cæsar de bello ciuili. lib. 3. cap. 4.

f Of Vestricius Spurinna see Plinie lib. 4. ep. 1. & 10. & 2. ep. 7.

g How soeuer it was in the determination, in the execution we finde none garding the riuer, but the gladiatores.

h Speculatores.

which had ſerued at Sea: His voyage was with diligence and ſpeed as appertained, not waſtfully ſpent in riot and pleaſure: himſelfe with his iron brigandine, marching before the enſeignes on foot, not decked, not trimmed, but ſouldier-like, and vnlike the name that went of him.

[1] The beginning of the war) in declaring of this great and important action betweene Vitellius and Otho, I finde Tacitus, at leaſt in my conceit, much inferior to himſelfe otherwhere; omitting many neceſſary circumſtances, confounding things together, affirming contrarieties in apparence, and generally leauing his Reader not ſo fully ſatisfied, as in a Hiſtory is to be looked for. As firſt in the circumſtances of Otho the principall perſon, whoſe paces and foote-ſteps would haue beene numbred, Tacitus bringeth him out of the City accompanied in a maner with all the Senat, toward the later end of March, and as we found by collection out of [a] other Writers vpon the ſeauen and twentieth day. Then heere ſhewing his ſouldier like maner of marching before his ſouldiers on foote, in the end he beſtoweth him and his company no where: whereas indeed the Senat was left at Mutina, and himſelfe marched toward the enemy, as far as Brixellum a City vpon the Po, and there ſending out his Captaines ſtaied behinde, as it appeareth in Plutarch, and Tacitus elſewhere; circumſtances, in mine opinion, not ſo lightly to haue beene paſſed ouer. From Brixellum, ſaith Plutarch, were diſpatched away Celſus, Paullinus, Gallus and Spurinna. Tacitus ſeemeth to ſay, that Gallus and Spurinna were diſpatched at Rome, and ſent before hand *ad* [b] *occupandas Padi ripas*. Which if it were ment to gard the South-ſide of the Po, and ſo to ſtay the Vitellianiſts at leaſt from paſſing the riuer, ſince they could not ſtop them in the Mountaines, a few being able to keepe ſuch a paſſage againſt a great Army, it hath good reaſon. But Gallus did not ſo obſerue it. It to put himſelfe in poſſeſſion of both ſides of the Po, and ſo to haue the whole riuer at commandment, how could he with a few withſtand Cæcinaes whole army, hauing no aduantage of the place? Now to the leading of Gallus and Spurina ſent before, from what place ſoeuer, *ad occupandas Padi ripas*, Tacitus aſſigneth fiue Prætorian Cohorts, *equitum vexilla*, *legio prima Adiutrix*, and two thouſand *gladiatores*: in the proceſſe of the worke, aſſigning the *gladiatores* to the gouernment onely of Martius Macer a third man, and after him to Flauius Sabinus, and ſetting the other two far enough a ſunder, Spurinna at Placentia with three Prætorian Cohorts, one thouſand *Vexillary* not named before in the ſuruey of their whole power, and a few horſe, and Caſſus with *Prima adiutrix*, I cannot tell where, nor when, and vpon what occaſion they diuided themſelues; but whereſoeuer he was, taking Bebriacum in his way to Placentia, he was in all reaſon of the North ſide of the Po. Then for his other three Captaines Paulinus, Celſus, and Proculus, whereof mention is made in the preparation of the war, heere in the ſetting out they haue no charge at all aſſigned them (and to ſay the truth, I cannot ſee any great maſſe of men they could haue, leauing Otho ſufficiently garded) nay they are not ſo much as once named. By way of probable coniecture we may ſuppoſe, that Proculus, as being Captaine of the Guard, ſtaied at Brixellum, and attended vpon Othoes perſon. But Celſus and Paulinus are not named before in the battell *ad Caſtoris*. Where ſuddenly within twelue miles of Cremona they appeare, and not far from Bebriacum (where Gallus was left) neuer mentioned before, beſides many other with *prima legio* vnder their leading, being the peculiar charge of Gallus. So that to roue at that which was our Authors fault not to ſet downe plainly, we may imagine, that Paulinus and Celſus were ſent afterward from Brixellum to the campe at Bebriacum, either to take ioynt-charge with Gallus, or elſe charge in his place, as it is more likely, and that thereupon Gallus with-drew himſelfe, perchance to recouer his fall mentioned 2. Hiſt. ſeeing there is no mention of him in the action *ad Caſtoris*; and in an action which paſſed at Bebriacum, we ſhal finde him by and by away, where notwithſtanding Tacit. laſt left him. Now whereas Tacitus vpon not proſecuting a little skirmiſh of the *gladiatores* againſt the Vitellianiſts, maketh Otho to ſend for his brother Titianus, whom he had left at Rome, to make him Lieutenant general, Plutarch with greater reaſon and probability, ſaith it was done after the battell *ad Caſtoris*, vpon diſlike of Paulinus ſlow proceedings; and that Proculus captain of the Guard was ſent withal; but when they came to Bebriacum I cannot determin. Now if Otho were at Brixellum, Paulinus & Celſus at Bebriacum, where ſhal we ſay the great conſultation was holden, where Otho, Titianus, Proculus, Paulinus and Celſus were preſent, and Gallus abſent? Heere Tacitus faileth vs again, & Plutarch relecueth vs ſhewing that Otho remooued from Brixellam to Bebriacum to conſult with his Captaines of the maner of proceeding in the war. Thus much of Otho and his Captaines, it followeth of their power, which was of two ſorts, brought from Rome and ſent for from abroad. From Rome of ſix ſorts. *Quinq;* [2] *Prætoria cohortes*: [3] *Equitum vexilla*: [4] *legio prima Adiutrix*: [5] *Gladiatores*: [6] *Cætera Prætoria cohortes*: and [7] *Claſſici*. with Gallus and Spurinna [8] *Quinq; prætoria cohortes*: whereof three were with Spurinna in Placentia, the other two belike with Gallus. [9] *equitum vexilla* without number; [10] *legio prima Adiutrix Claſſica ex reliquis cæſorum à Galbâ ad pontem Miluium*: [11] two thouſand *gladiatores*: in the ſiege of Placentia we finde mention of a thouſand *vexillary*: whether differing from all theſe, or portion of any, I know not. Then in Othoes traine *Speculatorum lecta corpora* as I thinke *è Prætorianis*, [12] *Cætera prætoria cohortes*, beſide the fiue ſent with Gallus: and yet many Prætorian ſouldiers were ſent with the Nany into Narbonenſis, ſo that ſurely all the reſt were not heere. Claſſici from whence ſoeuer they came, haue miniſtred vs, and will miniſter many men. ſeuen thouſand were ſlaine by Galba *ad pontem Miluium*, & the reſt decimated, *è reliquis prima legio Adiutrix* was compoſed. In the Fleet to Narbon there ſerued alſo many as ſouldiers. heere we haue *claſſicorum ingens numerus*: with Otho a thouſand *Claſſici inter Placentiam & Tiberim interepti*, which by all circumſtances were none of this company. And Tutullius Cereal's had many Claſſici: but whence he had them, and how he became their Captaine is not ſet downe. and beſide all theſe we haue in the third booke another whole Legion *è Claſſicis* differing from *prima Adiutrix*, which then was in Spaine. The power ſent for by Otho from abroad was out of Illyricum onely, where at that preſent were ſeauen Legions, to wit, two in Dalmatia, Vndecima Claudiana & quartadecima Gemina; two in Pannonia; ſeptima Galbiana, and tertia decima Gemina: in Mœſia three, tertia Gallica, ſeptima Claudiana, and octaua Auguſta, as it is declared elſewhere. Now all theſe being ſent for by Otho, there marched at Othoes commandement, ſaith Tacitus, the Legions

[a] Suetonius and Marcellinus.

[b] Perchance the meaning of theſe words *ad occupandas Padi ripas* is to put themſelues in poſſeſſion of the townes vpon the riuers.

Legions of Dalmatia and Pannonia, which is manifestly defectiue, for the Mœsian Legions marched also, and came forward as far as Aquileia in fauour of Otho: the same Tacit. So that all the seuen legions vpon Othoes commandement marched, and came on: but who were come before the great battel at Bebriacum, and who not, is in my opinion a question inexplicable, Tacitus words receiuing so many oppositions, and implying so many contradictions, and no other story to purpose being extant of this matter. And first to begin with the most certaine, the three Legions of Mœsia, absolutely were absent in all militar actions of this war. Tac. lib. 3. *Mœsici exercitus vires integræ*, present absolutely were two thousand souldiers sent before out of the fower Legions of Dalmatia and Pannonia, as Tacitus saith. But Suetonius [a] Vespasiano seemeth to say they came out of Mœsia. *Mœsiaci exercitus bina è tribus legionibus millia missa auxilia Othoni*, and Tacitus himselfe, *Præmissi Mœsia*: either meaning the same that he maketh heere to come out of Dalmatia and Pannonia, or talking there of men in the action which we finde not heere in his generall view, and lib. 3. *Duæ tunc Pannoniæ ac Mœsiæ alæ perrupere hostem*, talking of the skirmish of Horse-men at the beginning of the battell at Bebriacum. Now before the foure Legions of Dalmatia, and Pannonia, *alæ cohortesque præueniebant*: which words seeme to be ment onely of these *bina millia præmissa*: although it may be that some other [d] Auxiliares were sent after the *bina millia*, and before the Legions themselues, of whose comming and presence is the greatest and most difficult question. In the skirmish *ad Castoris* we haue *tertiæ decimæ legionis vexillum* being one of the Pannonians, in the shocke at the great battell at Bebriacum *tertiadecima legio* it selfe is expressely mentioned by Tacitus, and Vedius Aquila Lieutenant of the same. [e] Likewise in the very conflict at Bebriacum expresse mention is made, of the Quartadecimani, one of the Dalmatian Legions, and lib. 3. *Quartadecimani campis Bebriacensibus fusi stratique*. Now that Septima Galbiana, and vndecima Claudiana were before the battell at Bebriacum vnited with their fellowes, albeit they are not in the battell expressely named, it may appeere where they are counted *inter victas legiones* as well as quartadecima and tertiadecima, and by Vitellius commandement *suis hibernis redditæ*, and in *Pannonia tertiadecima legio ac septima Galbiana dolorem iramque Bebriacensis pugnæ retinentes*. Moreouer the Prætorian souldiers at Bebriacum after the field lost comfort themselues with no other [f] supply, but onely of the Mœsian Legions: and at Brixellum, in comforting Otho likewise mention is made onely of them, *præmissi Mœsia eandem obstinationem aduentantis exercitus legiones Aquileiam ingressus nuntiabant, vt nemo dubitet potuisse renouari, &c.* So that by these places, and some other like, we may probably conclude, that all the fower Legions of Dalmatia and Pannonia were come, and ioyned, but when they came and how, where they ioyned, and all other circumstances necessary in a point of that importance, we are smally beholding to Tacitus diligence for omitting. Of the contrary side, to prooue first that quartadecima was not come, we haue Tacitus words in the consultation at Bebriacum, which was not aboue two or three daies before the battell, *paucis diebus quartamdecimam legionem, magna ipsam fama, cum Mœsiacis copijs affore*, whereby it may reasonably be collected, that all the other three were come, but not quartadecima, *è victis legionibus* quartadecimâ prima, tertiâdecimâ, septimâ, vndecimâ, *soli quartadecimani se victos abnuebant*, so that the rest belike were there. Now betwixt the time of consultation and the battell, there is no mention at all made of their comming: a thing in reason if there had beene any such, not to haue beene omitted, and which [g] Titianus and Proculus would, no doubt, haue alleadged, in iustification of their purpose, against Paulinus and Celsus, or if this be but coniecturall, what can be said to the place of Tacitus, *Cæcina atrocci mendacio vniuersos perculit, affirmans superuentu quartadecimæ legionis versum partium fortunam*, as being a knowen matter, that quartadecima was not come, at the time of the battell at Bebriacum, and againe, speaking of the quartadecima legio, *Bebriacensi acie vexillarijs tantum pulsis vires legionis non affuisse*. Furthermore the Pannonian Legion, as it appeereth by Plutarch were absent at the time of the consultation at Bebriacum. Ὅτων δὲ τὴς ἐξωτερέης ἐν ἐλάττονα παρεσκεύαστο εἶναι δύναμιν ἐν μυσίας καὶ παννονίας. *That is, That Othoes forces expected out of Mœsia and Pannonia were no lesse then those which he had then present*, and Tacitus lib. 3. *Pannonicæ legiones deceptæ magis quam victæ resurgere in vltionem properant*, and generally [h] if the foure Legions of Pannonia and Dalmatia were in the action at Bebriacum, why haue we no mention set downe of their maner of yeelding to Vitellius: being without all question the greater, and better part of Othoes army? and yet certaine it is, that immediately after the battell all the fower Legions in question at least were in Italy, and disposed of by Vitellius, as appeareth by Tac. but when they entred Italie, whether they euer ioyned with the rest, and when, how and by what meanes they yeelded themselues to Vitellius disposing, Tac. to the eternall note of imperfection of this most excellent story otherwise, hath left vs vtterly ignorant. Of Vitellius side all is cleere out of question. In the Germaines, *Kal. Ianua. Galba iterum & Vinio Coss.* at the time of Vitellius reuolt, were seauen Legions, as is declared elsewhere; namely in low Germany quinta, and quintadecima, whose standing campe was at Vetera: prima, who lodged at Noueſium, and sextadecima at Bonna. In high Germany quarta Macedonica, and decimaoctaua alias duoetuicesima encamped at Magontiacum, and vnaetuicesima Rapax lodged, as I thinke, at Vindonissa. Whereof Cæcina tooke away with him vnaetuicesima Rapax, wholly and pulled well the other two at Magontiacum, to make vp thirty thousand men: and in Italy associated vnto him Ala Syllana. Valens tooke with him *aquilam quintæ*, with cohorts and wings out of the other three to make vp forty thousand, and by the way associated to him *legio Italica, & octo cohortes Batauorum*. Tac. 1. Hist. Neither do we finde in all this action, before Vitellius comming, any Legion named but Rapax, and quinta. Now by *Aquila quintæ* we are to vnderstand some good portion, not the whole Legion intirely, which portion albeit it beareth somewhat the name of quinta, yet we are to vnderstand, that so many were left in Vetera thereof, as bare also as the name of quinta at the same time. Vitellius at his comming away brought with him, saith [i] Tac. the rest of the strength of Germany, leauing the same Legions in number and names which were before (Rapax only excepted, which was wholly gone away) but most slenderly [k] furnished of men, & of souldiers very few or none. so that vnder Hordeonius charge, in ỳ fourth book of Tac. we find in Germany quinta & quintadecima at Vetera, sextadecima at Noueſium, prima at Bonna, quarta & octauadecima alias duoetuicesima at Magontiacum. and the very same time with Vitellius in Italy was another quinta, another quintadecima, another sextadecima, and so of prima, quarta, octauadecima alias duoetuicesima, being indeed not two Legions, but two members of one legion, Rapax onely excepted, as before I haue said, which Cæcina tooke wholy away, not leauing any in Germany to cary the name of Rapax, til the self same legion returned thither afterward with Cerealis

[a] cap. 6

[d] quatuor auxiliorum cohortes in prælio ad Castora.

[e] Vedium Aquilam tertiæ decimæ legionis legatum.

[f] venire Mœsicas legiones.

[g] Titianus ac Proculus vbi consilijs vincerentur, ad vim imperij transibant.

[h] Suetonius c. 9. writeth that Otho sent himselfe *reliquias integrasque etiam suas copias, quas secum ad secundum casum distinuerat, & supernumerantium alijs è Dalmatia Pannoniaque & Mœsia.*

[i] lib. 2.

[k] As two Legions left at Vetera had but fiue thousand men. Tacit. lib. 4.

* A base supply] being bond slaues of the worst sort, and besides the dishonorablenesse of the thing Tacitus noteth them vnfitnesse to seruice, *neque ea conflantia gladiatoribus ad prælia quæ militibus*, &c and yet we finde, that Spartacus with a few of his companions breaking out of their Schoole put Prætors and Consuls to flight, and troubled the whole Roman state in the greatest height. And P. Rutilius being Consul, as Valerius Maximus reporteth in his second booke, sent for certaine Maisters of fence out of the schoole of C. Aurelius Scaurus, and in steed of them to teach his souldiers, *vitandi atque inferendi ictus subtilioremrationem legionibus ingenerarunt*. Vnlesse peraduenture it be true, that such men haue better cunning then valour.

V. *The actions of Othoes Fleet.*

NOvv fortune seemed to smile vpon Otho and fauour his proceedings; for the greater part of Italy, by reason of his Nauy at sea, was possessed in his name, euen to the entry of the *sea-Alpes. To the taking in whereof and inuading the Prouince of Narbon, Suedius Clemens, Antonius Nouellus, and Æmylius Pacensis were appointed Captaines by Otho: but Pacensis was ouerweake to gouerne the licentious souldiers; Antonius Nouellus had no reputation; Suedius Clemens in gouernment too popular and plausible, both corrupting the rigour of discipline, and yet greatly desirous to fight. It seemed they entred not into Italy, their owne natiue Country and soile: as if it had beene forraine coasts, and Cities of enemies, they burned, wasted and spoiled, with so much the more outrage and harme, because no such inuasion was feared, and therefore nothing prouided against it: the fields lay full of commodities; the houses wide open; the Maisters meeting them with their Wiues and their Children, thorow the security of peace, were ouertaken with the misery of war. Marius Maturus the Procuratour was President of the sea-Alpes at that time, who mustering the Country, which yeelded store of seruiceable men, purposed to with-hold the Othonians from entring into his gouernment: but at the first push these Mountaine-people were slaine, and dispersed, as being assembled at aduentures, without knowledge of Campe or of Captaine, and therefore reposing no honour in the victory, nor shame in the flight. The Souldiers of Otho being exasperated with that battell, wreaked their anger vpon the free towne of Albium Intemelium; for in the late conflict they had gotten no booty: the Pezants were beggerly, their Armour not worth the taking vp; and beside, being swift of foot, and skilfull in the Country, they could not be taken: but the sacke of the poore innocent towne paied the reckoning, and contented the couetous souldier. The odiousnesse of which fact was greatly encreased by a notable example, which happened there of a Ligurian woman: who hauing hid her sonne, the souldiers supposing she had hid her money withall, and thereupon by torture examining hir, where she had hid him, shewing her belly answered that there he was hid: neither could she by any maner of torment afterward, or death at the length, be induced to change that worthy answer.

cap 12

* *Alpes maritimæ.*

cap 13.

VI. *Certaine skirmishes betweene the Othonians and Vitellianists in Gallia Narbonensis.*

NOvv word was brought in hast and great feare to Fabius Valens, that the fleet of Otho lay houering and ready to assaile the Prouince of Narbon, which had sided it selfe and sworne to Vitellius; and the Colonies sent their Embassadour to him, desiring helpe and assistance. Whereupon he dispatched away to that seruice two cohorts of Tungrians, fower *troupes of horsemen, and the whole *wing of the Treueri with Iulius Classicus their captaine: part of which power was retained

* *turma.*

a *ala*, a wing, as we haue determined elsewhere containeth x *turmæ*, or troupes so that 4. troupes & a wing yeeld 14. troupes of horsemen, whereof 12 were sent against the enemy, the rest remained to garde *Forum Iulij.*

cap 14

retained for defence of the Colony of Forum Iulij, leſt if all were imployed in the Land-ſeruice, the Fleet finding free paſſage by ſea ſhould ſuddenly ſurprize the City: twelue troupes of Horſe-men, and the choiſe of the Cohorts, went againſt the enemy, beſide a Cohort of Ligurians being the Aide anciently belonging to that place, and fiue hundreth Pannonians, which were not as yet marſhalled in Companies. Neither was it long ere they met together, [1] the battell on both ſides ſtanding thus. Part of the Mariners with Pezants among were placed aboue in the hils, which were not far off from the Sea: the euen ground, betweene the hils and the Sea, was filled by the Guard-ſouldiers: faſt by them in the ſea it ſelfe ſtood the Fleet prepared to fight, turning againſt the enimy a terrible and threatning front. The Vitellianiſts, whoſe ſtrength conſiſted in horſe rather then foot, placed their Horſe-men againſt the Guard-ſouldier, and behinde the horſe the Cohorts in thicke and cloſe ranckes, marſhalling the Pannonians in the hils adioyning. The troupe, of the Treueri charged vnaduiſedly, which charge the old ſouldier receiued with courage: and withall the Pezants in flancke galled them with ſtones, men fit inough for that kind of ſeruice, and ſuch as being mingled with ſouldiers, though otherwiſe daſtards, yet now in the victory dared as farre as the beſt. As the Vitellianiſts were thus diſtreſſed, a greater diſcomfort was added by the Fleet, which in the meane ſeaſon fetching about aſſailed their backes as they fought: ſo being incloſed on euery ſide they had all beene doubtleſſe deſtroied, had not the darkeneſſe of the night fauoured their flight, with-holding the winners from following the chaſe. The Vitellianiſts, albeit they had loſt a battell, would not ſo be contented: but ſending for new ſupply gaue a freſh aſſault vpon the enemy, which by reaſon of the former ſucceſſe was growen ſecure and leſſe vigilant, ſlew the watch, entred the trenches, and gaue the alarme to the ſhips; till ſuch time as the feare, which at firſt is moſt terrible, ſetling by little and little, the Othonians drew themſelues in ſafety to a hill there adioyning, and then charged couragiouſly vpon them. Much bloud was there ſhed, and the Captaines of the Tungrian Cohorts, hauing long maintained the skirmiſh, were forced at length to yeeld vp their liues: euen to Othoes men the victory coſt bloud, of whom diuers vnaduiſedly following were intercepted by the horſe-men turning vpon them. And ſo, as if a mutuall ſuſpenſion of armes had beene concluded vpon, with couenant on the one ſide that the Fleet, on the other that the horſe-men ſhould not attempt any ſudden inuaſion, the Vitellianiſts retired to Antipolis a free-towne of Gallia Narbonenſis, the Othonians to Albingaunum a Colony of Liguria interior.

[1] The battell on both ſides] In this conflict we haue of Othoes ſide mention diſtinctly of Claſſici, Pagani, Prætoriani, and the Nauy. For Vitellius of twelue Turmæ of Horſe-men, a cohort of Ligurians the choiſe of the two Tungrian Cohorts, fiue hundreth Pannonians, and a little afterward Alpins beſide: vnleſſe peraduenture it ſhould be red Alpini in both places, and ment perchance of the Ligures: for what Pannonians ſhould do heere I cannot imagine, or if it were true, yet being ſtrange, at the leaſt Tacitus ſhould haue done well to haue told vs how they came thither.

VII. *The eſtate of Corſica and Sardinia, and the reſt of the Ilands there about.*

THE reputation of Othoes Victorious Fleet eaſily held Corſica, Sardinia, and the reſt of the Ilands thereabout in Othoes obedience. But Corſica almoſt was ruined by the raſhneſſe of Decimus Pacarius the Procurator; who entred into an action, which in ſo great a preparation for war, could nothing auaile to effecting the principall purpoſe, and yet ſerued well inough to worke his deſtruction. For

For vpon hatred against Otho, he determined with the strength of the Iland, to aide Vitellius: an aide vaine and to no purpose euen if it had succeeded. Whereupon calling the principall men of the Iland, he declareth his meaning, and commandeth Claudius Pharthicus master of the Gallies there, and Quinctius Certus a Gentleman of Rome, to be slaine, who opposed themselues against his proceedings: by the death of whom the rest that were present being terrified sware, allegeance to Vitellius, and consequently the inferiour sort partly vpon ignorance, and partly to beare them company which did it for feare. But when as Pacarius began to take muster, to tire those rude people in training and other military duties, they waxing weary of that vnwonted labour fell to recount their owne weaknesse: that it was but an Iland, which they inhabited: that Germany and the Legionary power was farre off: and that euen they were wasted and spoiled by the Fleete, whom both Cohorts and Wings did protect. Whereupon their mindes suddenly fell away, and so they conspired against him, not by way of open rebellion, but by priuy attempt against his person. For which purpose chusing out a fit opportunity, as he was in the Bath naked and without helpe, the multitude that followed him being departed away, they slew him and his company, caried the heads of them, as of Traitours, to Otho: by whom notwithstanning they were not rewarded, as also not punished by Vitellius, in so great confusion and disorder of the state, passing among greater crimes; and shadowed with other more hainous offences.

VIII. *Certaine small actions of the Syllan wing in Italy before Cæcinaes entrie.*

NOw the Syllan wing, as before we haue shewed, had opened the passage into Italie, and drawen the war ouer the Mountaines, the Country fauouring not Otho, neither yet vpon any speciall fancy to Vitellius; but as men whom long peace had broken to all kind of slauery, they were easily possessed by the first commer, and not curious to side with the better. The whole Country and Cities [a] lying betweene the Po and the Alpes, the most flourishing part of all Italie, was held by Vitellius souldiers: for the [a] Cohorts which Cæcina had sent before him were now already come in. At Cremona a cohort of Pannonians was taken, and betweene Placentia and Ticinum an hundreth horse intercepted, and a thousand sea-souldiers: by which successe Vitellius men being animated could now not be stopped by bancke nor by riuer. Moreouer the inhabitants of Batauia and beyond the Rhene were enflamed the more euen by the very [b] sight of the Po; which they passed ouer against Placentia, and taking some of the enemies spies so terrified the rest, that being afraid they falsely reported Cæcina was come with his whole Army. Spurinna, who then was within Placentia, certainely knew that Cæcina was not yet come, and if hee did come, was certainely resolued to keepe his men within their defences, and not to hazard three Prætorian cohorts, and a thousand Vexillaries, with a few horse, against an Army of old and approoued warriers: but [c] the vnruly souldiers, and vnskilfull of seruice snatching vp their Ensignes and Banners, rushed forward, and as the Captaine endeuoured to stay them they bent their weapons vpon him, not respecting their Centurions and Tribunes, who commended the Captaines circumspectnesse, but the souldiers cried FOR OTHO, and stucke not moreouer to affirme, that Cæcina was sent for vnder-hand. Spurinna yeelded to follow their folly, by force at the first, afterward making shew as if he were willing that his counsels might carrie more credit, if it happened hereafter the sedition to coole.

[a] I.H.P. Italy possesses the vnion of Germanie, Gallia Belgica, Rhætia, Noricum, Dalmatia, Pannonia, Mœsia, Thracia, Macedonia, Achaia, & Greece, with the Ilands vnto Italie.

[b] Declaring that the Po should keep them who were accustomed to skirmish hand to hand, ouer the great riuer of Rhene, and others at home in their Countrey. Tac. 4. Hist. Suetonius tranquillus writeth Padus amnis, &c. Pliny writeth, that the Po had diuers names, but gained no name of ruling and commanding Riuers, calling him Princeps, and a manifest token of his Princely estate. Some also being double were in the right of his Pontificate, deriuing to themselues with more the name of Pontes, which of old were called Pontifices.

[c] Tacitus writeth accordingly vnto Tacitus manner of speaking.

cap. 19 coole. When they were in the sight of the Po, and the night approched, order was giuen, that the Campe should be entrenched and staked. That labour strange and vnusual to the City souldier, abated their fiercenesse. Then they of the elder sort began to see their owne error, and corrected their credulity; to lay open the feare, and the danger, if in those champion Countreis Cæcina should with his Army enuiron them being as it were but an handfull: and now they began thorowout all the whole Campe to vse modest and dutifull speeches, and by meanes of the Centurions and Tribunes, who insinuated themselues, into their companies, to commend the wisdome of the Captaine, in that he had chosen out, for the strength and seate of the war, a Colony of that power and that wealth; and lastly Spurinna himselfe, not by vntimely exprobrating their fault, but by reason conuincing it, wan them to his opinion, and leauing some behind for scouts brought backe the rest into Placentia lesse mutinous than before, and more at commandement. The walles were made stronger, the number of Bulwarkes and Towers encreased, and prouision made not onely of Armour, but of subiection and loue of obeying; the onely point which lacked in that side, when as otherwise they had of valour sufficient.

1 Lying between the Po and the Alpes] of Milan, Nouara, Eporedia and Vercellæ we haue mention before lib. 1. of the rest being many and great townes, how they were at this time come to Vitellius side, nothing is set downe in Tacitus: matters in my opinion not to haue been omitted, especially concerning Cremona. Plutarch seemeth to make Cremona, being one of the townes between the Alpes and the Po, to haue been kept and possessed a great while by the Othonians. And Tacitus here writeth, *capta Pannonicorum cohors apud Cremonam* by the Vitellianists, which cohort of Pannonians, whatsoeuer they were, and from whence soeuer they came thither (for Tacitus leaueth vs to our gesses) may seeme to haue beene put in the towne by Otho for a Garrison, and heere taken by the Vitellianists with the towne, although the circumstances in Plutarch do not fully agree with it by reason of the time there.

IX. *Cæcina commeth into Italy, and lyeth before Placentia in vaine.*

cap. 20. BVT Cæcina, as if he had left on the other side of the Mountaines cruelty and licentiousnesse behinde him, marched thorow Italy withall modesty, he and his Companies. His kind of attire the free Cities and Colonies construed as a signe of pride, because he gaue audience to men which came gowned, himselfe being in his short souldiers coate of changeable colour, and wearing withall breeches after the French barbarous fashion: and as though they had beene interessed thereby, they were greeued also to see his wife Salonina riding vpon a goodly Palfray with a rich furniture of purple, albeit no man were wronged therein: such is the nature of man, and so deeply is the quality rooted in vs, straitly to looke into the late prosperity of others with an enuious eye, and to require a moderation of fortune, no where so much, as in those we haue seene in an equall degree with our selues. Cæcina hauing passed the Po, and assaied by parlees, and promises to weaken the loyaltie of Othoes men, being quit with the like on their part, seeing that the plausible names of peace and concord had often beene spent betweene them in vaine, conuerted his counsailes and cares to the besieging of Placentia in most terrible manner; knowing right well, that as the beginning of the warre should succeede, cap. 21 so for the rest reputation would follow. But the first daies worke was conducted rather by fury, than according to skill meete for men of so long experience in seruice: without couer or defence they ventured rashly vnder the walles, their bodies surcharged with meate and wine. In that assault the Amphitheatre, a piece of most curious workmanship standing without the walles, was burned, set on fire either by the Besiegers as they hurled brandes and balles of Wilde-fire against the besieged:

beſieged: or by the beſieged as they hurled againe. The townelmen being ielous, and prone to ſuſpicions, beleeued that matter was miniſtred to the fire vpon malice, by certaine neighbour Colonies, vpon emulation and enuy, becauſe no piece of worke in all Italy was of that capacity beſide: by what chance ſoeuer it happened; whileſt further danger was feared, it paſſed not greatly regarded; when all perill was paſt, as if no greater misfortune could haue befallen, then it was much ſorrowed for and lamented: but in the end Cæcina was repulſed with loſſe of many of his men, and the night following was ſpent on both ſides in new preparations. The Vitellianiſts make prouiſion of [a] plutei, crates, and vineæ, inſtruments to vndermine the walles, and protect thoſe which were to giue the aſſault: the Othonians of timber logges and great waights of ſtones, and lead, and braſſe, to breake thorow the workes and ouerwhelme the aduerſaries. Both parties were pricked [a] with ſhame, and with glory, and ſeuerall encouragements were vſed; the one ſide exalting the Legions and ſtrength of the German Army, the other magnifying the honour of the City ſeruice, and of the Prætorian Cohorts: the one reuiling the ſouldier within as ſluggiſh, and reſty, and effeminated in the Race and Theatres, and the other rebuking the enemy without as a forrainer and ſtranger: aſſuming withal into part of the praiſe and diſpraiſe the perſons of Otho and Vitellius, affoording indeed more plentifully matter of reproch then of iuſt commendation. The day was ſcarſely yet ſprung, when as the walles were repleniſhed with men at defence, the fields did gliſter with armour and ſouldiers; the Legionary *with their thicke and cloſe ranckes, the Auxiliary looſe and diſperſed, they attempt with arrowes and ſtones a farre off to diſfurniſh the higheſt parts of the walles, if any place were neglected or decayed by age, thither they make nearer approches: Othoes men from aboue, with more peyze and certainty, hurle dartes vpon the German Cohorts, which raſhly came vnder a hideous note, and according to their Country manner, with bodies naked, ſhaking their Targets ouer their ſhoulders. The Legionary Souldier, couered with plutei and crates, vndermineth the walles, raiſeth vp Mountes, and endeoureth to wreſt open the gates: of the contrary ſide the Prætorian ſouldiers hauing milſtones of huge waight placed for the purpoſe, with feareſull noiſe rowle them downe vpon the enemy: part which came vnder were ouerwhelmed, part wounded with darts, and ſlaine or mangled: and ſo as in a confuſion and feare, the ſlaughter encreaſing below, and conſequently their fierceneſſe aboue, the Vitellianiſts retired with decay of reputation to the ſide; and Cæcina vpon the infamy and ſhame of this ſiege ſo raſhly attempted, leſt he ſhould ſeeme to ſit ſtill in the ſame ground skorned and to no purpoſe, paſſeth the Po, backe againe with purpoſe to go to Cremona. As he departed away Turullius [b] Cerealis with many of the mariners reuolted vnto him, and Iulius Briganticus with a few horſe: Iulius was by birth a Batauian and captaine of a wing, the other, hauing ſerued as a principall Centurion in Germanie, was eaſily wonne to Cæcinaes ſide. Spurinna, vpon knowledge had what way the enemy tooke, certifieth Annius Gallus by letters, that Placentia was defended, what had paſſed and what Cæcina intended to doe. Gallus, miſtruſting leſt thoſe few cohorts within could not endure a long ſiege, and the force of the German Army, was bringing the firſt Legion to ſuccour the towne: but when he receiued aduiſe, that Cæcina was repulſed, and going to Cremona, he ſtaieth the Legion [c] at Bebriacum being hardly withholden from mutining, becauſe he would not leade them to fight. [d] Bebriacum is a village betweene Verona and Cremona, [3] notorious and infortunate for two Roman calamities.

[a] With ſhame to be ouercome and glory of ouercomming.

cap. 22.

* *denſum legionum agmen*, and yet *Cæcina* had but one Legion, namely *vndecimæ Rapax*, as I take it.

[b] For the fuller ſatisfaction of the reader, it had been conuenient to haue declared whether they fled from *Spurinna*, or *Gallus*, or ſome other, and by what occaſion they were then in that place.

[c] Perhaps to receiue the Legions comming out of *Dalmatia*, and *Pannonia*, which if any where at al, came and ioyned themſelues with *Gallus*, conducted perchance by *Paulinus* and *Celſus*:

cap. 23.

[d] *Bebriacum* (ſaith the ſchoiaſt vpon *Iuuenal*. for ſo he writeth it) *vicus eſt à Cremona vicesimo lapide.*

[3] Plutei,

[1] Plutei, crates and vineæ] *Pluteus*, saith Vegetius lib. 4. cap. 15. is a certaine mooueable engine *contexti ad similitudinem ædificij, & cilicijs vel coriis tecta, quam obsidentes applicant muris, eiusque munitione protecti sagittis siue fundis vel missilibus defensores de propugnaculis exturbant, vt scalis ascendendi facilior præstetur occasio.* Vinea according to Vegetius in the same place, and Lucan lib. 3. was a frame of wood, or hurdles, couered with earth, *sub quo subsidentes tuti ad subruenda murorum penetrant fundamenta.* Crates the same with the one or the other of them, or at least to the same purpose.

[2] Notorius and infortunate] the two calamities heere meant are the two great battels; the first betweene the Othonians and Vitellianists described in this booke: the other betweene the Vitellianists and Flauianists set downe in the next, more commonly knowen by the name of *prælium Cremonense*, and with greater reason, being fought vnder the wals of Cremona, and twenty miles from Bebriacum, albeit the [1] the first skirmish indeed began not about eight miles from Bebriacum. 3. Hist. and this former battell also was fought a great way from Bebriacum, *immensum id spatium*, saith Tacitus, and by all probability, many miles, as shall be declared elsewhere.

X. *Macer skirmisheth with the Vitellianists. Otho, suspecting the rest of his Captaines, committeth the conduct of the war to Titianus his brother.*

ABOVT the same time, not farre from Cremona, Martius Macer had a luckly day against the Vitellianists. For Macer being a man of courage and forward, put the [e] fencers in Boates and landed them suddenly on the other side of the Po. There the Auxiliaries of the Vitellianists were distressed, and the rest fleeing to Cremona, those which remained behinde slaine: but the winners were not permitted further to follow the chace, lest the enemies strengthened with new supply should turne head against them, and alter the fortune of the battell. That fact bred iealousie in Othoes men misinterpreting all that was done howsoeuer sinisterly, who egerly as ech was in courage most dastard, most lauish in tongue, so sought they by diuers misconstruing criminations to put in disgrace Annius Gallus, and Suetonius Paulinus, and Marius Celsus, for them also had Otho made Commanders. The principall fire-brands of sedition and discord were the murderers of Galba, who being transported by feare, and the guiltinesse of their owne conscience, disturbed and troubled all good course of proceeding; somtimes breaking openly out into mutinous speeches, and sometimes by secret aduertisments to Otho: who giuing credit lightly to euery base person, and standing in feare of the good, trembled and quaked, a man in prosperity vncertainely carried, and gouerning himselfe in aduersitie better. [1] So he sent for Titianus his brother, and made him his Lieutenant generall in the war.

[e] Gladiatores.

[1] So he sent for Titianus] This change of Captaines Plutarch with more reason putteth after the battell *ad Castoris*; τὴν νίκην (speaking of the victory *ad Castoris*) ἀπ' ἐπίπαν φερομένην καὶ βεβαίαν ὄσαν, ἔπεμψεν ὁ Ὄθων πρὸς τὰ βάλδυματα, καὶ φρουρὸν τὸν ἔπαρχον. That is, *The victory being not fully prosecuted through the leaders fault, Otho sent to the Army Titianus, and Proculus Captaine of the Guard*, and indeed the alteration is too great to be induced vpon the slackneſse of a pettie companion, especially seeing we finde Macer, who committed the fault, still retained in his charge, and Paulinus and Celsus, two of the greatest men in the State, in a maner disgraced for the fault of another, according to Tacitus. Now vpon this fault whensoeuer committed, to send from Brixellum for Titianus at Rome so many miles distant (for there we left him in the last words of the first booke) and bring him to Bebriacum to the consultation, may perchance seeme strange to him that considereth how that from Othoes going out of Rome with his Army till his death were not aboue twenty fower daies in all, and perchance not so much.

XI. *Paulinus and Celsus giue Cæcina an ouerthrow.*

Cap. 24.

IN the meane season vnder the conduct of Paullinus and Celsus a notable ouerthrow was giuen. Cæcinaes attempts all falling to nothing, and the reputation of his Army now wanting, much greeued his minde; he had beene repulsed from Placentia; his Auxiliaries lately slaine; and when as the discouerers met one another,

ther, in those ordinary bickerings rather then materiall he commonly went to the worse: whereupon when Fabius Valens approched, lest the whole honour of the war should fall vpon him, he hastned with greater speed then good counsell, to recouer his glory. About [1] twelue miles from Cremona, at a place called Castores, he placeth secretly in the woods, ioyning vpon the high-way, of his best Auxiliary souldiers, commanding the horse-men to go out further, and so hauing begun the skirmish to giue backe and retire, drawing on the enimy to follow in the heat of the chase, vntill the ambush should rise: that purpose was bewraied to Othoes Commanders. Paullinus was generall of the foote, and Celsus of the horse. The Vexillaries of the thirteenth Legion, fower Auxiliary Cohorts, and fiue hundreth horse were placed in the left battell; in the middle [2] three Prætorian Cohorts, ranked straightly together, kept their standing vpon the high-way: in the right battell the first Legion marched, accompanied with two Vexillary Cohorts, and fiue hundreth horse: and out of the Prætorian and auxiliaries were led a thousand horse, for an ouer measure if fortune hapned to goe on their side, or otherwise a supply, if they should be distressed. Before the ioyning the Vitellianists turned their backes, and Celsus, vnderstanding the fraud, represſed his men. The ambush rising vp rashly, as Celsus gaue ground, followed so farre till they were circumuented themselues, for on the sides were the Cohorts, and the Legion to meete them in face, and the horse-men suddenly ranging out had enclosed their backes. Suetonius Paullinus at the first delayed some time to giue to his foot-men the signe of the battell: for being a person naturally slow, and one who liked much better wary courses with reason, then happy by chance, he commanded the ditches first to be filled, the field to be made open and easie of passage, the battalions to be displaied, supposing it seasonable enough to beginne then to ouercome others, when as order was taken they could not be ouercome themselues. By meanes of that delay space was giuen to Vitellius men to flee into the vines, where, by reason of the branches wrapped and knit one in another, it was troublesome to follow: and a little wood adioyned which couered them; out of which they issued effsoones and slew the formost of the Prætorian horse-men, there [2] King Epiphanes, fighting valiantly on Othoes side, was wounded. By that time Othoes foot-men pressed forward and bare downe by maine force the enemies host, turning to flight euen those also which came for to succour. For Cæcina sent not for his Cohorts together, but one after another: which thing in the fight augmented the terrour: for the feare of them that fled carried away the succours, which came dispersedly, and neuer so many at once, as to restore the battell. In the campe also a mutinee arose, because they were fetched so scatteringly, and Iulius Gratus the Camp-master was put in prison, as though in fauour of his brother, who serued vnder Otho, he intended some treason; where as the Othonians had, on the other side, committed to ward Iulius Fronto his brother, a Tribune, vpon colour of the same crime. But in truth euery where the feare was so great, in those which fled, in those which met them, in the field and at the Campe, that vnlesse Suetonius Paullinus had sounded the retrait, not suffering his men to follow the victory, it was commonly talked on both sides, that Cæcina might haue been destroied with his whole Army. Paullinus pretended that he was afeard, least, beside so much trauell and so great a iourney, the Vitellian souldier should haue issued forth of their Campe fresh against his men being tired, no supply remaining behind, if it fortuned them to haue beene defeated. Some few approued that reason of the General, but most men condemned the fact, and blamed him for it.

[2] King of what country? and how came he thither? and what became of him afterwards? great personages in a story require, in my opinion, a more exact and particular description.

[1] Twelue

[a] Twelue miles from Cremona at a place called Castor.] This place *ad Castores* is twelue miles (saith our Author) from Cremona, where the maine Campe, I thinke, of Cæcina lay, and eight miles at the least from Bebriacum, where Paullinus and Cellius were encamped, howsoeuer they are heere met in the middle way. Gallus, as it should seeme, was retired to cure himselfe of his fall, or at least, seeing heere is no mention of him in the field, left to garde the Campe: as it seemeth also he was the time of the great maine battell described in the sixteenth Chapter.

[b] Three Prætorian Cohorts] Fiue Prætorian Cohorts were vnder the charge of Gallus and Spurinna. Tacit. whereof three were at this time in Placentia with Spurinna, and three more we haue heere now in Gallus camp, one too many: but Otho, we must say, was not far off to supply it out of the rest of the Prætorian Cohorts.

XII. *The description of a mutinee which happened in Valens Campe. Valens commeth into Italie and ioyneth his power with Cæcinaes.*

THis ouerthrow did not so much daunt the Vitellianists, as it reduced them to a more modest behauiour, not only in Cæcinaes campe, who cast the fault on the souldier more ready to mutine then fight; but the Army of Fabius Valens also (for now he was come to Ticinum) laying aside contempt of the enemy, & desirous to recouer their glory, began to shew to their General a more reuerent and orderly obedience. For before a great and hoate mutinee had happened out, which I will now set downe from the beginning, albeit not in his proper time, because it was not conuenient to interrupt the course of Cæcinaes actions. The Cohorts of Batauians, which in the warre of Nero were departed from the fourteenth Legion, and in their returne toward Britannie, hearing of Vitellius attempt in the country of Lingones, had ioyned themselues, [a] as before we haue shewed, to Fabius Valens, began to wax proud and insolent, vanting and brauing as they came to the tentes of any of the Legions, that they were the men which had ouerruled the fourteenth Legion, bereaued Nero of Italy: that in their hands alone lay all the fortune and whole successe of this warre. That seemed contumelious to the souldier, and highly displeased the Generall, the discipline being by their wranglings and brawlings corrupted. At the last Valens, by their insolent behauiour suspecting perfidiousnesse also, receiuing aduice, that the wing of the Treueri and Tungrians were beaten by Othoes Fleete, and that the Prouince of Narbon was in some danger of inuasion, partly vpon a care to defend his friendes, and allaies, and partly vpon military pollicie to disperse these Batauians so mutinously affected, and of so great strength if they remained together, commanded part of the Cohorts to go and relieue them. which thing when it was heard and noised abroad, the Auxiliaries mourned, the [b] Legions stomacked, lamenting they should be depriued in such a time of so maine an assistance of such valient men: what? should those so experienced, and conquerours in so many warres, when as the enemies were within view, be sent away, as it were, out of the field? if the Prouince were a matter of more consequence then the Citie of Rome and safety of the State, why did they not all follow thither? but if the accomplishment of the victory, the strength and stay of the cause consisted in Italy, what reason then to breake off, as it were, the soundest and strongest limmes from the body? Vpon these and the like presumptuous speeches, when as Valens by sending his Sergeants among them, went about to correct their seditious behauiour, they offered violence to himselfe, threw stones, and forcing him to flee, followed after; and crying, that the spoile of France, the gold of Vienna, and the price of their labours was by him embezeled, and hid, they spoiled his cariage, they pearced and searched his pauillions, and the very ground it selfe with their lances and dartes: for Valens himselfe in a Bond-mans apparel lay vnknowen in the Tent of an Vnder-captaine

Cap. 27.

a 1. Hist.

Cap. 28.

[b] It seemeth strange, that the Legions should be displeased with the departure of those, whose insolent and contumelious behauiour they could not abide, if Tacitus say true not past sixe lines before.

Cap. 29.

taine of horſe-men. Then Alphenus Varus the Camp-maſter, perceiuing the heat of the mutinee paſt, and the ſouldiers by little and little to grow colder, adioyneth a pollicy thereunto: [1] forbidding the Centurions to meddle with ſearching and peruſing the watch, and omitting to ſound the Trumpet, by which the ſouldier is called to his charge. Whereupon they ſtood all amazed, looking one on another, aſtoniſhed and diſmaied to ſee themſelues thus without head, or direction: and ſo with ſilence and patience, and laſtly with teares and intreaty beſought pardon of their offence. But when as Valens came foorth aboue all expectation a liue, weeping and badly attired, then was there ioy and compaſſion, and a generall fauouring of the man: and changing their former affections into gladneſſe, as the common ſort is in both without meaſure, they carried him in the middeſt of the Standerds and enſeignes, with praiſes and gratulations, to the Tribunal. Valens vſing a profitable and diſcreet moderation, required not any one to be executed for this tranſgreſſion; only in words reproued ſome few, leſt if he diſſembled the whole, he ſhould be ſuſpected the more: knowing right well that in ciuill warres the ſouldiers haue a vantage ouer the Generall, and are more bould to commit diſorders, then the Generall may be to correct them. As they were entrenching at Ticinum, word was brought of Cæcinaes ouerthrow, and the ſedition was almoſt renewed againe, as though by fraud and delaies of Valens they had beene kept backe, and come ſhort of the battell. Whereupon refuſing to reſt any longer, without ſtaying for their Generall they march forward, running before their enſeignes, and haſtning the enſeigne-bearers: and ſo in all ſpeed ioyne with Cæcina. Valens was alſo diſliked and generally blamed in the Army of Cæcina: who pretended themſelues to be agreeued, that they were left, being ſo far inferiour in number as a pray to the whole power of the enemies; highly extolling with all the ſtrength of the other Army, partly to excuſe themſelues, and partly to flatter their fellowes, leſt as conquered and cowardly perſons they ſhould be deſpiſed of them: and albeit Valens had more forces, almoſt double number of Legions and Aides to the other, yet were the good wils of the ſoldiers more inclining to Cæcina, beſide curteſie, wherein he excelled the other, by reaſon alſo of his flouriſhing age, and talneſſe of ſtature, and vpon a certaine vaine fauour of men. Hereupon there grew emulation betweene the two Generals. Cæcina contemned the other, as a lewde perſon of life and criminally noted: Valens ſcoffed at him as being proud and vaine glorious: but reſerving their hatred in ſecret they ioyned openly both in the common cauſe, by many letters, without reſpect of pardon, obiecting to Otho his infamous life; whereas the Generals of Othoes ſide, notwithſtanding the argument yeelded that way moſt plentifull matter, abſtained from all reuiling ſpeeches againſt Vitellius: and in truth before their ends which on Othoes ſide was moſt commendable, of Vitellius moſt ignominious, the drowſie pleaſures of Vitellius were feared leſſe, then the hot burning luſtes of Otho: and beſide, the death of Galba had made Otho more terrible, and more odious: contrarily no man charged Vitellius with beginning the war. Vitellius in exceſſe and belly-cheere was an enemy to himſelfe: Otho in riot, cruelty, audaciouſneſſe, reputed more dangerous to the State.

cap. 30.

cap. 31

[1] Forbidding the Centurions] *Vetitis vigilias obire centurionibus.* The Centurions charge was not *obire vigilias*, but *βοᾶν, tubæ inflatu vigilias diſtinguere.* Wherupon they whoſe charge it was (in Polybius, ſome of the hortmen, in Vegetius, Circitores) went about. So that the Centurions not ſounding, the Round was not gone.

XIII. *Otho determineth to commit the matter to the hazard of a battell, and retireth himselfe to Brixellum.*

THE forces of Cæcina and Valens being ioyned together, the Vitellianists refused not any longer to end the cause in a maine battell. Otho proposed the matter in councell, whether way were more expedient, to prolong the war, or else to put it by and by to the fortune of a field. Then Suetonius Paullinus, esteemed the most expert man of that age in military affaires, supposing it agreeable to his fame and renowne, to discourse of the whole maner of proceeding in this war, stood vp, and declared his opinion to be; that making of haste was profitable for the enemy, and delaying for them, that all the host of Vitellius was come, certaine small forces remaining behind, which could not conueniently be remoued from the banke of the Rhene, for feare of inuasion of those fierce nations: especially France standing also in some tearmes of rebellion: the souldier in Britanny had his hands full of the enemy there, and was also stopped by the sea: that Spaine had no great store of souldiers: the Prouince of Narbon was frighted, by reason of the late inuasion by sea, and the ouerthrow which they receiued; and that portion of Italy beyond the Po, now in the possession of the enemy, was wasted with the passage of their Army, and hauing no helpe by sea, and by land shut in with the Alpes, could not be relieued from abroad: so that they could no where haue corne for their men, and an host without prouision could not be entertained. Now the Germans, which of all the enemies were most terrible, hauing foggy and wateriſh bodies, would not, if the warre were prolonged to the sommer, be able to endure the change of the soile, and the aire, that many Armies whose fury at the first rush could not be resisted, by delaies and wearing out were brought vnto nothing. Contrariwise they had all things themselues, well stored and well assured vnto them: Pannonia, Mœsia, Dalmatia, the East, with their Armies, whole and vntouched; Italie, and Rome the queene of the world, the Senate and people, titles neuer darkened, though sometimes ouer-shadowed: wealth priuate and publicke, and infinite masses of money, which in ciuill dissensions is of greater force then the sword: the bodies of their souldiers were accustomed to Italy or to other hoat Countries: the riuer of Po lay [a] before them as a defence: their Cities were safely manned and walled: and by the holding out of Placentia it was cleere to be seene, that none through distresse or despaire would yeeld to the enemy: and therefore in his opinion hee was to protract the warre. That within few daies the fourteenth Legion would become, a Legion of great reputation, with the forces of Mœsia: then might hee deliberate againe, and if it were liked to hazard the battell, fight with more power and greater aduantage. Marius Celsus approued this opinion of Paullinus, and certaine which were sent to Annius Gallus (who was hurt with a fall off his horse a few daies before) to demand his aduise, brought word that he also was of the same iudgement. But Otho was willing to bring it to a battell: his brother Titianus and Proculus Captaine of the Guarde, hastening vpon ignorance and lacke of skill, protested that Fortune and all the gods, with the god-head of Otho, fauoured the Counsailes, and would without question prosper the enterprise: descending to this grosse kinde of flattery, lest any should dare to crosse their opinion. After they had concluded to fight, a new doubt arose, whether it were better, that the Emperour should with-draw himselfe, or else be present in the field in person: the selfe-same men taking also heerein a wrong course, without any more opposition of

cap. 32

[a] Not at *Bebriacum*, where the consultation was holden, but he meaneth if they should, as he wished, retire with their power in *Cisspadanam*, and there stand vpon their defence.

cap. 33.

Paullinus

Paulinus and Celſus, leſt they ſhould ſeeme to hazard their Prince too venturouſly, perſwaded him to retire to Brixellum; and ſo being exempt from the doubtfull euents of the field, to reſerue himſelfe for the maine chance of the ſtate. That daie was the beginning of ruine of Othoes ſide. For with him a valiant company of Prætorian cohorts, of " Spearemen and horſe departed away: and the reſt which remained behind were quite out of heart, as hauing no confidence in their Generals: and Otho, whom onely the ſouldiers truſted, becauſe he truſted none elſe: but the ſouldiers had not perfitly ſetled the Generals in their charges, but left their authorities at large and vncertaine.

" Speculatores.

XIIII. *A skirmiſh betweene the Vitellianiſts and Macer with his Fencers vpon the Po.*

ALL that was ſaid or done was caried by and by to the Vitellian ſide, fugitiues ſwarming as in ciuill warres, and the ſpies, vpon deſire to ſearch out and diſcouer other mens counſels, diſcloſing their owne. Cæcina and Valens laie ſtill, quietly attending while the enemy ſhould by his owne raſhneſſe miſcary, meaning in liew of wiſdome to vſe the vantage of other mens folly. And ſo beginning a bridge, leſt their ſouldiers ſhould be made worſe with too much idleneſſe and eaſe, as if they had ment to haue paſſed the Po, and forced a band of " Fencers encamped on the other ſide, they commanded boats to be placed croſſe the Riuer, with their heads vp the ſtreame, in equall and conuenient diſtances, and ioyned them ſtrongly together with planckes, caſting anckers alſo to make the bridge ſteady and firme: but the Cable-ropes were not tied ſhort, but plaied at length, that when the riuer ſhould riſe, the whole frame likewiſe might riſe without hurting. Vpon the end of the bridge a tower was planted, reaching to the vttermoſt boate, that out of it they might with their engines and ſhot diſplace, and driue away the enemies: the Othonians alſo vpon the bancke had builded a Tower, and did hurle ſtones and fire. In the middle of the riuer there was an Iland, into poſſeſſion whereof the Fencers ſought to put themſelues by boate, but the Germans by ſwimming preuented them; and when Macer ſaw a competent number of them arriued there, embarking of his beſt Fencers, he putteth ouer to aſſaile them: but neither were the Fencers of the like courage in fight to the ſouldiers, neither could they, tottering out of their boates, aime ſo certaine a blow, as the other ſteadily ſtanding did from the land: and when as through ſundry ſteppings aſide vpon feare the rowers and ſouldiers which ſtood at defence, were confuſedly mingled together and put in diſorder, the German ſouldiers leaping couragiouſly into the ſhallow, and hanging at the tailes of the boats, either clambered vp to the hatches, or by maine ſtrength ouerturned the boats into the water. All which things paſſing after this ſort in the view [a] of both the Armies, as they were matter of great ioy to the Vitellianiſts, ſo to the contrary ſide they gaue occaſion to hate and deteſt him, who was author and cauſe of the loſſe. And the skirmiſh was ended indeed by flight and the breaking away of the boates which remained: but Macer was required to the ſlaughter: and when they had wounded him with a dart a farre off, they ranne in with their ſwords drawne to diſpatch him, had not the Tribunes and Centurions come in to protect him. A little afterward Veſtricius Spurinna by Othoes commandement, leauing a ſmall garriſon at Placentia, with his cohorts come to ſuccour them: and anon Otho ſent Flauius Sabinus Conſull elect to command Macers Companies, the Souldiers being glad at

" Gladiatores.

[a] The one lay at *Bebriacum*, and the other by all coniecture at *Cremona*, twenty miles aſunder.

the change of Captaines, and the Captaines, by reason of so many mutinees, vnwilling to enter into so dangerous a seruice.

XV. *That it is nothing probable, that in so corrupt an age, the soulders would of their owne accord haue surceased from ciuill warre, and by common consent, and aduise of the Senat, deposing these two bad, haue chosen a third good Prince.*

cap. 37. IN some writers I finde it recorded, that the armies, either hauing in horrour the war, or loathing both Princes, whose shames and dishonours were daily diuulged more notoriously abroad, consulted among themselues to surcease the contention, and that either they by common consent should chuse a new Prince, or refer it ouer to the Senats appointment: and that therefore the Generals of Othoes side, [a] namely Paullinus, had counsailed to delay and protract, hoping it would fall vpon him, as being the most ancient Consulare, a famous commander, and one that in the warres of Britanny had won great glory and name. For my part, although I could be induced to grant that some few peraduenture secretly wished quietnesse in steed of discord, and for two most lewd and wicked, one good and innocent Prince; so I cannot be brought to beleeue, that Paullinus being so wise a man would euer hope in a most corrupt age for such moderation in the common sort, that when as for desire of war they had troubled the peace of the State, now for loue of peace they would abandon the war: or that armies in tongue and conditions so different, could condescend to so great an agreement: or that the Lieutenants and Generals, which for the most part were persons drowned in riot, beggerly and guilty of most hainous crimes, would euer haue suffered any Prince but one polluted with the like vices, and of their owne creation, and therefore wholy obnoxious to them. That ancient desire of dominion and rule ingraffed now long ago in mens hearts, grew vp and shot out with greatnesse of the Empire. For whilest our dominions were strait, an equality was easily maintained: but after we had subdued the world, destroied all Cities, or Kings which stood in our light, or might worke our annoyance; when as we had leysure to seeke after wealth voide of perill, there arose first hot contentions betweene the Nobility and Commons: sometimes factions Tribunes carried it away: sometimes the Consuls held a hard hand and preuailed: and in the City and place of assembly, some little skirmishes, and commencements as it were of ciuill warres, were attempted. Anone after Caius Marius one of the meanest of the Communalty, and Lucius Sulla the cruellest of all the Nobility, by force of armes ouerthrowing the free estate, induced an absolut gouernment. After whom Cneius Pompeius succeeded, somewhat [b] secreter, but nothing better: and after that time neuer was other question debated by armes, but who should be soueraigne Prince of the State. The Legions in Pharsalia and Philippi, consisting of Citizens, were not so moderately minded: much lesse may we thinke the armies of Otho and Vitellius would, of their owne accord, haue laide downe their weapons. The gods were no lesse incensed against vs: men were no lesse mad and furiously minded: the same vices raigning amongst vs haue induced the like dissensions and discords. That the wars were decided, and ended as it were ech at one stroke, we are to attribute it to the cowardlinesse and faint-hartednesse of the Princes, and not to the peaceablenesse of the armies. But the recoũting of the dispositions and maners, of present and ancient times, hath caried me out of the way. Now I return to the order of the story.

[a] *Plutarch* attributeth it to *Celsus* not so probably.

cap. 38.

[b] *Salustius apud Suetonium lib. de claris Grammaticis. Pompeius ortu probi, ambitiosi, in recreandi.*

XVI. *The*

XVI. *The great battell at Bebriacum: wherein Othoes side was ouerthrowen.*

WHen[1] Otho was gone to Brixellum, Titianus his brother caried the countenance and title of Generall; Proculus Captaine of the Guard the power and authority: Paullinus and Celsus, when as no man emploied their wisdome and skill, were Captaines onely for name sake, and to be entituled to other mens faults: the Tribunes and Centurions, seeing the better contemned, and the worst sort in credit, were doubtfull of the euent: the souldier notwithstanding was full of courage and heart, yet such as had rather construe then execute his Generals commandements. It was resolued, that the Campe should remooue forward, and sit downe in a place fower miles off from Bebriacum, so without reason and skill, that although it was spring time of the yeere, and so many Riuers about them, yet were they distressed for water. There it was disputed whether the battell were to be giuen or not. For Otho by letters required to hasten the matter: the souldiers desired their Princes presence in field: many were of opinion to send for the Companies which lay on the other side of the Po. Neither can it so easily be discerned what had beene best to haue done, as that it was the worst which they did: vndertaking to go to the confluence of the riuers of Po and Olius, full sixteene miles from that place (a competent iourney for an Army to march, and much too great for them which went to a battell) directly against the aduise of Paullinus and Celsus; who held it vnsafe to hazard the souldier, tired with the iourney, and heauy laden with cariage, against an enemy, that would not faile, being lightly appointed, and hauing come scarce fower miles to charge vpon them either as they marched in disarry, or else at the sitting downe as they dispersed themselues to fortifie the Campe. But Titianus and Proculus, when they were ouercome by reason fled to authority, by vertue of their Office commanding the contrary: and indeede there was come a [a] Numidian Horse-man in post from Otho with a sharpe message, in the which, as one that could not abide delaies, and impatient to linger in hope, hee checked the Generals for their slackneese, commanding them forthwith to put it to a field. The same day as Cæcina was busily occupied about making the Bridge, two Tribunes of Prætorian Cohorts came thither, demanding to speake with him: and being vpon the point to giue audience, and make answer vnto them, the skowtes came running in haste, signifying the enemy was at hand: whereupon the parlee brake off, and so it remained vncertaine what they intended, whether to lay a traine for Cæcina, or to betray their owne fellowes, or else some other honest deuise. Cæcina hauing dismissed the Tribunes, riding backe to the Campe, found the signe of the battell already giuen by Valens commandement, and the souldiers in armes. Whilest the Legions cast lottes concerning their order in marching to the field, the Horse-men issuing out charged, and were beaten backe very strangely, by Othoes men being feawer in number, euen into the Trenches, had not the Italian Legion manfully drawne their swords, and by feare forced them to returne and make head vpon the enemy againe. The Vitellian Legions were ordered and put in array without tumult or feare: for the bushes and thickets tooke away the sight of the enemy, albeit he were neere. Contrarily in Othoes Army the Generals with feare were put out of their skill; the souldiers neither loued nor trusted their Generals; the Wagons and idle followers of the Campe troubled the workes of the souldiers, being confusedly mingled amongst them; and the Hie-way deepely ditched

[1] cap. 39

cap. 40

cap. 41

[a] Great personages in those dates had vsually certaine *Africans* or *Numidian* horsmen to lead their traine, or for other sudden [illegible]. See [illegible] 124. [illegible] for peregrinum ac vetus Numidarum præcurrat equitium, vt agmen [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

ditched on both sides was too narrow for an Army, though marching without feare of the enemy: some stood about, some sought their ensignes, on euery side there was a confused noise of men running and crying: and as ech was guided by boldnesse or feare, so pressed he forward into the first rancks, or retired into the last. Their mindes being in this sort striken with a sudden terrour, a falsely surmised ioy abated their fiercenesse: for some there were which vntruely gaue out, that the army was reuolted from Vitellius. That rumour whether it was dispersed abroad by Vitellius spies, or rose otherwise among Othoes men, whether by fraud or chance, it is not certainely knowen: but howsoeuer, thereupon the Othonians laying aside all edge to fight, in steed thereof profered after a friendly sort to salute them, but were with vnfriendly murmure intertained againe: which salutation gaue cause to many of their owne side, that were ignorant of the rumour, to feare treason. Then the host of the enemies in good array, superiour both in number and strength, charged vpon them: the Othonians, although in disarray fewer and werie, yet valiantly receiued the charge. And as in places troubled with Trees and Vines the fight was not euery where after one maner: but heere neere at hand, and there a farre off: sometime in squadron, sometime in Triangle-figure: vpon the height of the way ioyning foot to foot, and bearing downe with body to body, and buckler to buckler: omitting the vse of the dart, and with swords and hatchets vnbuckeling and breaking helmets and corcelets: and the parties knowing one another, and being seene of their companions, ech contended to shew vertue and valour, as if vpon their manhood had depended the euent of the whole warre. It fortuned, that in open field betweene the Po and the high way, two Legions met and fought together; for Vitellius the one and twentieth, surnamed Rapax, a Legion anciently renowned, of Othoes part the first called Adiutrix, one neuer before brought to the battell, but presuming greatly of hirselfe, and greedy, as in hir first seruice, of honor. They of the first Legion, beating to ground the * ensignes of the one and twentieth, tooke away the standerd by force: whereupon the Legion incensed with griefe both put them of the first in braule slaying Orphidius Benignus the Lieutenant, and also tooke many ensignes and banners from them. On the other side the thirteenth Legion was forced by them of the fifth: and certaine of the fourteenth hemmed in with multitudes of enemies that came in vpon them. And whereas the Generals of Othoes side had left the field and were fled already away, Cæcina and Valens yet strengthened their side with fresh supply: and beside a new succour came in of [b] Alphenus Varus with his Batauians, after he had discomfited the band of the Fencers, who passing the water by boates, were slaine by the aduersary Cohorts in the very riuer it selfe. So being victorious they inuaded the flanke of the enemies: and when once the middle battell was forced, the Othonians brake and fled [c] toward Bebriacum. The way was long and almost stopped vp with dead carcases, the slaughter being the greater for that in ciuill warres there is no profit to be made of the prisoners. Suetonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus tooke sundry waies and shunned the campe: Vedius Aquila Lieutenant of the thirteenth Legion, supposing all other waies vnsafe, through vnaduised feare put himselfe into the danger of the furious souldier. For entring into the Campe a [d] great while before it was night, he was exclaimed vpon and railed at on euery side, with clamors of the most seditious and cowardly persons: who forbearing to vse neither tongues nor hands, reuiled him as a fugitiue and traitour, not vpon any specialty they could charge him withall, but after the maner of the common sort, ech man laying his owne shames vpon others. Titianus and Celsus returned not before night, which serued them to good purpose.

cap. 42.

cap. 43.

* *Signa vna cum centesimanorum principijs.* Plut. in this place taketh *principia* for the foreward πρώτους ἐμῶν τῶν στρατοπεδευομένων μάχεσθαι τάττει.

b Camp-master in *Valens* host, and now vpon *Cæcinaes* calling away left to keepe play with the *gladiatores* of *Othoes* side, as it seemeth.

cap. 44.

c Being twenty miles off by our reckning, or according to *Plut.* 150 *stadia*, which is about 19. miles.

d It is very questionable how in one day an armie could goe 16. miles, ioine battell, breake, and flecing away 20. miles off could come thether a great while before night about mid Aprill.

for

for the watch was now set, and the souldiers fury appeased by the helpe of [a] Annius Gallus: who partly by intreaty and aduise, partly by his credit and authority, perswaded them not to heape misery vpon misery, and beside the losse of the battell to seeke the spoile one of another: that whether the warre were now at an end, or else it would please them to resume it, the onely meanes to releeue the conquered side consisted in their agreeing together. And indeed the rest were out of courage and comfort; onely the Guard-souldiers stormed, affirming they were ouercome not by manhood but treason: and that the Vitellian side had bought the victory dearely with their bloud, their horse-men being repulsed, and the standerd of a Legion taken away, that there yet remained in store many souldies beyond the Po attending on Otho: the Legions of Mœsia were comming at hand, and that a great part of the army had staied behind at Bebriacum, and neuer presented themselues to the battel: that surely these at the least had not been ouercome: and if so needs it must be, they should with more honour die in the field. Vpon these and the like cogitations sometimes growing desperate, and sometimes yeelding to feare, through consideration of their owne forlorne estate, they were incited more often to rage then to relent. The Vitellian Army lodged fiue miles from Bebriacum, the Generals not daring that day to attempt the enemies campe: and beside a voluntary yeelding was hoped for: where albeit they could not entrench, as men that went out lightly appointed and onely to fight, yet their weapons in hand, and the victory they lately obtained, was a suffiicient defence. The day following those of Othoes men which had made shew of most courage, repenting and yeelding, the whole Army with one accord sent an Embassage to the Vitellianists. The Vitellian Generals without any question granted them peace: onely the Embassadours were staied there for a season, which bred a scruple in the mindes of the other, not knowing whether they had obtained as yet or not their request: but anon the Embassage returning, the Camp was set open. Then both the conquered and conquerers, breaking out into weeping, with a wofull ioyfulnesse, detested the misery of ciuill dissensions: and meeting in the same Tentes, some comforted their brethren, some their friendes which were wounded. Hopes and rewards were doubtfull and in expectation alone: burials and mournings were certaine and sure before hand: neither was there any so voide of mischance, that had not to mourne for some bodies death. The body of Orphidius the Lieutenant was sought out, and buried with accustomed solemnity, and some few beside by their friendes: the rest of the common sort were left on the ground.

[a] When Otho was gone to Brixellum] In the description of this great battell, in my conceit, are many great imperfections. And first to settle the reading, where in some printed copies it is by correction *confluentes Padi & Addue fluminum petebant*, whereas *Padi & Agole* was found in old written copies, is a mistaking of the Corrector. Padus and Addua meet about Cremona: Bebriacum standeth twenty miles below; So that the Othonians, remooving from Bebriacum, with intention to fight with the Vitellianists being about Cremona, had no reason to go to the confluence of Padus and Addua. Then the distance cannot agree; For the straight way, between Bebriacum and the confluence of Addua, must be more then here is limited. So that we must finde a Riuer meeting with the Po, some [a] foure miles or there about beneath Cremona: Oilius perchance, or some other, whose confluence the Othonians went to, and whereabout the battell began. Now where the Vitellianists were encamped, Tacitus very strangly omitteth to set downe. Macer with his Gladiatores, was *haud procul Cremona*, against whom Cæcina made a bridge, which bridge, as it appeareth by the circumstances was not far from their maine campe. Then the Vitellianists which fled away, flie to Cremona, as to their strength, and place of retraite. Lastly Tacit. himselfe, 3. Hist. talking of Cremona, *eadem rursus bella sedes*, and in the same booke, *Othoniano bello Germanicus miles mœnibus Cremonensiũ castra sua, castris vallum circumsecerat*: a notable particularity, and more agreeable to haue beene declared here. But by all these places, we may, I suppose, safely presume, that at Cremona, howsoeuer they came by it (for of that also may be a question, as is touched before) was alwaies afterward the Vitellianists maine campe. Now the Othonians saith Tac. remooued 4. miles forward, leauing notwithstanding at Brebriacum the Campe standing and furnished with many men for the defence; So that this Campe 4. miles from Bebriacũ was but onely for a nights lodging: for to Bebriacum only did the Othonian souldiers retire when they

[a] Vitellianus vix quatuor millia passuum progressus.

they were in rowte, from [a] that lodging they remooued sixteene miles further, not directly, as it may be supposed, but declining on the left hand toward the Po, about foure miles beneath Cremona, at the confluence of the Po, and Oglio as they now call it, or Agele, or whatsoeuer, and yet it [*] seemeth they sate not downe there, but went straight to finde the enemy in his owne strength at Cremona. For (saith Tacitus) they had almost driuen the Vitellian Horsemen [d] into their owne trenches: so that, in my fansie, the poore innocent village of Bebriacum, neuer heard of before, nor since, insomuch that no man knoweth where it stood, had little right to carry the name of this field, rather then Cremona, and yet all writers denominate it to, vnlesse it were because the Othomans, being broken, fled thither: for surely the battell was begun twenty miles off, and hard vnder Cremona. For the time of this battell, according to Iosephus and Egesippus, it should seeme to haue beene fought the very next day after that *ad Castoris*: but by Tacitus, in this cate a more credible author, as in a matter done in Italy, it appeareth to haue beene far otherwise. Suetonius Othone, cap. 9. describeth the meeting of the two armies in far other maner. *Apud Bebriacum fraude superati quorum ipse colloquio facta quasi ad constituendam pacem mora dum edoctus, ex improuiso atque in ipsa consultatione dimicandum fuisset.*

[a] According to Plutarch, from Bebriacum they went 35. Italia to that dry place, the day after they mooued to goe an hundreth stadia, but Paullinus counsailed till the message of the Numidian horsemen tooke vp the matter betweene them, and so they marched directly toward the enemy.

[*] Ἐδόκει μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν Κρεμόνα πορεύεσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐρυμνότητα καὶ δύναμιν ἐβάδιζον.

[d] Ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα χαρακώματα ἐμβαλόντες, ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐρύματα ἐμβαλόντες.

[*] Annius Gallus] In the consultation at Bebriacum he was absent. When he returned againe thither, and wherefore he staied there when all the rest went out to fight, is not declared by Tacitus: like as also many particularities concerning Celius, Gallus, Titianus &c. woorthy the remembrance in the yeelding of the Othomans to Valens and Cæcina, which are well recorded by Plutarch, and ill left out by our Author, who, to confesse a trueth, in this whole history hath behaued himselfe so well, that the onely thing we may perfectly vnderstand, is, that he vnderstood not the matter fully himselfe: and indeed for the particularities Plutarch writeth, that they which were present at the battell professed not to know themselues, Οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι, τῶν παρόντων ἕκαστον. *That is, For the disorder and confusednesse.* But yet surely Tacitus is not excusable, seeing that Plutarch, who was lesse skilled in the Roman affaires, and had lesse occasion to know so much, of two bad hath set it downe more intelligibly, being a man otherwise not to be named the same day with Tacitus.

XVII. *Otho vnderstanding of the ouerthrow at Bebriacum killeth himselfe. The souldiers about him, when they could not induce Verginius to vndertake the place, yeeld themselues to the Vitellianists.*

cap. 50.

IN the meane while Otho at Brixellum waited for the newes of the battell without all passion of feare, and certainely resolued what he would doe. And first an vncertaine report of ill tidings was muttered without head or aduow: then they which fled out of the battell came and declared that all was certainely lost. The souldiers ardent affection was such, that they staied not for any comfort or encouragement from their Emperour, but contrariwise they comforted him, bidding him to be of good cheere: that there was yet new forces remaining, and that they would hazard all perils and suffer all extremities for his sake: neither was it flattery; but in vnfaigned good meaning, vpon a certaine instinct and fury, they mightily desired to goe to the field, to set vp the side and recouer their losses againe. They which stoode a farre off held vp their hands and besought him: the nearest embraced his knees, especially Plotius Firmus Captaine of the Guard, who besought him often and instantly not to forsake his so well deseruing souldiers, so louing and faithfull an Armie; auerring that it was greater magnanimity to endure then to relinquish when fortune doth crosse: that stout men and valiant euen against fortune doe rely vpon hope, whereas the cowardly dastards are hastily drawen by feare to despaire. As Otho seemed by his countenance to yeeld to these speeches, or else to reiect them, so were there diuersly showtings for ioy, or [*] groanings for sorrow. And not onely the Prætorians, the most addicted and partiall souldiers to Otho, but those also which were sent before out of Mœsia affirmed, that the Army which was expected would alike obstinately maintaine the quarrell: and that the Legions alreadie were come to Aquileia; so that without all question a cruell and bloudy warre might haue beene renewed of doubtfull euent to the one side and to the other. But Otho altogether aliene from any purpose of war, To hazard, quoth hee, this vertue and valour of yours to needlesse dangers, I account it to deare a price of my life. The more hope you do shew, if I listed to liue, the more commendation wil be

[*] Ἀλλ' ἦ θόρυβος ἐκκλησίας ἐγένοντο, saith Plutarch, describing it from a ciuile assemblie, but rightly it was like vnto that of mutinous souldiers, or seditious Citizens.

cap. 47.

of

of my death as being voluntary and not by constraint. Fortune and I haue had good „
experience the one of the other: and nothing the lesse for that my time hath beene „
short. I tel you, it is harder to moderate a mans selfe in felicity, the which he looketh „
not long to enioy. The ciuill warre began on Vitellius party, and thence grew the „
first occasion to contend with armes for the Empire: but to contend no ofner but „
once, I for my part am purposed to giue the example. And hereby let the posterity „
iudge and esteeme of Otho. Through my benefit Vitellius shall enioy his brother, „
his wife, and his children: I seeke no reuenge, I haue no need of such comforts. „
Others haue kept longer the Empire, but let it be said, that none hath euer so vali- „
antly left it. Shall I suffer so much Roman bloud againe to be spilt, and the Com- „
mon wealth depriued of so worthy Armies? Let this minde accompany me to my „
graue, and so surely it shall, that you for your parts would haue died for my sake: but „
tarry you and liue, and let not me be any longer a hinderance to your obtaining of „
pardon, nor you to my determination and purpose. To speake more of dying, or to „
vse many words in that argument, I take to proceed of a cowardly courage. This „
take for a principall proofe of my resoluteneſſe, that I complaine not of any. For „
to blame gods or men is their property that gladly would liue. After these words „
and the like, in courteous language, according to their age or degree, he required
the yongue men, and desired the old to get them quickly away and goe to the win-
ner; lest by slacking the time they prouoked his further displeasure: rebuking eft-
soones the vnseasonable weepings of those about him, without any shew of alter-
ation in countenance, or signe of feare in his speech. Then he commanded those
which departed to be furnished of wagons and barges; burned all bookes and let-
ters containing any matter notably in fauour of himselfe or disfauour of Vitellius,
and distributed money sparingly, and not as one that should die. Then he called
vnto him Saluius Cocceianus his brothers sonne, being in the prime of his youth,
and seeing him sore afraid and weeping, he comforted him, notwithstanding the
case touched nearer himselfe, commending his kindneſſe and naturall affection, and
reprehending his timorousneſſe. What? were it possible, that Vitellius should be
so hard harted, and cruelly minded, as not to doe him that one pleasure, whereas he
had preserued for him his whole house without harme? that at least by this hasty
dispatch of himselfe he deserued that some courtesie should be shewed his kinred:
especially hauing forborne, for the loue of his country, to seeke his last and vtter-
most remedy; not vpon extreme despaire, but then when as his army with instance
demanded to bring it to a battell againe. But, he said, for his part he had gotten
renowne enough for himselfe, and nobility for his posterity, after the Iulian, Cla-
dian, and Seruian families, hauing first of all men brought into a house of no great
continuance the honour of hauing an Emperour: and therefore he willed him with
good courage to liue and goe on, neither forgetting at any time that Otho was his
Vnckle, nor yet to much remembring the same. After these things he willed all to
depart and giue place, and gaue himselfe a while to his rest: but a sudden tumult
interrupted the course of his last cares, word being brought in of the disordered and
outragious behauiour of the souldiers: who threatned to kill all those which went
away, but were most egerly bent against Verginius, whose house being shut they
beset round about. Whereupon Otho went out, and hauing rebuked the princi-
pall mutins, returning againe spent the time in talking and comforting them
which departed, vntill they were all safely conueied away. When it grew toward
night, he quenched his thirst with a cup of cold water: then two Rapires were
brought in: and after he had tried their points he put the one vnder his pillow: and

hauing

hauing certaine knowledge that his friendes were already gone, he passed the night in good rest, and as it is said not without sleepe: assoone as it was day he ran himselfe through the brest with the Rapier. Vpon his groning, as he was dying, his freed and bond-men, with Plotius Firmus Captaine of the Guard, entred in, and found but only one wound. The funerals were hastned with all speed, for he had most earnestly besought and intreated to dispatch them, least his head peraduenture should haue beene cut off, and contumeliously vsed: the Prætorian Cohortes carried the Biere, with praises and teares, kissing his wound and his hands. At the Funerall-fire some of the souldiers slew themselues, not vpon crime, nor for feare, but for the great loue they bare to their Prince, and to imitate so honorable an example: and afterwards at Bebriacum, Placentia, and in other Campes many did the like: a Tombe also they [b] erected for Otho with little cost and solemnity, and therefore the liker to stand. In this maner Otho ended his daies in the [1] seuen and thirtieth yeare of his age. He was [c] originally descended from Ferrentium: his father was Consul, his grandfather Prætor: his mothers bloud [d] somewhat disparaging, but yet not base, in his tender age and youth such as we haue shewed; one, that by two actes, the one most detestable, the other most praise worthy, deserued with posterity [e] good fame, in as great measure as he did ill. As to heape together fabulous matter, and delight the readers mindes with tales deuised at pleasure, I would account a thing little agreeable to the grauity of my purposed worke, so on the other side I dare not to detract all credit, from things which are commonly spoken, and deliuered. The same day that the Armies fought at Bebriacum, the inhabitants of Regium Lepidi report, that a strange birde was seene sitting in a groue much frequented: and that she could not be feared or driuen away, by the resorting of men to the place, or of birds flying about hir, vntill such time as Otho slew himselfe; then she vanished out of sight: and that conferring the times, they found the beginning and end of the miracle to agree precisely with Othoes decease. At his funerals the souldiers through sorrow and griefe raised a new tumult, neither was there now any to stay them. And setting vpon Verginius menacingly they besought him, sometime to take the Empire himselfe, sometime to be their spokesman to Cæcina and Valens; [f] but Verginius, as they were breaking into the house, deceiued them, slipping out priuily at the backe gate. So Rubrius Gallus carried the supplication of the Cohorts, which were at Brixellum, and straight-waies obtained their pardon. Flauius Sabinus also came, with the [g] Companies which he commanded, and yeelded himselfe to the winner.

b At Brixellum. Plutarch.

c But borne at Rome.

d Suetonius c. 1. calleth her *splendidissimæ fœminæ*.

e Martial. lib. 6. Epigram. 31. *Cum dubitaret adhuc bellis ciuilibus Eme, Forsitan & possis vincere mollis Otho: Damnauit multo saturum iure cruore Martem, Et fodit certa pectora nuda manu. Sit Cato, dum viuit, sanè vel Cæsare maior: Dum moritur nunquid maior Othone fuit?*

f μανικωτέρως ἐπεσκίμψας, saith Plutarch, ἐκ τῶν μετίων ἠξίουν αὐτὸν προσλαβεῖν; μανικώτερον δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μὴ θελόντος. ἀφεσθ' ὑπὸ τῶν θυρωρῶν διὰ τῶν ὀπισθίων θυρῶν ἐξελθεῖν. πρὸς γὰρ τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον βιαζόμενοι τῶν ἀμφὶ δοκοῦντας.

g Gladiatores.

[1] In the seuen and thirtieth yeere] Otho was borne, saith [a] Suetonius, *Camilla & Abenobarbo Coss.* the 28. of Aprill, *Anno vrbis conditæ* 785. and died in Anno 822. *Galba iterum & vinio Coss.* The day or moneth of his death Tacitus setteth not downe, as he is that way negligent euen in very great actions. Neuertheleslse beginning his Empire the 15. day of Ianuary, as Tac. reporteth 1. Hist. if he died, as Suetonius reporteth, [b] *nonagesimo & quinto imperij die*, allowing seuenteene daies of Ianuary, twenty eight or twenty nine of February, thirty one of March, the eighteenth or the nineteenth of Aprill will fall out to be the day of his death. True it is, that the Copies of Xiphilin and Zonaras haue onely ninety daies for the time of his Empire, both taking it out of one erroneous fountaine, as I thinke. For Otho went out of Rome, as Suetonius saith cap. 8. *die quo cultores deûm matris lamentari & plangere incipiunt*, which is the twenty seuenth of March, as Marcellinus affirmeth. And for so many great matters as by Tacitus are heere recorded to haue passed betweene that and his death, three or fower and twenty daies may in reason seeme time little enough at all. Now from the twenty eight of Aprill, *Anno* 822. to the eighteenth or nineteenth of Aprill, *Anno* 822. are thirty seuen yeeres as Tacitus heere saith (to whom Zonaras and Xiphilin doe agree, not thirty eight, as Suetonius, who counteth both the extremes) lacking nine or ten daies, Xiphilin saieth lacking eleuen, ζήσαντα ἀπ' ἐτῶν λδ' καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη, ἐνδεᾶ ἡμερῶν ἕνδεκα.

[a] cap. 2.

[b] ἡμέρας δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ μόνας κατέσχε τῶν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μάτων having raigned three moniths and two daies, saith Iosephus of Otho. ἀλωσ. 4. c. 33.

XVIII. *The perill wherein the Senatours stood which were left at Mutina, vpon the newes of the ouerthrow at Bebriacum.*

WHEN the warre was euery where at an end, a great part of the Senate, which accompanied Otho from Rome, and afterward staied by order at Mutina, incurred extreme danger. For when word was brought thither of the ouerthrow, the souldiers reiected the newes as false: and supposing the Senat to be enemy to Otho, they obserued their speeches, interpreting their countenances, and externall behauiour to the worst; not abstaining at the last from reuiling, and contumelious termes, and apparently seeking an occasion to begin a massacre: whereas the Senatours had beside to stand in feare another way, lest they should seeme not forward enough to like of Vitellius victory, with whom now all the world was gone. Thus trembling, and betweene both being doubtfull how to cary themselues, they meete together, none daring to follow any priuate direction, but associating himselfe with the multitude presuming thereby of greater security. As they were in this perplexity, the [a] councell of Mutina increased their cares, offering them armour and mony, and stiling them at euery word, very vnseasonably, Lords of the Senate. In that assembly arose a hoat contention. Licinius Cæcina inueyed against Epirus Marcellus, for that he seemed to speake ambiguously concerning the present estate, whereas in truth neither did the other Senatours plainly open their minds: but Cæcina picked out Marcellus among the rest, as a man exposed to enuy, and odious for his late trade of accusing, to the end that himselfe being lately risen, and newly come into the Senate, might become renowned and knowen, by entering into enmity with great persons. But by the moderation of the better sort interposing themselues the matter was pacified: and so they went all backe to Bononia, there to deliberate anew, hoping withall in the meane season to receiue more aduertisements. At Bononia they set in seuerall waies seuerall persons to enquire newes of the passengers which latelieſt came from those quarters: by whom a Freed-man of Othoes being demanded the cause of his comming away, he answered, that he had brought with him his masters [b] last charge: that indeed he had left him aliue, but without any care, saue onely of posterity, and hauing renounced all delights of this present life: hereupon they grew into admiration of him, and were ashamed to aske any further: and now all wholly declared themselues for Vitellius. His brother L. Vitellius was present at their consultations, and already offered himselfe to be fawned vpon, when suddenly Cenus, a Freed-man of Neroes, with a lowd and desperate lie amazed them all, affirming that vpon the arriuall of the fourteenth Legion, the forces which were at Brixellum being ioyned thereto, the fortune of the sides was changed, and the conquerers were ouerthrowne. The cause of deuising the rumour was, that * the commissions of Otho for posts, which began not to be regarded, might through so gladsome a message be reuiued againe. And so Cenus passed indeed in post to the Citie, but within few daies after by Vitellius commandement was executed, but the perill of the Senatours was augmented thereby, for Othoes souldiers beleeued the newes to be true: and that which made their cause worse was, that they were departed from Mutina, and to the side seemed discountenanced and forsaken, as it were, by the Councell of state. Neither did they after that time consult any more in common: euery man sought to prouide for himselfe, vntill such time as letters sent from Fabius Valens, and the

[a] *Ordo Mutinensis, i. Decuriones Mutinenſium, as it were the common councell of the towne.* cap. 83

[b] After he had dismissed all the Senatours, (such as were left) *captato hinc & inde sermone, ad iocum conuersus, ac Messalinæ Neronis, quam matrimonio detinebat, communes voluptates, quas iuxta & meretricum* and some time to Vitellius also with Zoerus in fauour of his enemies. cap. 54

* Or, false posts of Otho.

the death of Otho the more praise worthy the sooner heard of, put them out of feare.

XIX. *The estate of affaires at Rome: and the insolencies committed by the Vitellian souldiers after the victory.*

Cap. 55. [a] *Cerealea* began the 12 of April, and ended the 19. so that after the death of *Otho* at *Brixellum* heard of at Rome *Cereales ludi ex more spectabantur*, the day of his death, albeit the newes came in post, could hardly be so late as the 18. of April, and not possibly so late as the 19.

BVT at Rome all was quiet, without any trouble or feare, the [a] plaies of Ceres were solemnely kept according to the custome: and when certaine word was brought into the Theatre that Otho was dead, and that Flauius Sabinus Pronost of the City had sworne all the souldiers in the City to Vitellius, in signe of ioy the people clapped their hands and gaue applause vnto Vitellius. Then they caried the images of Galba with boughes of Lawrel and flowers about the Temples, heaping vp together in maner of a tombe garlands and Coronets about Lacus Curtius, which place Galba at his death had embrued with his bloud. In the Senat all titles and honours vsually conferred vpon other Princes by occasions, and after they had raigned many yeares, were straight-waies decreed to Vitellius: and withall praises concluded vpon for the German armies, with solemne thanks for their good seruice; and an Embassage sent to congratulate. Letters also were read; written by Fabius Valens to the Consuls, in a stile humble inough: yet Cæcinaes modesty was better accepted in that he wrote not at all. But Italy was now more grieuously vexed, and cruelly handled then during the war. The Vitellian souldiers dispersed in the free-townes and Colonies pilled and spoiled, polluted and rauished without any difference of right or wrong, holy or profane, but only following their rauenous and insolent humour, or else by mony bought out to forbeare: and some there were that counterfaiting themselues to be souldiers slew their particular enemies. The souldiers also themselues were skilled in the Country, and designed out the well stoared grounds, and well monied masters to pray vpon, or if resistance were made, to destroy them; the Generals being obnoxious and not daring to prohibit it: Cæcina was lesse couetous and more possessed with vaine-glory: Valens was for bribery and polling infamous, and therefore a winker also at other mens faults, so many footemen and horse, so great violences, dammages and iniuries, especially the state of Italy being already greatly empouerished before, were hardly abidden.

Cap. 56.

XX. *Vitellius voiage from Germany to Lions, and his actions there.*

Cap. 57.

IN the meane season Vitellius ignorant of his owne victory, made preparation as for a warre new to begin, and caried with him beside eight thousand souldiers of Britanny, the strength which remained of the German army: few old souldiers were left in the standing Campes, but new men leuied in hast out of France to vphold the names of the Legions remaining behind: and the charge of the militare affaires there was committed to Hordeonius Flaccus. When Vitellius had marched some few daies iourny, he vnderstood of the good successe at Bebriacum; then that Otho was dead and the war finished: whereupon calling an assembly he highly extolleth the valiantnesse of the souldiers. [a] After the speech, his Army instantly requested him to create Asiaticus his freedman a gentleman of Rome: which shamfull flattery he then rebuked; and soone after vpon a fickleness of wit, that which he had openly refused, he priuily bestowed in banquet, and honoured with ringes Asiaticus, a base abiect slaue, and one seeking to rise by ill meanes. About the same

[a] *Primo imperij die*, saith *Suetonius*. c. 12. contrary to the circumstances of this place.

Cap. 58.

time

time message was brought that Albinus Procurator of both Mauretaines was slain, and the Countries had sided themselues with Vitellius. Lucceius Albinus was by Nero set ouer Mauretania Cæsariensis, and Galba annexed the administration of Tingitana; so that he had forces of good moment vnder his charge: eighteene Cohorts, fiue wings, and an infinite number of Moores not vnfit for the war, as men that vsually liued of stealing and harrowing their neighbours. When Galba was slaine he followed the party of Otho, and not contenting himselfe with Africke, had a purpose for Spaine, being disioyned from it by a narrow straight. Hereupon Cluuius Rufus was afraid, and commanded the tenth Legion to approach to the shore, as if he meant to haue shipped ouer: sending before certaine Centurions to induce the mindes of the Moores to fauour Vitellius: neither was it hard to effect. For the fame of the German Army was great thorowout all the Prouinces, and beside a report was spred, that Albinus contemning the name of a Procurator, had vsurped a royall diademe, and the name of [b] Iuba. So their mindes being changed, thereupon they went and slew Asinius Pollio Captaine of a Wing, one of Albinus faithfullest frindes, and Festus and Scipio two Captaines of Cohorts: Albinus himselfe as he went by sea from Tingitana to Mauretania Cæsarienses was slaine as he landed, and his wife withall, who voluntarily offred hir selfe to the slaughter. These things and all else that was done Vitellius passed ouer without due examination, as his maner was with a short audience to turne ouer matters of greatest importance; a man far vnmeete to wild weighty affaires. When they came to Araris Vitellius willed the Army to march by land, and went himselfe downe by the riuer, without any furniture fit for a Prince, but in his old beggerly array, till Iunius Blœsus Gouernour of Gallia Lugdunensis, a man of high parentage, of a francke minde and wealth answerable thereto, furnished him of prouision and seruitours, and accompanied him honorably according to his estate: a thankles office and displeasing, albeit Vitellius sought by submisse and glozing speeches to couer his hatred. At Lions the Generals met him of both sides, the winning and loosing. Valens and Cæcina he commended in open assembly, and set them about [c] his chaire of estate: then he commanded the whole Army to goe out, and meet his little [d] yoong son. Being brought and clothed in a [e] princely mantell, his father holding him in his armes named him Germanicus, and arraied him with all the imperiall ornaments: this excessiue honour in prosperity, in aduersity serued [f] for a comfort. Then were the braueſt and forwardest of Othoes Centurions put to the sword: vpon which occasion grew principally the dislike the Illyrian Armies conceiued of Vitellius, and withall the rest of the Legions, partly by contagion, and partly vpon enuy to the German souldiers, proiected warre in their mindes. Suetonius Paullinus and Licinius Proculus could not haue audience, but were detained a great while in sorrow and heauinesse: till at length being admitted they produced matter of excuse, rather such as stood with the present necessity, then such as might stand with their honour: as that in fauour of Vitellius they had betried their owne fellowes; alleaging the length of the iourny before the battell, the wearinesse of Othoes men, the shuffling of Cartes and the souldiers together, and many other matters of chance, as done by them for the purpose: and Vitellius beleeued the treason, and acquited them of the crime of fidelity. Saluius Titianus Othoes brother was clearely discharged, being holden excused both because he was so nearely tied by nature, and because he was a man of no moment. Marius Celsus had his life and honour saued: for his Consulship was reserued vnto him. It was said and beleeud, and afterward obiected to Cæcilius Simplex in the Senate, that he sued to haue bought that Office with mony, seeking with all the destruction

b The last King of *Mauretania*, subdued by *Cæsar*, *anno urb. cond.* 708. *cap.* 67.

c *Curuli sue.* The Consuls also had *sellas curules* in the Emperours times, belike differing in furniture, in the free state the Prætors had also, and some of the Edils. *cap.* 60.

d Of fiue yeere old. *Suetonius.*

e *Paludamentum*

f Not very long: for *Mucianus* caused him to be made away. 4. *Histor.*

destruction of Celsus: but Vitellius refused the suite, and gaue Simplex afterward the Consulship without either mony or bloud. As for [g] Trachalus, Galeria Vitellius wife protected him against his accusers. Among these dangers of honorable persons one Maricus (a shame to be spoken) a base fellow among the Boians, counterfaiting new reuelations, dared to thrust himselfe forward and trie his aduenture, and to prouoke the Roman forces against him: who pretending to be the setter of France at freedome, and a god, (for so he intitled himselfe) had drawen already together eight thousand men, and began to wast the frontiers of the Æduans: but that graue and wise City, assembling the choice of their youth with some of Vitellius Cohortes, discomfited that fanaticall multitude. In that encounte Maricus was taken, and being cast to the wilde beastes because he was not deuoured, the sottish people beleeued that he could not be hurt, vntill such time, as in the presence of Vitellius afterward he was slaine: neither was there any further cruelty shewed to any of that conspiracy, either in body or goods. The Testaments also of them which died in the field for Otho, remained in their full strength and validity; or if they died vnte-state, the ordinary course of the Law, prouided in that behalfe, was obserued. And generally, if he could haue forborne his riotous liuing, or vsed any moderation therin, couetousnesse was a crime in him not to be feared: but he was shamefully giuen [h] to his belly, without all order or measure: for which purpose there were daily brought out of Rome and Italie, all prouocations of gluttony: the high-waies from both the seas sounded of nothing else but of Caters and Ripiers: the greatest men in the cities were spent and consumed in prouiding of Cates for the banquets: the cities themselues were wasted: the souldiers grew worse and degenerated from labour and vertue: partly by enuring themselues to pleasures, and partly through the contemptibleness of the Commander. Moreouer an edict was sent before hand to Rome, wherein Vitellius declared, that he would not accept of the title of Augustus as yet, nor the name of Cæsar at all, whereas in substance and power he abated nothing thereof: and withall the [i] Astrologers were banished out of Italy: and moreouer it was straitly inhibited, that no Roman Gentleman should pollute himselfe with profession of fencing in Schoole or Theatre. Some former Princes had hired them with mony to doe it, and more often compelled them by force: and many Free-townes and Colonies, ech striuing to excell others induced some "vnthrifty yongue men to the like dishonour. Now Vitellius vpon the comming of his brother, and certaine Schoole-masters of tyrannie creeping into the Court, waxing prouder and fiercer, commanded Dolabella, whom as before we remembred, Otho had confined to Aquinum, vpon this occasion to be slaine. Dolabella, hearing that Otho was dead, was returned to Rome: whereof Plautius Varus once Prætor, one of Dolabellaes most inward friendes, accused him before Flauius Sabinus the Prouost of the City, as if he had broken prison, to the end to make offer of himselfe for a head to the conquered faction: adding moreouer, that to that purpose he had felt the cohort, which was in garrison at Ostia: but hauing no one proofe of any of these so great crimes, he began to repent of his wicked deede, and sought pardon, but too late, after the fact. As Flauius Sabinus was in doubt how to proceed, in a matter of that weight, Triaria the wife of Lucius Vitellius, fierce and cruell aboue the ordinary of that sex, terrified him; warning him not to affect the commendation of clemency by the perill of his Prince. Sabinus, a man of his owne nature of a milde disposition, but when he was put in feare easie to be changed, and fearing to make another mans danger his owne lest he should seeme to haue helped him vp, as he was falling pushed him forward. Vitellius, partly vpon feare and partly vpon an old grudge, because

[g] Who composed the oration which Galba pronounced to the people before his departure from Rome, li. 1. Hist.

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[h] Vide Suetō. Vitel. 13.

[i] Seneca ep. 99. ejecerat urbe, quos ex nobilissima familia in artem infamem protecit.

Cap. 63.

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becauſe Dolabella had taken Petronia to wife ſtraight vpon hir deuorce from him, called him by letters to him: and commanding to auoide the beaten Flaminian way, and carry him by Interamna, he gaue commiſſion to murther him there. That ſeemed too long to him who had the Commiſſion: and therefore in an Inne by the way, as Dolabella reſted himſelfe on the ground, he cut his throat, to the great infamy of the new gouernment, whereof this was the firſt proofe. This kinde of behauiour of Triaria was the more odious, by ſetting againſt it the modeſty of hir next neighbour Galeria the Emperours wife, heaping not ſorrowes vpon the ſorrowfull, and the rare vertue of Sextilia his mother, a woman of the ancient ſort: who is alſo reported to haue ſaid at the reading of hir ſonnes firſt letters, that a Vitellius was borne by her and not a Germanicus: neither did ſhe afterwards through any allurements of fortune, or courting of the City, participate any thing elſe of hir ſonnes eſtate, ſaue onely the ſmartes of hir houſe when it fell.

1 The Aſtrologers were] The ſubſtance of the edict was, *vt intra Kal. Octobr. vrbe Italiâque Mathematici excederent.* The night following the Aſtrologers ſet vp, ſaith * Suetonius, another edict *in hæc verba BONVM FACTVM, vt Vitellius Germanicus intra eundem kalendarum diem vſquam neeſſet*, which how it was verified in him that liued till the latter end of December following, I would gladly haue the Aſtrologers themſelues to calculate vnto vs: eſpecially being an example whereof all their bookes are full. And to ſay the truth, Zonaras ſeemeth to giue ſome patronage to the errour, and Xiphilin alſo, who ſaith the edict was publiſhed after Vitellius comming to Rome, whereas by Tacitus it ſhould ſeeme rather to be ſent from Lions. His words be theſe, ἐπεὶ ἐν τῇ ῥώμῃ ἐγένετο φοβερὰ πάμπα εἶδε δι' ἃ τοὺς ἀστρολόγους ἐξήλασε (being otherwiſe very ſuperſtitiouſly giuen himſelfe, φιλόμαντις ὢν ἄρχων, καὶ μηδὲ τὸ βραχὺ πρᾶσσων ἄνευ αὐτῶν, That is, being a follower of Southſayers, and doing euer ſo ſmall a matter without their aduiſe, ſaith Zonoras) πρὸ πολλῶν σφίσιν ἐν τοῖς δὲ τοῖς ὑμέραις (ῥητήν τινα τάξας) ἐξ ἀποδόσεως τῆς ἰταλίας χωρῆσαι. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐυεῖνοι νυκτὸς ἀντιπροσδέντες κάμματα ἀντιπαρεσήμηναν ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷδε ἐν τοῖς ὑμέραις ἐφ' ᾗ ἐτελευτησε. That is, Being come to Rome he publiſhed an edict wherein he exiled the Aſtrologers, charging them before ſuch a day (naming the time) to depart out of Italie and they to requit him in the night ſeaſon ſet vp their Cartell denouncing to him that he ſhould before ſuch a day depart out of this life, as in truth he did.

* Sueton. cap. 14.

XXI. *Vitellius voyage from Lions into Italy by Turin, Pauia, Cremona, Bebriacum, and ſo to Banonia, and the actions which happened in the meane way.*

AS Vitellius was departed from Lions, Marcus Cluuius Rufus leauing his charge in Spaine ouertaketh him, carying ioy and gratulation in countenance, but heauineſſe in his heart, knowing that he had beene ſhot at, and matter put vp againſt him. Hilarius the Emperours Freed-man had articled againſt him, that hearing of Vitellius and Othoes contention for the Empire, he had endeuoured to erect a ſouerainty of his owne, and aſſure to himſelfe the poſſeſſion of Spaine: and therefore had named in the beginning of his * Commiſſion no Prince: certaine points alſo of his Orations he picked out, and conſtrued as tending to the defacing of Vitellius, and making himſelfe popular. But the credit of Cluuius preuailed ſo far, that Vitellius contrarily commanded his man to be puniſhed, and aſſumed Cluuius into his traine; ſuffering him withall to enioy Spaine, which he gouerned ſtill notwithſtanding his abſence, according to the precedent of [a] Lucius Arruntius, whom Tiberius Cæſar retained for feare, but Vitellius kept Cluuius vpon no ſuch ielouſie. Trebellius Maximus had not the like fauour; he fled out of Britany, becauſe the ſouldiers were incenſed againſt him; and Vectius Volanus was ſent in his place.

cap. 65.

* *Diplomate*; which although granted and ſealed by the Gouernours of the Prouinces, yet the ſtile was as from the Prince, and in the Princes name were the Commiſſions directed.

[a] *Tac. 4. Ann.*

Of all matter preſent that vexed Vitellius moſt, to ſee the vanquiſhed Legions retain their ſtomackes vnuanquiſhed: being diſperſed thorow Italy together with the winners, in all ſpeech they ſhewed themſelues affected as enemies, and namely the fourteenth Legion; which carried the greateſt ſtomacke of them all, denying that

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euer they were ouercome: that in the battell at Bebriacum the Vexillaries onely were put to flight, the ſtrength of the Legion being not preſent. Wherefore it was thought expedient to ſend them backe into Britanny, from whence they were called by Nero; and in the meane time, that they and the Cohorts of Batauians ſhould quarter together, by reaſon of the ancient iarring betweene them. Neither could they, hauing both weapons in hand and hating ech other ſo deadly, agree long together. At Turin as one of the Batauians quarrelled with an Artificer, as hauing couſened him, and a Legionary ſouldier tooke his part, and defended him as being his Hoaſt, their companions ſorting themſelues each to their fellow, from bitter words paſſed to blowes: and a bloudy battell had beene fought, had not two Prætorian Cohorts taken the Legionaries part, and ſo much increaſed their ſtrength, that the Batauians were forced for feare to giue ouer. Vpon which accident Vitellius commanded to vnite to his traine the Batauians, as well-willers to the cauſe, and to ſend the Legion away and conduct it ouer the Graian Alpes, by the way that miſſed Vienna; for they of Vienna alſo were had in a iealouſie. That night the Legion remoued, fires being left here and there negligently vnput out, part of Turin was burnt: which dammage, as many other bad effectes of that war, greater calamities of other Cities did vtterly blot and put out of remembrance. The Legion hauing paſſed the Alpes, ſome of the moſt ſeditious among them carried their enſeignes toward Vienna: but by the conſent of the better ſort they were ſtaied; and ſo the Legion was tranſported into Britanny. The next feare that Vitellius had, was of the [b] Prætorian Cohorts. And firſt they were ſeparated: then in good ſort and [c] courteouſly caſſed, with commandement to deliuer vp their armor to their Tribunes; and ſo they remained vntill ſuch time as the war was begun by Veſpaſian: then they reſumed armes and were the ſtrength of the Flauian ſide. Of the other Legions the firſt ſurnamed Claſſica was ſent into Spaine, that by peace and reſt it might wax tractable: the eleuenth and ſeuenth were returned to their ſtanding Campes: the thirteenth ſet [d] a worke to build Amphitheatres: for Cæcina at Cremona, and Valens at Bononia made preparation to ſet forth a ſhew of Fencers; Vitellius being neuer ſo intentiuely addicted to ſerious affaires, that he would forget his paſtimes and pleaſures. And thus with good moderation he ſet them aſunder. In the winning ſide a mutinee aroſe vpon a ſporting beginning, but that the number of them which were ſlaine made it a matter of earneſt, and the whole war more odious. Vitellius was in Ticinum at a banquet, and with him Verginius. The Lieutenants and Tribunes are frugall [e] or riotous, according to the Princes diſpoſitions: in like ſort the ſouldiers ſeuere or diſſolute: in Vitellius traine all was diſorderly and full of drunkenneſſe, more like to [f] Wakes and the feaſts of Bacchus, [f] then to a Campe where diſcipline ſhould be. It happened that two ſouldiers one of the fift Legion, another a French Auxiliary, vpon a iolity challenged one another to wreſtle: and when as the Legionary was throwne, the French-man inſulting ouer him, and they which look't on diuiding themſelues into ſides, the Legionary ſouldiers taking themſelues to their weapons made hauocke of the Axiliaries, and ſlew two Cohortes of them. The remedie of this tumult was another tumult: Duſt and gliſtring of Armour was ſeene a farre off: and ſuddenly it was noiſed in the Army, that the fourteenth Legion was returned with intention to fight: but it was their owne riereward; which being perceiued, that care was ended. In the meane ſeaſon, as one of Verginius ſeruants by chance came by, the ſouldiers charge and accuſe him, that he was ſet to kill Vitellius, and ruſh thereupon into the banqueting place requiring the death of Verginius. No man doubted of Verginius innocency, no not Vitellius himſelfe,

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[b] *Suetonius Vitellio*, c. 10. reporteth the ſame and no more: *quicquid Prætoriarum cohortium fuit, uno exauctoraute edicto*, but by the new enrolement deſcribed in *Tacitus*, it may ſeeme that *urbanæ cohortes* were alſo diſmiſſed.

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[c] *Miſſio alia honeſta, alia ignominioſa, bonæ ex ualitudine, ex ſtipendij confectu*, and in the beſt ſtate, as I thinke, *pro hæreditate adeunda, pro honoribus petendis*, &c.

[d] For ſome ſhort time, and ſo ſent home againe into Pannonia: for there we finde it againe in the beginning of the reuolt of *Illyricum* from *Vitellius*.

[e] *Temperiùs conuiuijs delectantur, conuiuia tempeſtiua* thoſe, which to make the worke the longer are begun before the ordinary houre.

[f] Reade *Suet. Vitellio*. c. 10.

himselfe, although otherwise very suspicious and fearefull, and notwithstanding they demanded the death of so honorable a personage, and one which had once beene their Generall, yet were they hardly appeased. Neither was there any man so oft shot at as Verginius in all seditions and mutinous assemblies: the admiration and fame of the man remained amongst them; but they hated him deadly, because he had contemned their offer. The day following Vitellius gaue audience to the Senates Embassage, which he willed there to attend him; and going from thence to the Campe, he spake to the souldiers, commending their dutifull disposition, and tender carefulnesse ouer his person: but the Auxiliaries fretted and fumed to see the Legionaries growen to that height of insolency, and no punishment inflicted vpon them. Whereupon the Cohorts of Batauians, lest they should attempt some desperate act, were sent backe againe into Germany, the course of affaires fatally tending to minister matter, as well [g] to a forraine war, as to a ciuill. The French Auxiliaries also were turned home to their Countries; an excessiue number, and straight at the first reuolt assumed by Vitellius into the cause, for an idle complement of the warre. Now to the end that the treasure and reuenues of the Empire, though minished and wasted, might suffice for his excessiue and prodigall donations, he commandeth to lessen the number of souldiers in the Legions and Aides, forbidding supplies to be made, and offering dismissions indifferently: which action of his proued pernitious to the State, and vnpleasant to the souldiers. For fewer now bare the same burthens; and perils and labours came thicker about; and their strength was wasted with riotous life by reason of such abundance, contrary to the ancient discipline and vsage of our forefathers, vnder whom the Roman estate was gouerned and stood, by vertue better then mony. From thence Vitellius turned to Cremona: and when he had seene Cæcinaes plaies, he was desirous to goe to Bebriacum and view the place with his eies of the late victory. The spectacle was ougly and grisly to behold: within forty daies after the battell, bodies [h] torne a pieces, mangled limmes, figures of horses and men putrified, the ground imbrued with corruption and bloud, the Country miserably wasted, the Trees and Corne troden downe and spoiled: that also was a point of inhumanity that they of Cremona had strowed the way [2] with Roses and Bay, erected Altars, and sacrificed thereon [i] as the maner is to Kings passing by: which things, albeit they pleased them presently, turned afterwards to their ruine. Cæcina and Valens were by, and shewed the places of the conflict: from this place the Legions went out and charged: from hence the horsemen arose: from thence the Auxiliaries closed about. Now the Tribunes and Captaines extolling ech his owne prowesse, with many a lie mingled some truthes, or made of the truth more then it was. The common souldiers also with clamour and ioy stept out of the way calling to remembrance the ground they had trauersed, behold and wonder at the heapes of armour and bodies: and some there were whom the changeable fortune of humane affaires mooued to pitty and teares. But Vitellius as a man without all compassion turned not away his eies, nor had [k] not in horror to see so many thousands of vnburied Citizens: but contrariwise iocunde, and ignorant of his owne lot which followed so nearely, he maketh a solemne sacrifice [3] to the gods of the place. After these things Fabius Valens at Bononia maketh a shew of Fencers: to the setting out wherof, furniture was fetched from Rome: and the nearer Vitellius came to the City, the more dissolute and corrupt was he and his Company, Stage-plaiers associating themselues to the traine, [l] and droues of Eunuches, and the rest of the Buffons of Neroes Court. For Vitellius was an admirer also of Nero himselfe, and was wont to attend [m] and follow him as he did sing, not by compulsion

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[g] Raised by Cæsar in the Rebellion of Vindex, and exercised by the reliques of the French. Tac. Hist. 4. & 5.

cap. 70.

[h] Xiphilinus writeth that in the battels about Cremona in both sides 40000 men were slaine. Tacitus following the precept of Sallust, neuer or most seldome setteth downe the number.

[i] And not new in the Roman Princes, if Suet. deceiue not in Galba c. 18 per omne iter dextrâ sinistrâque oppidatim victimæ cædebantur.

[k] Suetonius Vitellio. c. 10. addeth further vt campos in quibus pugnatum est adijt, abhorrentes quosdam cadaverum tabem, detestatis voce confirmare causus est, optimè olere occisum hostem, & melius ciuem.

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[l] 3. Hist. of Fabius Valens. multo, ac molli cubiculorum spadonumq; agmine.

[m] Read Suet. c. 4.

compulsions as many a good man, but selling his honour to nourish his riot and feed his belly, to which he had wholly enthralled himselfe. Now that Valens and Cæcina might obtaine some voide monthes that yeere to be Consuls in, certaine others * were abridged of their time: M. Macer was passed ouer because he had beene a Captaine of Othoes side: Valerius Marinus whom Galba appointed was put ouer to another time, not vpon any dislike, but because he was of a soft nature, and would gently put vp a wrong. Pedanius Costa was omitted being dislik't of the Prince, because he had attempted against Nero, pricked Verginius forward: but Vitellius alleadged other causes; and according to the seruile custome of that time great thankes were giuen him beside.

* Coarctati aliorum consulatus. some indeed were stricken out but euery one, as it may seeme, accomplished his ordinary time of two monthes. See the annotation vpon the first booke.

[1] Wakes and feasts of Bacchus] *Peruigilia*, wakes and solemnities by night, in honour of some god, during sometimes for many nights together, in which indeed was practised all kind of dissolutenesse and insolency. *Cum vinum & nox, & missi fœminis mares, ætatis tenera maioribus discrimen omne pudoris exuinxissent*, as Liuie speaketh. Of which kinde in the Common-weales of Greece were many, and many abuses growing thereof, as may well appeere out of the Comedies of those times, and Plautus Aulularia *Ego me iniuriam fecisse fateor filiæ tuæ, Cereris vigiliis per vinum atque impulsu adolescentiæ*, and yet those of Ceres seeme of all other to haue beene the most sober, and therefore thought fit to be retained by Tully. 2. *de legibus. Nocturna sacrificia mulierum, ne sonto, præter illa quæ pro populo ritè fiunt. neue quem initianto, nisi, vt assolet, Cereri, Græco sacro.* Vitellius, saith Suet. cap. 10. *In Appennini quidem iugis etiam peruigilium egit*: to which act of his Tacitus peraduenture heere alludeth. Now Bacchanalia were, as I thinke, nothing else but *peruigilia* in honour of Bacchus, of all other the most dissolute, corrupt and desperat, of whose beginnings, increase, and destruction in the Roman state, read Liuy lib. 38. and Tully lib. 2. *de legibus*.

[2] With Roses and Bay, erected Altars] vpon the comming of Kings and great Personages, the custome was to straw the waies with flowers. Herodianus li. 4. at Caracallaes entry into Alexandria; λαδυχίες τε καὶ ἀνθέων βολαῖς ἐτίμων τὸν βασιλέα. *That is, They honoured the Emperour with Torches and strawing of flowers*, and li. 1. at the comming of Commodus to Rome, ὡς δὲ πλησίον ἐγένετο τῆς ῥώμης πᾶσα τε ἡ σύγκλητος, καὶ πανδημεὶ ὅσοι τὴν ῥώμην κατῴκουν ἄνθρωποι, ἀφηνιάσαντες, καὶ πάντα ὑποφερόμενοι ἄνθη τότε ἀκμάζοντα, ὡς ἕκαστος ὅτος τε ἦν πόρρω τῆς πόλεως ὑπήντων. *That is, As he approched neere the citie, all the Senate, and generally as many as dwelt in Rome came foorth and met him euery many as far off from the City as possibly he could, bearing baies and bringing all sorts of flowers then in season.* Claudianus Panegyrica. 2. de Stilicone.

Spectabunt cupidæ matres, spargentur & omnes.
Flore uiæ——

[3] To the gods of the place] In that religion euery wood and field had his locall gods, without whose good fauor no humane action could in that place haue any happy successe. So Æneas in Virg. l. 7. at his entry into Italy.

——genium que loci primámque deorum.
Tellurem, nymphásque, & adhuc ignota precatur.
Flumina —— and Orestes in Sophocles Electrâ.

ἄνα' ὦ πατρῷα γῆ, θεοί τ' ἐγχώριοι
δέξασθέ μ' εὐτυχοῦντα τοῖς δι' ὑμῶν ὁδοῖς. In Xenophon 1 παιδ. Cambyses and Cyrus passing out of Persia σφᾶς ἐπεύξαντο θεοῖς καὶ ἥρωσι τοῖς τῆς περσίδος γῆν κατέχουσιν, ἵλεως καὶ εὐμενεῖς πέμπειν σφᾶς. *That is, Besought the gods protectors of Persia, to send them foorth fauourably and with good speed.* And entring into Media, ἐπεύχονται αὖθις θεοῖς τοῖς μηδίαν γῆν κατέχουσιν. ἵλεως καὶ εὐμενεῖς δέχεσθαι αὐτούς. *That is, to receiue them fauourably and with good speed.*

XXII. *One Geta a Bond-man counterfaiting himselfe to be Scribonianus Camerinus, and associating others vnto him, was taken, brought to Vitellius and hanged.*

cap. 72

ABOVT the same time a certaine fable, beleeued at the first, and running without controlement at the beginning, ended within few daies. A certaine man counterfaited himselfe to be Scribonianus Camerinus, and that he had lyen in Neroes time for feare secret in Histria, because there the vassals and possessions of the old Crassi and the affection toward the name did remaine. So certain leaud persons being assumed to furnish the play, the credulous common people, and some of the souldiers, vpon ignorance of the truth, or else desirous of troubles, began to associat themselues vnto him a pace: but their Captain was intrapped anon and brought before Vitellius, and being examined what maner of man he was, when as they found

found no truth in his answers, and that he was owned by his master by name and quality Geta a fugitiue bond-man, he was executed after the maner of slaues.

XXIII. *Vespasian sweareth to Vitellius: then taketh vpon him-selfe the Empire in Iewry.*

IT is scarsely credible how greatly Vitellius grew in pride and slothfulnesse, when as the souldiers sent for that purpose brought word out of Syria and Iewry, that the East had sworne allegeance vnto him. For Vespasian, albeit onely vpon a flying report without any certaine Author, was in euery mans mouth, and commonly spoken of, and oftentimes as he was named Vitellius would startle. Then he and his Army, as being without any concurrent in cruelty, in lust, in oppression, brake out into barbarous and forraine behauiour. But Vespasian in the meane season laying his plot for the war, entred into consideration of the forces both neare and farre off. His owne souldiers, were so ready in his behalfe, that when he began them the oath and wished all prosperity to Vitellius, the souldiers answered with silence, without either good wish or good word. Mutianus was not aliene from Vespasian, and toward Titus very well affected. Alexander the gouernour of Ægypt had entred into the confederacy. The third Legion, because it was transferred out of Syria into Mœsia, Vespasian reckened as his owne: and the rest of the Illyrian Legions it was hoped would follow. For the insolent behauiour of the souldiers which came from Vitellius, with their proud gestures and lookes, and rude speeches, despising all others as base and inferiours, had wonderfully offended all the Armies beside. But to enter into so weighty a war was a point not so quickely resolued vpon: and Vespasian albeit he hoped the best, forecast sometimes the worst in his minde: what a day would that be for him, in the which he should commit to the mercy of the war himselfe of threescore yeeres of age, and his two sonnes in the flower of their youth? that in priuate attempts a man might proceed and stop where hee listed; but to them which desired the Empire ther was no middle course, between the estate of a Prince and the death of a Traytour. Furthermore he laied before him the puissance of the German Army; a matter well knowen vnto him [a] being a martial man: that his Legions had neuer made triall of themselues in a ciuill war, whereas they of Vitellius had beene conquerours therein: and the conquered party abounded more in complaints then in forces and strength. Moreouer that in ciuill dissensions the faith of the souldiers was fleeting: and that there was perill to be feared from euery particular man. For what would Cohorts and Wings auaile, if one or two, to attaine the reward proposed by the other side, would desperately venture to kill him? so Scribonianus was slaine vnder Claudius, and so his murderer Volaginius of a common souldier was preferred to the highest places of seruice. That it was a more easie matter to incite all in generall, then to beware of euery one in particular. As he seemed to wauer mooued with these feares, both the other Lieutenants with the rest of his frindes sought to confirme him, and Mutianus after many and secret conferences, now also in open councell spake to him in this wise. All men, which are to enter into great and important actions, ought to weigh with themselues, whether that which is vndertaken be profitable to the Common-wealth, honorable for themselues, and easie to be effected or at least not greatly difficult: withal the party that perswadeth vnto it is to be considered, whether beside bare words and aduise he adioyne his owne perill thereto, yea or no: and if fortune doe fauour the attempt to whom the principal glory accreweth. I cal you Vespasiã to the taking of the Empire, a matter as much

cap. 73.

cap. 74.

Cap 75

[a] *Viro militari.* for *Vespasian* before he was sent into Iewry had beene Lieutenant of a Legion in *Germanie*, then in *Britannie*, where he fought 30. battels, tooke about 20. townes, and adioyned the Ile of Wight to the obedience of the Roman Empire, whereupon he receiued *triumphalia ornamenta. Suet. Vesp. cap. 4.*

Cap. 76.

"much for the safegard of the Common-wealth, as for your owne honour. Next af-
"ter the gods it is in your hand to attaine it: and feare not as though I said it to flat-
"ter: it is more neare a disgrace then a praise to be chosen after Vitellius. We rise not
"against Augustus, a man of that deepe insight, not against the wary old age of Ti-
"berius, nor against the house of Caius, or Claudius, or Nero rooted by so many de-
"scents in the Empire: you gaue place also to the ancientnesse of Galbaes house: to
"sleepe any longer and abandon the State to be in this sort polluted and ruined, were
"a sloth and cowardise, yea although to liue in that slauery were as safe for you, as it
"is dishonourable; which indeed is not so. The time is already * gone and fore-past
"when you might seeme to haue for ambition desired the Empire: the Empire must
"now be your sanctuary and refuge. Haue you forgotten how Corbulo was murde-
"red? a man of greater lignage then we are, I grant: and so was Nero likewise then
"Vitellius. He that is feared is alwaies noble enough in his conceit that doth feare:
"and that a Prince may be made by the souldiers abroad, Vitellius himselfe hath she-
"wed the way; a man otherwise which neuer serued in fielde, neuer attained to any
"militare renowne, but preferred onely vpon a dislike of Galba, and now so disliked
"himselfe, that Otho, whom he ouercame, not by stratageme or strength, but by his
"owne hasty casting away of himselfe, is become a notable Prince and much wished
"for: whereas Vitellius in the meane time dispersth the Legions, disarmeth the Co-
"horts, and ministreth daily new matter of war. His owne soldier if he had any cou-
"rage or edge, it is dulled and worne away in tipling and brotheling-houses, and fol-
"lowing the Princes example. You haue out of Iewry, Syria and Ægypt nine com-
"pleat Legions in readinesse, not wasted by war, nor corrupted with mutinees; but a
"souldier confirmed with practise and vse, and hartned with happy exploites against
"forraine enemies. We haue Nauies, Winges and Cohorts to strengthen our cause,
"and Kings beside most faithfull vnto vs: and that which is aboue all, your owne ex-
"perience and skill. Of my selfe I will not say much: this onely that I am not inferiour
"to Cæcina and Valens: disdaine not Mutianus for a helper, because you haue him
"not a competitour: I prefer my selfe before Vitellius, and you before mee. Your
"house is beautified with triumphal ornaments, and adorned with two goodly yoong
"men, the one already [b] capable of the Empire, and in his first seruice renowned a-
"mong the Armies of Germany also: it were absurd for me not to yeeld vp the Em-
"pire to him, whose sonne I would surely adopt if may selfe were Emperour. Now as
"concerning the reward and the perill, they shall not be equally parted betweene vs.
"For if we doe ouercome, I shall haue that honour which you will affoord mee: the
"danger and perill shall be alike to vs both; or as it is better, rule you these Armies
"here, and commit ouer to me the warre and vncertaine euents of the field. The con-
"quered side liueth this day vnder better discipline, then the conquerours; anger and
"hatred, and desire of reuenge inflaming them to valour, whereas the other through
"pride and breach of discipline wax dullish and blunt: whose secret and swelling
"wounds the war of it selfe will open and disclose: neither doe I repose my selfe more
"vpon your vigilant, frugall and discreet dealing, then vpon the sluggish, doltish, and
"cruell proceeding of Vitellius. And beside all this our cause is more iustifiable in
"warre then in peace: for they which deliberate to rebell, haue rebelled. After
"the Oration of Mutianus the rest came more boldly about him, exhorting and per-
swading him, and laying before him the Oracles and Prophecies, and the fauourable
aspects of the heauens: neither was Vespasian voide of that kind of superstition. For
afterward when he was Emperor, he had openly about him one Seleucus an Astro-
loger, to foretell and direct his affaires. Moreouer certaine old and ominous pre-
sages

* *Abijt iam & transactum est tempus quo posses videri concupisse, confugiendum est ad imperium.*

[b] About twenty seuen yeeres old.

Cap. 77.

Cap. 78.

sages came to his remembrance. A notable [c] tall Cypres-tree was in his ground, which suddenly fell downe, and the day following rose vp againe vpon the same roote and flourished, growing higher and better spread then before. That then by the consent of the Haruspices fore-shewed great and prosperous matters: who assured him, when he was very yongue, of most high and honourable preferment. But at the first the [d] Consulship, and triumphall ornaments, and the glory of the Iewish victory seemed to haue fulfilled the propheey: when he had attained to them, he beleeued then the Empire was portended thereby. Betweene Iewry and Syria lieth the Mount Carmelus, and so the god also is called, to whom according to the custome anciently receiued an Altar is erected, and all deuoutnesse and reuerence shewed, but without either Image or Temple. As Vespasian sacrificed there, fraught with secret hopes in his head, Basilides the Priest often viewing and marking the entrailes, [e] What soeuer it is, quoth he, ô Vespasian which thou intendest, whether it be to build a house, or to enlarge thy possessions, or to increase the number of seruants, it shall be effected: the gods doe grant thee a great roome, large limits, and many men. These darke speeches were straight-waies noted and published, and now by the common voice of the people applyed and construed: neither was there any thing more vulgar in euery mans mouth, and especially in his owne audience; as to them which depend vpon hopes, such kindes of speeches are most vsed. From this conference they departed with full resolution, Mutianus to Antiochia, and Vespasian to Cæsaria, the one being the head towne of Syria, the other of Iudæa. [f] The matter was first published, and Vespasian named Emperour at Alexandria by Tiberius Alexander, who made the most haste, and ministred the souldiers their oath vpon the first day of Iuly, which day afterward was reputed and celebrated as the first day of his raigne, although his owne Army of Iewry began not before the* third of the same moneth: and then in his presence they sware with such affection and heate, that they did not attend the comming of Titus his sonne out of Syria, who was a messenger of all matters betweene Mutianus and his father. The [g] violence of the souldier ouer-ruled the whole action: for no assembly being called; the Legions not met together; the time and place not agreed of, nor the man determined vpon, a point in that case of most difficulty, that should speake the first word: hope and feare, reason and chance, diuersly distracted their mindes. Matters standing in these tearmes, as Vespasian came out of his Chamber, a few souldiers after the wonted manner stood on a row, as to salute their Generall, but they saluted him Emperour: then the rest ran too, and heaped vpon him the names of Cæsar and Augustus, and all titles of soueraigne power. His conceites rose from apprehension of feare to the consideration of his fortune, notwithstanding there appeared in him no token of pride or arrogancy, nor change in so great a change; but being amazed at the sudden sight of so great a multitude, assoone as he had recouered his spirits he spake vnto them souldier-like: and being receiued with a ioyfull applause, he sent word to Mutianus of his successe. Mutianus at Antiochia receiuing the message which he looked for, called the souldiers to the oath for Vespasian, which they most willingly accepted. Then he went to [i] the Theatre, where the maner of that towne is to meet and consult: and made a speech vnto them, as they flocked and fawned about him, in their owne language, as he was a man competently eloquent in the Greeke tongue also; and one that had the art to make the most shew of whatsoeuer he spake or did. But aboue all, that incensed principally both the Prouince and the Army, which Mutianus affirmed, that Vitellius had determined to transferre the German Legions into Syria, a rich and quiet seruice; and of the Contrary

[c] *Sueton. Vespas. cap. 5.*

[d] *Quem gessit*, saith *Suetonius*, *per duos minusue menses*, about the latter end of *Claudius* time.

[e] *Sueton Vesp. c. 5. apud Iudæam Carmelitæ oraculum consulentem (Vespasianum) ita confirmauere sortes, vt quicquid cogitaret voluerit que animo quantumlibet magnum, id esse perpetuum pollicerentur.* cap. 79.

[f] *Sueton Vesp. c. 6.* saith the matter was first broched and begun by the *Illyrian* army.

* 5 to *Nonas. Sueton.* 5. to *Idus*, which is the eleuenth day.

[g] The souldiers affection toward *Vespasian*, and the maner and circumstances of his assuming the Empire, are well set downe by *Iosephus de B. G.* 4. c. 36 (who was present at the action) with some particularities not touched by *Tacitus* heere, noted by *Egesippus* also *lib.* 4. *ca.* 27. if it be the ancient *Egesippus*, and not rather an extract of *Iosephus*. cap. 80.

trary side to remooue the Syrian Legions into Germany, a hard and cold Country[a] and a place of great paines: for both they of the Prouince liked well of the souldiers company, to whom they were enured, and with whom many of them were linked in affinity and kinred, and the souldiers likewise loued the place of their setled Campes, as their owne homes, being growen familiar with them, by reason of their long seruice there. Before the fifteenth of Iuly all Syria had receiued the same oath. Moreouer Sohemus with his Kingdomes adioyned himselfe to the cause, a man of good forces; and Antiochus of wealth of long gathering, and of all the subiect Kings the richest. Agrippa also, vpon secret aduertisments from his friendes, departed [b] from Rome vnawares to Vitellius, and sailed hastily home: and likewise the Queene Berenice with all her might furthered the side, a Queene in the flower of hir beauty and youth, and well beloued of the old Vespasian also, in respect of the great and rich gifts which she gaue. All the Prouinces which bordered on the Sea, as far as Asia and Achaia, and all the inlands to Pontus and Armenia, receiued the oath: but the Lieutenants thereof were without Armies, for as yet [c] Cappadocia had no Legions assigned.

[a] He came out of Iury with *Titus* when he was sent by his father to *Galba*: and when *Titus* vpon the message of *Galbaes* death returned backe againe from Corinth, *Agrippa* notwithstanding, saith *Iosephus lib. 4 cap. 29.* μᾶλλον ἐφιέμενος εὔνοιαν τῶν στρατευομένων, ἢ τὴν ἐκείνου χάριν ἀπολωλυῖαν, vt apud nouum principem locaret gratiam, saith our common *Hegesippus, lib. 4. ca. 21.*

[b] from Rome vnawares] Cap. 82.

[c] Cappadocia had no Legions] Vespasian being setled in state *Cappadocie*, saith [a] Suetonius, *propter assiduos barbarorum incursus legiones addidit, consularemque rectorem imposuit pro equite Romano*, yet by Tacitus it may seeme there was some power. *Cappadocia Pontusque & quicquid castrorum Armeniis præ:enditur.*

[a] Cap. 8.

XXIIII. *The preparation of Vespasian and his side for the warre.*

BERYTVS [1] was elected for the place of their principall consultations. Thither Mutianus with the Lieutenants and Tribunes repaired, and the chiefest of the Centurions and souldiers, and certaine choise persons out of the Iewish Army. So many foot men and horse-men together, and so great preparations of Kings striuing to exceede one another made shew of a Princes estate. The first prouision for warr was to leuy more men, and reuoke the old souldiers which were discharged: certaine strong Cities were appointed out to make Armour therein: at Antioche gold and siluer was coined: and in all these seuerall workes great speed and diligence vsed by the meanes of good ouer-seers. Vespasian also would goe in his owne person and encourage them, inciting the good by praise, the slow by example rather then correction, more ready to conceale the vices of his friendes then the vertues: many he rewarded with Captaines and Procuratours places, many he aduanced to be Senatours, excellent men and of great vertue, and which afterwards attained to highest degrees, although in some fortune supplied the want of good qualities. As for donatiues to the souldier, neither did Mutianus in his first oration make any mention but sparingly thereof, nor Vespasian make any offer of greater in ciuill warre, then others were wonted in peace; a man notable and firme against these lauish things to souldiers, and therefore hauing his Army better in order. Moreouer

Embassa-

[1] The Theatre, where the maner of that towne is to meet and consult] For so all the Græcian Cities vsed to doe, as appeareth both by the Greeke Orators and Historiographers, a thing noted also by Ausonius *Ludo sept. sapientum, Prologo.*

Quid erubescis tu togate Romule?
Scenam quod introibant tam clari viri?
Nobis pudendum est hoc, non & Atticis
Quibus theatrum curiæ præbet vicem?
Nostris negotiis sua loca sortito data.
Campus comitiis, vt conscriptis curia.
Forum atque rostra separat ius ciuium.
Vna est Athenis, atque in omni Græciâ
Ad consulendum publici sedes loci.

Embaſſadours were ſent to the kings of Parthia and Armenia to conclude a ſurceance of armes, leſt whileſt the Legions were intentiue vpon the ciuill warre, thoſe nations ſhould aſſault the frontiers behind. It was agreed that Titus ſhould proſecute the Iewiſh warre, and Veſpaſian ſhould put himſelfe in poſſeſſion of the [a] ſtrength of Ægypt. Againſt Vitellius it was thought ſufficient to ſend a part of the hoſt, and Mutianus to lead them, and the name of Veſpaſian, and the fauour of fate, which findeth or maketh a way through all lets. Then letters were written to all the Lieutenants and armies, and orden giuen out to inuite the Prætorian ſouldiers, which hated Vitellius, vpon promiſe of reſtitution to their places. Mutianus with an army not encombred with cariage, bearing himſelfe rather as the Emperours fellow then as a ſeruant [2] marched forward, not very ſtoutly, leſt he ſhould ſeem for feare to delay, nor yet very haſtily, but gaue time for the fame of the action to grow; knowing that his ſtrength was not much, and that men beleeue alwaies greater maters of things which are abſent: but there followed a great troupe, the ſixth Legion, and thirteene thouſand Vexillaries. The fleete hee commaunded to paſſe out of Pontus and meete him at Byzantium, being halfe in a minde to leaue Mœſia, [3] and with his horſemen and footemen directly to go to Dyrrhachium, and withall with his ſhippes of warre to ſhut vp the ſea toward Italie, leauing Achaia and Aſia behinde him in ſafety; which, vnleſſe they were garded with ſufficient power, being without armies would lie open to Vitellius, and that by that meanes Vitellius himſelfe would ſtand in doubt what part of Italy to protect, if at one inſtant Brunduſium and Tarentum, and the coaſts of Lucania and Calabria ſhould be infeſted by enemy fleets. Thus the [b] prouinces were buſily occupied in prouiſion of ſhippes, men, and armour; but the greateſt difficulty was to get money: which Mutianus affirming to bee the ſinewes of ciuill warre, reſpected not law or equity in iudgements, but onely what way to procure maſſes of money. Crimes were dayly deuiſed againſt men of moſt wealth, and they ſpoiled: which maner of dealing being of it ſelfe greeuous and intollerable, but in ſome ſort excuſable by the neceſſity of the warre, remained alſo in peace afterward. For Veſpaſian himſelfe, albeit at the beginning of his Empire he was not ſo obſtinately bent to attaine vnreaſonable matters, yet vpon his continuall proſperity, and taught by ill maſters, hee tooke foorth a bad leſſon, and vſed it boldy. With his owne purſe alſo Mutianus furthered the warre, conferring priuately that, which he would in more ample meaſure repay himſelfe out of the common. The reſt following his example in contributing of money, few or none had the grace to receiue it againe with the like vantage.

[a] *Clauſtra Aegypti Joſephus, ἀλλὰ. lib. 4. c. 37.* Openeth this matter at large of the neceſſity of the countrey to the victailing of Italie, of the ſtrength of euery ſide, and hardnes of acceſſe either by land or by ſea, and eſpecially of the dangerouſnes of the hauen at *Alexandria* a very particular deſcription neuertheleſſe *Veſpaſian*, after the coniultation at *Berytus* according to *Joſephus* ca. 4. went to *Antiochia* before hee went into Ægypt cap. 83.

[b] Hauing ſet forward *Mutianus* in his way, heere he returned again to talke of the preparation ſomwhat diſorderly, & peraduenture to draw in that ſaying of Mutianus *Pecunias eſſe belli ciuilis nervos.* cap. 84.

* Berytus] By the circumſtances in the ſtory of Ioſephus it may ſeeme, that here at Berytus was the firſt meeting of Veſpaſian and Mucianus, and that before all was delt betweene them by the mediation of Titus, whom we find in Tacitus abſent with Mucianus in Syria, which had not needed if they had met before, and the matter been concluded vpon. Surely in Tacitus of their firſt meeting no place is ſet down, and it may ſeem ſtrange how two Lieutenants Generall could come perſonally together before the war was openly vndertaken. But they not comming together before their open declaration in armes, there had beene no place left for that good oration, which Tacitus ment howſoeuer to beſtow on Mucianus. although for the trueth of the ſtory, and the circumſtances of matters which paſſed in Iewry, and Syria, I am content to beleeue Ioſephus better, who, as I haue ſaid, was an eye-witneſſe of the whole action.

[2] Marched forward] Ioſephus ἀλλὰ. 4. cap. 40. ὁ δὲ μετεωρίζετο διὰ τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος δίσασθαι τὸν πλοῦν, πεζῇ τὴν στρατιὰν ἦγε διὰ τῆς Καππαδοκίας καὶ Φρυγίας. That is, *Mutianus fearing to commit himſelfe to the ſea becauſe it was the deepe of winter, brought his army by land through Cappadocia and Phrygia.* How it could be χειμῶνος ἀκμὴ, the deepe of winter, when as without queſtion the war was begun ſometime in July, or at the furtheſt in the beginning of Auguſt, I cannot imagine.

[3] To leaue Mœſia and with his horſemen] It appeareth in the proceſſe of the ſtory, that he tooke the way of Mœſia, of whoſe whole iourney from Syria, till we find him in the third booke fighting with the Dacians, wee haue not one word ſet downe by Tacitus; as likewiſe after that action, till his entry into Rome, in the fourth booke: points in my iudgement very materiall in a good ſtory, and greatly to the ſatisfaction of the Reader.

XXV. *The armies in Mœsia, Pannonia and Dalmatia adhere to Vespasian.*

cap. 85.

THE affaires of Vespasian were in the meane season hastened forward by the [1] Illyrian armies affection toward the side. The third Legion gaue example to the other two Legions of Mœsia: the seuenth surnamed Claudiana, and the eight being welwillers of Otho, albeit they were not present at the battell, but onely come forward [a] to Aquileia; at which place misusing the messengers that brought worde of Othoes ouerthrow, and tearing the banners wherein Vitellius name was inscribed, and lastly taking a summe of money by violence and parting it amongst them, they shewed themselues open enemies to the cause. Whereupon they feared displeasure, and vpon feare deuised, that this kind of dealing, which to Vitellius must haue needed a long and solemne excuse, might to Vespasian be set vp and reckened as a fauour and benefit. So the three Mœsian Legions, thus concurring in one, by letters inuited the Pannonian armie to the cause, or if they refused, prepared to force them. In that tumult Aponius Saturninus Lieutenant generall of Mœsia endeuoured to commit a most wicked act, sending a Centurion to murder Tertius Iulianus Lieutenant of the seuenth Legion, vpon priuate grudges, pretending the publike cause of the sides. Iulianus vnderstanding of the danger, and taking guides skilfull in the countrey, fled by the deserts of Mœsia, beyond the mount Hemus, and afterward was not present in the ciuill warre of the one side or other: protracting the iourney hee tooke to Vespasian by diuers delaies, and as the occurrences were, making lesse speede or more. But in Pannonia the thirteenth Legion, and seuenth surnamed Galbiana, retaining the anger and griefe of the losse at Bebriacum, without any stay ioined themselues to Vespasian, at the incitement principally of Antonius Primus, a man attainted in law, and in Neroes time [b] conuicted of forgery, but among other miseries of warre and a troubled state he recouered his place in the Senate, and by Galba was made Lieutenant of the seuenth Legion. He was supposed to haue written diuers letters to Otho, offering his seruice for a captaine to the side; of whom being not regarded, he was not that warre in any employment: but when as Vitellius state began to decay, following Vespasian he added great waight to the cause, beeing a valiant man of his hands, of a ready vtterance, a cunning craftsmaster to make other odious, in dissensions and mutinies powerable, a violent spoyler, a wastfull spender, in time of peace and quiet gouernement insupportable, in warre not to be contemned. The Mœsian and Pannonian armies, being thus ioyned together, drew anon the Dalmatian souldier, albeit the Lieutenants generall sturred nothing at all. Titus Flauianus was generall of Pannonia, and Pompeius Sullanus of Dalmatia, two wealthy old men: but there was in the countrey Cornelius Fuscus the Procurator, a man in the principall strength of his age, and of noble birth; who in his first yeares vpon desire of ease, had renounced his place in Senate, and afterward being Captaine of his colony in fauour of Galba, by that meanes attained a Procuratorship. This man, entring into the cause of Vespasian, became a principall firebrand of the warre, seeming to delite not so much in the rewards of perils, as in the perils themselues, and in steed of certainties wherewith he was anciently endued, chusing new and doubtfull vncertainties. So he assaieth to shake and sturre vp whatsoeuer there was any were discontented, writing into Britanny to the fourteenth Legion, into Spaine to the first, because they both had stoode against Vitellus for Otho: letters also were sent abroad into France:

[a] Suet. Vesp. c. 6. writeth that not the three Legions, but 2000 out of the three Legions came forward to Aquileia. no doubt erroneously.

cap. 86.

[b] Tacitus 14. Ann.

France: and ſo in one moment there brake a great and mighty warre out, the Illyrian armies thus plainely reuolting, and the reſt inclining to follow, where fortune ſhould fauour.

[1] Illyrain armies] Some learned men charge this narration heere, and generally the ſtorie of the Actions betweene Vitellius & Veſpaſian, of great inſufficiencies, imperfections, & confuſions, whereof I do in my iudgement moſt cleerely acquite it. Illyricum was diuided into three prouinces; Mœſia, whereof at this time Aponius Saturnius was Preſident or Lieutenant generall; Pannonia, whereof T. Ampius Flauianus was Preſident; and Dalmatia, whereof Poppæus Siluanus, or Pompeius Sullanus (for in both names wee find difference of writing) was Preſident. In Mœſia were three Legions, Tertia Gallica, Octaua Auguſta, and Septima Claudiana, led by three *legati legionum*, Lieutenants of Legions: Dillius Aponianus of the Third, Hiſt. 3 Numiſius Lupus of the Eight, Hiſt. 3. and Tertius Iulianus of the Seuenth; who forſaking his place, as appeereth in this place, Vipſanius Meſſalla vndertooke the charge. 3. Hiſt. in Pannonia there were at this preſent two legions, ſeptima Galbiana whoſe Lieutenant was Antonius Primus; and tertia decima Gemina ſent backe out of Italie from building of Amphitheatres, whoſe Lieutenant in this warre was Vedius Aquila, the ſame man who was alſo Lieutenant in the laſt warre. 3. Hiſt. & 2. In Dalmatia there was none but onely one Legion, namely vndecima Claudiana (the fourteenth being tranſported into Britanny) whoſe Lieutenant was Annius Baſſus. 3. Hiſt The premiſſes conſidered, which are all expreſſed by Tacitus, I ſee not what can be required more to the perfection of this narration heere, it ſeeming to me one of the beſt, and moſt ſufficient in this booke. and ſo likewiſe in the whole ſtorie of Tacitus, of all great actions I take that betweene Vitellius and Veſpaſian to be generally the moſt fully, and beſt ſet down, as the other between Otho and Vitellius the worſt. Now for the time when Illyricum began to reuolt from Vitellius, as in noting of times Tacitus is alwaies to ſcant, Suetonius [a] Vitellio ſomwhat relieueth vs. *Octauo imperij menſe deſciuerunt ab eo exercitus Mœſiarum atque Pannoniæ:* ſo that it ſeemeth to haue beene begun in Auguſt, or perchance toward the latter end of Iuly. [a] *Cap.* 15.

XXVI. *Vitellius maketh his entry into Rome.*

WHILEST theſe things were a working in the prouinces, by Veſpaſian and his adherents, Vitellius growing euery day more contemptible and ſlothfull, ſtaying vpon euery place of pleaſure in towne and countrey, with his troubleſome traine marched toward the citty. [1] Threeſcore thouſand armed men were in the company licentiouſly giuen, of lackeyes and horſekeepers a greater number with infinite vittailers and followers of the campe, the moſt diſſolute of all others: beſide the traines of ſo many Lieutenants and ſo many friends, out of all compaſſe of obedience, yea although the gouernours had beene men of great auſterity and ſtrictneſſe. Moreouer the Senatours and gentlemen charged the traine, who came out of the citty to meete him, ſome for feare, ſome for flattery, the reſt and ſo all one after another for company, leſt they ſhould ſeeme to ſtay behinde when other did goe. Thither reſorted alſo of the baſer ſort certaine well knowen to Vitellius by reaſon of vnhoneſt ſeruices, which in time paſt they had done him, as buffons, ſtageplayers and charet driuers; with which kinde of reprochfull acquaintance he was delited wonderfully. Neither were the colonies onely or free townes impoueriſhed by purueying of vittales for ſo huge a company; but the husbandmen themſelues, and fields, the corne being now ripe, were ſpoiled and waſted as an enemy countrey. Many and cruell murders were committed by the ſouldiers among themſelues, by reaſon of the iarring which continued betweene the Legions and Aydes, euer ſince the ſturre at Ticinum: againſt the Pezants, or any third party they agreed but too well: but the greateſt ſlaughter was ſeuen miles from the citie. At that place Vitellius diſtributed to his ſouldiers, according to the faſhion of [2] Fencers diet, to euery of them meate already dreſſed: and the common people, that came out of the citie to ſee it, had diſperſed themſelues throughout the whole campe. As the ſouldiers gaue no heed to ſuch matters, certaine peaſants, after a kind of homely ieſting, cut away ſecretly their belts, and ſpoiled them thereof; asking in iybing manner, whether they were girded or no. The ſoldiers ſtomack, not vſed to beare words of diſgrace, could not diſgeſt that ſcorne: but with their ſwords reuenged

cap. 87.

cap. 88.

reuenged themselues vpon the people which was without weapon: among others the father of one of the souldiers was slaine as hee accompanied his sonne: vpon which accident perceiued and noised abroad they refrained from shedding of innocent bloud. Notwithstanding in Rome the terrour was great, by reason of the souldiers running and gadding thither before. The place of common assembly they repaired specially to, coueting to behould the Place where Galba was slaine: when as they themselues were a spectacle no lesse horrible, with hides of wilde beasts about their backs, and huge massy iauelins in their hands, falling to quarrelling, and from quarrelling to blowes and their weapon, when as through their owne lacke of skill they did not auoide the presse of the people, or chanced to fall by meanes of the slippery stones, or iustling of others. The Tribunes also and other captaines in terrible sort, with multitudes of armed men, went squaring and ietting the streets. Vitellius himselfe riding from the Miluian bridge vpon a goodly courser with his coate armour on backe, and girded souldier like, putting the Senate and people before him, had welny made his entry[a] as into a towne taken by force; but being aduised otherwise by his friends he laide aside his militarie attire, and taking his robes marched with his men in peaceable maner. The[3] Standerds of fower Legions, were marshalled in front, and so many banners about them out of other Legions, then the ensignes of twelue wings: next to whom were the ranckes of footemen, and behinde them the horse, and lastly fower and thirty cohorts distinguished according to the names of the nations they were of, or kindes of weapons they vsed. Before the Standerd marched the Camp-masters and Tribunes and principall Centurions in white garments, the other Centurions eech with his owne band gliftering all in armour, and goodly gifts won by their seruice: the chaines also of the common soldiers and horse furniture shone: a braue and beautifull shew, and an army woorthy of a better Prince then Vitellius. After this manner entring the Capitoll, and there embracing his mother, he honoured her with the name and stile of Augusta.

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[a] *Suetonius c. 11. saith plainely he did so: vrbem ad excidium intrans, paludatus ferroq; succinctus inter signa atque vexilla, legulatu comitibus, ac detecto commilitonum armis.* For this seemeth to haue been the maner of entring a towne taken by force. *Josephus 4. de bel. cap. 35.* describeth also this entry.

[3] Threescore thousand armed men] Valens had out of Germany fortie thousand armed men, beside *legio Italica*, and eight cohorts of Batauians, &c. Cæcina thirtie thousand, beside Ala Syllana, &c. Vitellius *tota mole belli secuturus*, saith Tacitus. 1 Hist. and in this booke, *reliqua Germanici exercitus vires traxerat*, beside eight thousand *è Britannico auxilio*, of all which number we finde in Tacitus none sent away, but the cohorts of Batauians: and yet heere we haue but threescore thousand armed men.

[4] Feneers diet, *Gladiatoria sagina*] *Gladiatores & Athletæ* in old time wer most daintily dieted and stall fedde, as it were: the knowen phrases of *Athleticus habitus*, and *Gladiatoria sagina* importing no lesse. Cic. *Cum gladiatorijs totius corporis firmitate.* Cyprianus: *Impletur in succum cibus fortioribus corpus, & arcana assidui nidoris moles membrorum robusta pinguescit, vt saginatus in pœnam cauius pereat.*

[5] The standerds of fower legions] The eight Legions, which seeme heere, and elsewhere, to be nored of Vitellius side, were Italica, and the seuen Legions of Germany, albeit none completely but Rapax, in all the rest part of the men being left behinde, and the whole names attributed alike to both parts.

XXVII. *The actions of Vitellius at Rome after his entry.*

cap. 90

THE day following, as though he had spoken before the Senate and people of a strange citie, he made a glorious speech of himselfe, extolling his owne industriousnesse and temperancy, when as they which heard him of their owne knowledge were witnesses of his lewd actions, and al Italy beside, thorow which he marched for dowsinesse and riot notoriously infamous: notwithstanding the common people which is voide of cares, and learned in one lesson onely, without difference of truth and falshood to flatter them in authority; with showtes and wordes gaue their applause; and when he denied the name of Augustus they constrained

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him to take it by force, as vainely as before he had vainely refused it. By vertue of his

his High prieſtſhip he [a] publiſhed his edict of ceremonies vpon the eighteenth of Iuly: which thing in a city which conſtrueth all things was taken for an ill ſigne, the day being of ancient time [1] accounted vnluckie, by reaſon of the ouerthrowes at Cremera and Alia: ſo ignorant he was of all law humain and diuine, and ſo negligent were his friends and ſeruants, as that he ſeemed to haue none but drunken perſons about him. Notwithſtanding in the [2] election of Conſuls hee carried himſelfe in a kind of equality, ſeriouſly affecting in the Theatre a ſpectatour, in the Race as a partaker, the fauour of the meaneſt ſort; things acceptable indeed and populare, if they had ſprung from a vertuous roote; but the memory of his former life made them eſteemed baſe and diſhonorable. He came often into the Senate, euen when ſmall matters were handled; and as once by fortune Heluidius Priſcus Prætor elect had opined againſt a matter which Vitellius affected, he was in choller at the firſt, but proceeded no further, but only to pray aid at the Tribunes of the people againſt the contempt of his authority. Whereupon Heluidius friends, who feared a deeper impreſſion of anger in his mind, going about to mittigate and make vp the matter, he anſwered that it was no new thing to ſee two Senatours in the common wealth diſagree in iudgement: that he alſo was woont ſometimes to diſſent from Thraſea. Many derided the impudency of the compariſon: others liked it well, that hee had picked out not one of the powerable fauorites in court, but Thraſea rather for a patterne of true glory. [3] P. Sabinus and Iulius Priſcus were conſtituted captaines of the Guard; Priſcus by Valens preferment, and Sabinus by Cæcinaes. For Cæcina and Valens diſpoſed of all the affaires of the Empire, leauing between them little authoritie or none at all to Vitellius, and yet iarring and diſagreeing together, auncientlie enemies one to the other: but the warre and the campe couered the rancour to ſo for a ſeaſon, which now brake out & was greatly increaſed by the peruerſe behauiour of friends, and liuing together in a city ſo fruitfull to breed and nouriſh diſlikes; whileſt they contend together, and are compared by others in multitude of futers and followers, and greatnes of traine; Vitellius diuerſly fauouring ſometime the one, ſometime the other: as powerablenes is neuer ſure where it is too exceſſiue. As for Vitellius, knowing him to be ſodainely mutable vpon euery offence or flattery, they contemned and feared him withall: neuertheleſſe whileſt the time was they ſeiued themſelues, and gat houſes, gardens, and the riches of the Empire into their hands, when as the lamentable and indigent multitude of Noblemen, whom Galba with their children reſtored to their countrey, was not any way relieued by the princes liberalitie. Onely hee granted them their former right [4] ouer their freed men: a point acceptable to the chiefemen of the city, and not diſallowed euen of the meane ſort: but thoſe ſeruile natures marred altogether the benefit thereof, hiding their money in ſecret corners, or in great mens coffers; and ſome of them paſſed to the ſeruice of the Prince, and beeame of more might then their maſters. Now as touching the ſouldiers, when as the Prætorian campe was repleniſhed, the remainder which was very great, lodged in porches and temples ſcattered vp and downe the whole towne forgat to know their enſignes, to keepe watch and warde, to harden them-ſelues with labour and trauell: but drowned in the pleaſures of the citie, and filthineſſe not to be named, weakned their bodies with idlenes, and their minde with incontinent liuing: and laſtly without any care at all of their own health many quartered in the peſtilent places of the Vatican, whereupon the death of many common perſons enſued: and the Germans and Frenchmen lying by the Tiber, and being otherwiſe ſubiect to diſeaſes, vtterly ouerthrew the ſtate of their body, with too much ſwimming in the riuer, and impatience of heat. Moreouer the city-ſouldiery

[a] Suet. Vitel. 11. omni ritu humano hominoſq; ſuæ negligebat. Alioquin ſibi pontificatum maximum capit.

cap. 92.

cap. 93.

was through vndiſcreetnes or ambition corrupted. Sixteene Prætorian cohorts and four vrban were enrolled, containing a thouſand men a peece. In preferring to thoſe roomes Valens preſumed to beare greater ſtroake, as being the worthier man, and hauing redeemed Cæcina himſelfe out of peril: and in truth by his comming the ſide was reuiued, and with ſo happie a battell he cancelled the hard opinion of his ſlow comming forward: and all the ſouldiers of low Germany followed Valens and depended wholly vpon him: vpon which cauſes it is ſuppoſed that Cæcinaes faith
cap. 94. began firſt to be fleeting. Notwithſtanding Vitellius yeelded not ſo much to the captaines, but that hee yeelded much more to the ſouldiers pleaſures: euerie one choſe his owne place of ſeruice: were he neuer ſo vnwoorthie, if hee liked it better he was deputed to the city ſeruice: again thoſe which were fit were ſuffered, if they liſted to remaine in their former eſtate among the Legionarie or Auxiliary ſoldiers: which diuerſe were willing to doe beeing moleſted with ſickneſſes, and not able to endure the heat of the country. Notwithſtanding the Legions & Aides were drawn of their principall ſtrength, and the beauty of the Prætorian campe blemiſhed, by this confuſion rather then choiſe of twenty thouſand out of the whole army. As Vitellius was making a ſolemne ſpeech, the ſouldiers required Aſiaticus, and Flauius, and Rufinus, captaines of France to be executed, becauſe they had taken armes in Vindex behalfe, neither did Vitellius reſtraine ſuch ſpeeches, beſides that he was a man of weake reſiſtance by nature, knowing alſo that the day of his donatiue was at hand, and the money wanting. Wherefore he granted liberally all other requeſts to the ſouldier: and to ſupply that defect the freedmen of the former Princes were commaunded to contribute, according to the number of their bondmen: whereas Vitellius without other care, ſaue onely to waſt and conſume, builded vp ſtables for charet-driuers, filled the Race with ſpectacles of fencers and wilde beaſts, and as in
cap. 95. greateſt abundance caſt mony moſt idlely away. Furthermore Cæcina and Valens with great preparation, and ſuch as before that time was neuer ſeene, celebrated the birth day of Vitellius, with ſhewes " of fencers in euery ſtreet throughout the whole citty. One thing much greeued the good, as it chered the bad, that Vitellius erected altars in Campus Martius, and there celebrated ſolemnely the [b] exequies of Nero. the beaſts for the ſacrifice were publickely ſlaine and burnt: [5] the Auguſtales put to the fire: which order of Prieſts Tiberius Cæſar conſecrated to the Iulian family, as Romulus did another the like to king Tatius. It was not yet fully foure moneths ſince the victorie, and [c] Aſiaticus Vitellius freedmen had fully done as much harme, as euer had any Polycletus, or Patrobius, or whatſoeuer moſt odious name in former courts. No man in that court ſought to riſe by vertue or ablenes: the onely way to credit was with prodigall banquets, and ſumptuous cheere to ſatiate the vnſatiable appetites of Vitellius; who contenting himſelfe to enioy the preſent, and caring not any further, is thought in ſo few moneths to haue waſted [d] nine hundreth millions of ſeſterces: a great and a miſerable city, which in the ſame yeere ſupported an Otho and a Vitellius; and that which is more inſupportable, a Vinius, a Fabius, and Icelus, and an Aſiaticus, in great variety of moſt ignominious ſorts, vntill ſuch time as Mutianus and [e] Marcellus, and rather other men then other maners ſucceeded in place.

" Gladiatores.

[b] Suet. c. 11. & neuter dubium fuerit quod exemplar regendæ reip. eligeret, medio campo Martio, adhibita publicorum ſacerdotum frequentia, inferias Neroni dedit.

[5] Read Suet. Vitellio c. 12

[d] That is, according to our poſitions, ſeuen millions thirty one thouſand two hundreth and fifty pound ſterling

[e] Epitus Marcellus, a great orator, an inſtrument of Nero, againſt Thraſea and others, and generally in fauour with al the Princes, vnder whom he liued, as a ſmoother of their actions. read Tac. 16. Ann. 2. & 4. Hiſt. &c.

[1] Accounted vnluckie] Liuius lib. 6. I. *Tum ſole diebus religioſis agitari cœtum diemq; ad 15 Kalen. Sextiles duplici clade inſignem, quo die ad Cremeram Fabij caſi, quo deinde ad Alliam cum exitio rebus ſæpè pugnatum, à poſteriore clade Allienſem appellarunt, inſignemque nulli rei publicæ priuatimque agendæ fecerunt.* Dio. lib. 9. de clade Cremerenſi τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐν ᾗ τὸ πάθος ἐγένετο μελαίνεσθε καὶ ἀποφράδα πάντες (οἱ τε ῥωμαῖοι πάλιν) καὶ οὐδενὸς ἂν ἔργου ἐν αὐτῇ ἄρξασθε, ἵνα μὴ τότε συμβᾶσαν αὐτῇ τύχῃ ὀφλισάνειν. That is, The day in which this calamitie befell them the people of Rome

accounts, dismall and vnluckie; neither will they on it begin any serious matter, in respect of the ill fortune that had hapned that day to the citie.

[a] In the election of Consuls: *Comitia Consulum cum candidatis ciuiliter celebrans*] What by *Comitia Consulum* should be ment in this place, the people being at this time excluded from all voice in elections, either I doe not conceiue, or else *comitia consulum ciuiliter celebrare* is but as much, as *munera à candidatis consulatus edita* (whether it were himselfe or any other) *ciuiliter celebrare*. In the free state the suiters for offices to winne the peoples fauour and good will *dabant gladiatores*, till it was by a law expressely by Tully to that purpose enacted forbidden, and brought within the compasse of *ambitus*. Cicero in Vatinium: *Ego legem de ambitu ex S. C. tuli, quæ diuidè vetat biennio quo quis petat petiturusue sit, gladiatores dare nisi ex testamento.* But after they had attained their suit, it was then not lawfull onely, but necessarily incident to most offices to exhibite to the people all sorts of games and plaies, and accordingly they performed it with all magnificence & cost. Vnder the Emperours, albeit no part of the election of any officer depended vpon the peoples fauor, yet both *candidati*, & *designati*, & actuall officers continued to minister to the people their accustomed pleasures of *gladiatores, circenses, &c.* contending therein by all possible meanes to win the good will of the people. In the time of Alexander Mammeæ, *Quæstores candidati munera populo dederunt.* in Neroes, *Quæstoribus designatis gladiatores edendi necessitas erat*, saith Tacitus. *Consul designatus est & munus edidit.* Marcellus Iunc consultus l. 36. Now to be present at these shewes was accounted great popularity in the Prince. Xiphil. de Othone, εἰς τὸ θέατρα συνεχῶς εἰσφοιτᾶ θωπεύων τὸ πλῆθος. *That is, He vsed much the Theatres to win the hearts of the multitude.* [a] Suetonius de Augusto. *Ipse Circenses spectabat spectaculo plurimas horas, aliquando totos dies aderat* Tacit. 1. An. de eodem. *Ciuile rebatur miseri voluptatibus vulgi.* as contrarily to come seldome thither was disliked as a signe of a proud, melancholick, and sowre nature; wherof Iulianus accuseth himselfe in Misopogone ἀεὶ μιτὼ τὰς ἱππο δρομίας, ὥσπερ οἱ χρήματα ὠφλικότες τὰς ἀγορᾶς ὀλιγάκις ἂν εἰς αὐτοὺς φοιτῶ, &c. *That is, I alwaies hate and shun the horse race, as they which are indebted do the places of publicke assembly, therefore I goe seldome to them,* or to come thither and not to be attentiue, or *aliud agere*, as Cæsar, *qui vulgò reprehensus est*, saith Suetonius, *quod inter spectandum epistolis libellisque legendis ac rescribendis vacaret.* But Vitellius heere seemeth not onely to haue frequented the shewes, which *candidati Consulatus*, or *designati* did exhibit, but also to haue taken part, for example, with the *Mirmylones* against the *Thraces in theatro*, or with the *Veneti* against the *Prasini in circo*, and therein *omnem infimæ plebis rumorem affectasse*: in those daies accounted a point of most great popularity Suet. [b] Tacito: *Quin & studium armaturæ Thracum (ne quid popularitatis prætermitteret) præ se ferens, sæpe cum populo & voce & gestu, vt fautor cauillatus est Titus, verùm maestitiæ saluâ.*

[a] Cap. 15.

[b] Cap. 8.

[3] P. Sabinus] Not Vespasians brother, as some learned men against all circumstances of story haue written. This Sabinus was cast in prison *ob amicitiam Cecinæ*: 3. Hist. Vespasians brother was *Præfectus vrbi*, and at good libertie, till he was besieged and taken in the Capitol.

[4] Right ouer their freed men: *Iura libertorum*] The *Libertus* was bound to maintaine his patrone, if by any meanes he fell in decay at his death: by the old constitutions to leaue his patrone heire of the halfe of his goods, which if it were any waies embezeled, the law awarded the patrone *omnium bonorũ possessionem etiam contra tabulas.* and in these two points, beside some other seruices and duties called in the law *operæ*, consisted almost the whole *ius libertorum*, as appeereth lib. 38. Digest. Now whereas Vitellius *reuersis ab exilio iura libertorum concessit* by grace, it seemeth in latter times to haue belonged to them by common right. Vlpian: Dig. 38 Tit. *de bonis libertorum L. 3 Si deportatus patronus restitutus sit, liberti contra tabulas bonorum possessionem accipere potest.* and againe in the same title, L. 4. Paullus. *Si deportatus patronus sit, filio eius competit bonorum possessio in bona liberti, nec impedimento est ei talis patronus qui demortui loco habetur.*

[5] The Augustales] Tac. 1. Ann. *Idem annus nouas ceremonias accepit, addita sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio, vt quondam Titus Tatius retinendis Sabinorum sacris sodales Titios instituerat. sorte ductis è primoribus ciuitatis vnus & vigesimus Tiberius, Drususque & Claudius, & Germanicus adiecuntur.* Where we see Tacitus attribute that to Tatius himselfe, which heere he attributeth to Romulus.

XXVIII. *The preparation of Vitellius against Vespasian.*

THE reuolt of the third Legion was first of all other certified to Vitellius by letters, written by Aponius Saturninus, before that he also associated himselfe to Vespasians side. But neither did Aponius write all, as a man affrighted with the sodainnes thereof, and beside the friends of Vitellius flatteringly sought to extenuate and lessen the matter: that it was but a mutinee of one Legion alone; a matter of no moment, seeing all other armies remained in obedience. After the same stile Vitellius also spake to the souldiers, inueying against the lately cassed Prætorians, by whome he affirmed false rumors were spred, and that there was no danger of ciuill warre, suppressing the name of Vespasian, and setting vnder hand souldier, abroad in the towne to restraine the speeches of the common people: which thing was a principall meanes to nourish the fame. Neuertheless hee sent for Aides out of Germanie and Brittannie, and the Spaines, coldly and dissembling the necessity: the Lieutenants and prouinces on their parts vsed the like coldnesse againe. Hordeonius Flaccus Lieutenant of Germanie suspecting already the reuolt of Batauia,

cap. 96.

cap. 97.

had

had a war of his own to care & prouide for. Vectius Bolanus gouerned in Britanny, a cuntrey neuer so in quiet, that he could conueniently spare any number of souldiers: and beside neither of them were greatly fast to the side. Out of the Spaines also smal haste was made: at that time there was no Lieutenant generall there, but onely the Lieutenants of three Legions of equall authority; who as in Vitellius prosperity they would haue contended who should haue beene formost, so now in his declining estate they equally drew backe. In Africke the Legion and cohorts leuied by Clodius Macer, and straightwaies dismissed by Galba, began by Vitellius commandement to resume their seruice againe: and withall the whole youth of the prouince voluntarily gaue in their names to be souldiers: for[1] Vitellius had gouerned as a Proconsull there with good integrity and liking, Vespasian with as much infamie and hatred of the country; and accordingly our allies presumed, they would cary themselues in the Empire: but the triall was otherwise. And at the beginning Valerius Festus the Lieutenant furthered faithfully the endeuours of those of the prouince: but anon he faultred, in letters and edicts openly pretending Vitellius, and with secret messages intertaining Vespasian; meaning to defend the one side, or the other according as they should happen to prosper. Some Centurions and souldiers were taken in Rhœtia and Fraunce with letters and edicts of Vespasian about them, and being sent to Vitellius were slaine: but more escaped passing vndiscouered by the secretnes of friends, or by their owne shifting. So the preparations of Vitellius were knowne abroad. Vespasians purposes were for the most part vnknowne, partly thorough the negligence of Vitellius, and partly because the Pannonian Alpes were kept with garrison, which staied all messengers: and at sea the[2] Etesians blewe, a good wind to saile Eastward, and contrary from thence.

cap. 98.

[1] Vitellius had gouerned as Proconsul] *In administranda prouincia* (Africa) *singularem innocentiam præstitit* (Vitellius) saith Suetonius Vitellio cap. 5. agreeing with Tacitus: but in Vespasian he disagreeth vtterly. Tacitus saith heere *famosum inuisumque proconsulatum in Africa Vespasianus egerat.* Suetonius Vespasiano. cap. 4. *Exin sortitus Africam* (Vespasianus) *integerrime nec sine magna dignatione administrauit.*

[2] The Etesians] *Etesiæ* according to Aristotle 2. Meteor. ad Theophrastus *de ventis*, βορέαι [a] εἰσὶ κατ' ἔτος πνέοντες μετὰ τὰς τροπὰς τὰς θερινὰς καὶ κυνὸς ἐπιτολήν, *That is, are northerly winds blowing after the sommer Solstitium, and rising of the dog starre.* Κυνὸς ἐπιτολὴ, according to Pliny. lib. 2. cap. 47. fell in that time vpon the eighteenth of Iuly, *& post biduum exortus*, saith the same Pliny, *Etesiæ diebus quadraginta perflant, nec vlli ventorum magis stati sunt.* so that *Etesiæ* dured ordinarily from the twentieth of Iulie till the end of August. And the *solstitium æstiuum* being iust twenty fiue daies before κυνὸς ἐπιτολὴ, [b] according to Olympiodorus in 2. Meteor. it must by due account light in that time vpon the tower and twentieth of Iune, from which day the too great length of the Iulian yere hath in our age drawne it back eleuen or twelue daies, casting it vpon the twelfth or thirteenth of Iune. Now that *Etesiarum flatus* was good for sailing into Ægypt and the [c] East, and ill from thence, beside the site of the countrie, that also may be an argument, that Thales and certaine other Philosophers affirme (as Diodorus Bibliothecæ lib. 1 reporteth) the cause of the rising of Nilus to be these Etesian winds, ὁ ἀνέμους ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου πνέοντας κωλύειν εἰς θάλασσαν ἐκβολὰς ποιεῖσθαι τὸν ῥεῦμα. *That is, Which blowing directly against the mouth of the riuer hinder the water from falling into the sea.*

[a] Olympiodorus seemeth to haue redde the place of Aristotle thus: βορέαι κατ' ἔτος πνέοντες μετὰ τὰς θερινὰς τροπὰς ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπιτολῶν μέχρι ἐκεῖσε ἡμέρας. [b] Varro lib. 1 de rustica. cap 28 maketh it xxix. dayes, accounted as it seemes by a new day Alexandrine. [c] For to the author of the booke *de mundo ad Alexandrum* maketh the Etesiæ to haue some point of the West (μέχρι τινὸς τῆς τοῦ ἑσπερίου τροπῆς) & Lucan lib. 10. describing the Etesian winds calleth them Zephyros, Zephyros ——— quæque vaga vertuntur Hesperia aquis, quarum flata tempora statu, Constantque dies, vt in arte longa putellas.

XXIX. *The setting foorth of Cæcina against the Illyrian armie: and the beginnings of his treason.*

AT length Vitellius terrified with the breaking in of the enemies vppon the frontiers of Italie, and fearefull messages from euery quarter, commaundeth Cæcina and Valens to make ready for the warre. Cæcina was sent before, but Valens staied behinde by reason of his weakenesse of body, being lately recouered of a dangerous sickenesse. Now the German army going out of the city made a farre other shew then it did at the entry. No quicknes appeared in their bodies, no courage in their minds; marching slowly and thinly: the armor decayed, the horses

horſes vniuſty: the ſouldier impatient of the ſunne, the duſt, and the weather; and the more dull to ſuſtaine trauell, the apter to mutin. And beſide, the qualities of Cæcina wrought no ſmall preiudice to the cauſe: his ambitious and popular proceeding, an old fault of his a ſluggiſh and dull diſpoſition, lately ſprung vp: whether it were that too much fauour of fortune turned his edge, and cauſed him to degenerate to riotous life, or that intending euen then treaſon in his minde, he thought it good policy by that meanes to weaken the valour and force of the army. Many haue beleeued that Cæcinaes minde was ſhaken and altered firſt by a practiſe of [a] Flauius Sabinus, Rubrius Gallus carying the meſſage betweene them, and promiſing that Veſpaſian ſhould ratifie all couenants made and agreed in caſe of reuolt: and withall he was put in remembrance of the hatred and emulation between Valens and him, and that ſeeing he had not like part in Vitellius, he ſhould doe wiſely to purchaſe credit and might with the new Prince. Cæcina taking his leaue of Vitellius, and diſmiſſed from his preſence with great honour, ſent part of his horſemen before to put themſelues in Cremona. Straight after the Vexillaries followed of the [b] fourteenth and of the ſixteenth Legion: then the fifth Legion and the eighteenth Legion: and laſtly the one and twentieth ſurnamed Rapax, and the firſt called Italica with the Vexillaries of the three Brittiſh legions, and the choiſe of the Aides. When Cæcina was gone, Fabius Valens wrote to the army, which before belonged to his charge, to ſtay for him in the way: that ſo it was agreed betweene him and Cæcina: who being preſent and therefore of greater authority, falſly alleaged, that vpon later aduiſe that purpoſe was changed, to the end that reſiſtance might bee made with the whole forces vnited againſt the enemies comming. So the Legions were commaunded to make ſpeed to Cremona, and part to go to Hoſtilia. Cæcina himſelfe turned out of the way to Rauenna, vpon pretence to giue direction to the nauy: and ſo to Padoua, where ſecretly the treaſon was contriued betweene Lucilius Baſſus and him. For Lucilius Baſſus after the captainſhip of a wing, being made Admirall of both the fleets at Rauenna and Miſenum, becauſe hee was not by and by created captain of the Guard, reuenged his vniuſt anger with wicked diſloyalty: neither can it be certainly knowen, whether he drew Cæcina into the action, or the ſame vile minde induced them both, as it happeneth often lewd perſons to be of like conditions. The hiſtories written of this warre, vnder Veſpaſian and his children, haue deliuered falſe and flattering cauſes, as that deſire of peace and loue of the common wealth mooued them thereto. To me it ſeemeth, beſide the inconſtant diſpoſition of the men, and the ſmall account of their faith, which once being falſed to Galba, afterward they neuer reſpected; that vpon emulation and enuy that others ſhould go before them in the Princes fauour, they compaſſed the deſtruction of the Prince himſelfe. When Cæcina had ouertaken the Legions, hee ſought by ſundry ſubtle practiſes to weaken the good wils of the Centurions, and of the ſouldiers which were obſtinately bent for Vitellius; Baſſus attempting the like found not the like oppoſition, the nauy being eaſily induced to change their loyalty, vpon the memory of their late ſeruice for Otho.

[a] Brother to Veſpaſian & prefect of Rome.

cap. 100

[b] Read Tacitus one of the three Legions of lower Germany, for the 14. was ſent away into Britaine, at enemy to Paulinus cauſe.

cap. 104.

THE

THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. *The consultation of the Flauian captaines, at Petouio in Pannonia, concerning the manner of proceeding in warre. Sextilius Felix sent into Noricum.*

cap. 1

WITH better fortune and faith the Flauian captaines conducted their warlike affayres, assembling in councell at Petouio, the standing campe of the thirteenth Legion. There was it debated, whether it were safer to stand vpon their defence, and fortifie themselues by [a] stopping the passage of the Pannonian Alpes, vntill their whole forces behind were come forward; or else were it more manfull and resolutely done, to march on and fight for the winning of Italy. They which perswaded to stay for more succour, and protract the warre, amplifyed the fame and force of the German legions, and further, that Vitellius had also brought with him the flower and strength of the armie of Britannie: that their owne Legions were both fewer in number, and lately beaten; and though they spake bigly, yet the partie ouercome retained the lesse courage. But in the meane while if the Alpes were possessed Mutianus would shortly come on with the power of the East: and Vespasian beside had at will sea and nauies, and the good will of the prouinces, sufficient furniture for a new warre if need were: so by staying a little this aduantage would grow, that new forces wold come, and the old not diminish. To this [b] Antonius Primus (who was the chiefest inciter of the warre) replied; That speed was the thing that might most help them, and most hinder Vitellius. As for the victory they lately obtained, they were growen more in careless slouth, then courage thereby: not keeping in campes as men of warre, alwaies ready to fight, but lying in the good townes of Italy, loytering and disporting themselues, feared of none saue onely their hosts: and the hardlier kept and fiercer they were before, now giuing themselues the more greedily ouer to enioy their vnaccustomed pleasures. Moreouer the * theatres and places of sports, and other delights of the city, had effeminated their minds, or diseases vtterly wasted their bodies: but if respite were giuen, through warlike exercises they would recouer their strength: and besides, Germany was not farre off, from whence they might be supplied with new forces, and Britannie but a small step beyond: France and Spaine were hard at hand to furnish them of men, horses, and money: beside Italy it selfe, and the wealth of the world in Rome, all wholly at their disposition. And if they list to begin and assaile vs, they haue (quoth he) at commandement two nauies, and the whole Illyrian sea free: what will it then profit vs to keep the straytes of the mountaines? or what can it auaile vs to differre the warre till another sommer? and whence shall we haue money and vittailes in the meane time? nay rather why take we not this opportunity present, since the Pannonian Legions, thinking themselues rather beguiled then beaten, are so instant and earnest to haue their reuenge, and the armies of Mœsia are yet entire and vnfoiled? if the number of souldiers be reckened rather then the names of Legions, our side hath more strength and much lesse disorder; and the very shame of the late ouerthrow hath greatly amended

[a] It seemeth they were stopped before li. 2. *Deinde Pannonicæ Alpes præsidijs insessæ nuntios retinebant*: but perhaps it was but onely so farre as to stay the postes from passing that way, not to garde it against an army of men.

[b] Lieutenant of the seuenth Legion surnamed Galbiana. cap. 2.

* *theatrum & circus.*

ded our discipline: and yet our horsemen euen then were not defeated, but contrarily scattered Vitellius troupes, albeit the maine battell went against vs. Two wings of Pannonia and Mœsia were able at that time to breake thorow the enemy: now the ensignes of sixteene wings vnited together, with their stamping and sound, and the very dust of their feete, will doubtlesse be able to couer and ouerwhelme both the horses and horsemen of our enemies, who haue now almost forgotten to fight. For my part (if I may be permitted) as I am the first to giue the aduise, so I will be the first to execute the same. You, whose condition giues you free choise of either, lye still and keepe your Legions at home: some few* light cohorts shall serue my turne: as soone as the warre is begun, you shall heere that Vitellius state will decline, and then you will take pleasure to follow and tread in the steps of my victory. This and more to the like purpose Antonius vttered with burning eies and fierce shrill voice, that he might be heard further (for some of the Centurions, and of the souldiers also had intruded themselues into the councell (and the speech moued greatly euen the wariest amongst them and doubtfullest to enter into danger. But the common souldier and the rest magnified him, as the onely man of courage, and the onely captaine; despising the colde and sluggish proceedings of the other. This good opinion he first wan through a speech he made in the assembly when Vespasians letters were first openly read, in the which he did not (as the most of the rest) deliuer his mind in doubtfull and ambiguous termes with a meaning to interpret them afterward as he should see best for his purpose, but seemed directly & resolutely to enter into the cause, and therefore was a great deale better liked of the souldiers, as one that made his fortune common with theirs both in the danger and honour of the attempt. Next after him Cornelius Fuscus the Procurator was of chief authority amongst them. For he likewise was wont to inuey bitterly against Vitellius, and thereby had left to himselfe no hope of pardon if the enterprise failed. Titus [c] Apius Flauianus, both by nature and by reason of his age being slow in proceeding, gaue occasion to the souldiers of suspition, as if he had respected his affinity with Vitellius: and because he had withdrawn himselfe out of the camp when the Legions began first to reuolt, and afterward came againe of his owne accord, it was thought he did it to seeke some opportunity of treason. For indeede Flauianus had once relinquished his prouince of Pannonia, and retired himselfe out of danger into Italie; and afterward by desire of noueltie was brought to take vpon him his gouernment againe, and become a medler in ciuill warres, through the perswasion principally of Cornelius Fuscus; not that there was any great neede of Flauianus abilities: but that the name & countenance of a Lieutenant generall might giue reputation to the side, that was then but in rising. Then letters were written to Aponius Saturnius Lieutenant generall of Mœsia, to make hast, and back their passage into Italy with his army. [1] And left the prouinces, by this remouing away of the Legions, might lie open to the spoile of the barbarous nations confining, the principall men of the Sarmatæ Iazyges, and heads of the countrey were assumed into the seruice, who made offer also of the common sort, and great troops of horsemen, which is their sole strength, but the offer was not accepted, left amidst our dissensions they should attempt any thing preiudiciall to the state of the Empire, or els vpon better wages, without respect of honor or faith, passe to the enemie. Sido and Italicus anciently deuoted to the Romane name, kings of the Sueuians, a nation both more faithfull and more obedient, were drawne to the partie. Garrisons also were laied on the side against Rhœtia which held for Vitellius, being gouerned by Porcius Septimus the Procurator, a most faithfull seruant vnto him. So Sextilius Felix was sent with

* *Expedite cohortes*, that is, without carriages, *sine impedimentis.*

cap. 3.

cap. 4.

[c] Lieutenant generall of *Pannonia.*

cap. 5.

with the Aurian wing, and eight cohorts, and the youth of the countrey of Noricum, to plant himselfe against him along the bancke of the riuer Enus which diuideth Rhœtia and Noricum asunder: where they remained skirmishing one with another, whilest in the meane time the maine matter was decided elsewhere.

[1] And lest the prouinces] All from these words in the Latin copy *ac ne inermes prouinciæ &c.* to these *si placeret Galbæ principatus, inclusiue*, should be placed before, *quæsitum inde quæ sedes bello ingeretur &c.* and so the wordes *ve innocuum exercitum Mæsicum celebrare* cohere with *& presumpsere partes.* Which disorder, by reason the lines and letters almost betweene *quæsitum inde* and *Mæsicum celebrare* are equall to the lines betweene *ac ne inermes* and *Galbæ principatus*, may seeme to haue grown first by the meere transposition of a leafe in the coppy, from whence all ours were deriued.

II. *Antonius Primus marcheth forward, and hauing taken Aquileia, Opitergium, Altinum, Padoua, Este, setleth his maine campe at Verona.*

cap. 6 NOW [1] Antonius taking with him certaine Vexillaries out of the cohorts, and part of the horsemen, marched on toward Italie, accompanied with Arrius Varus a valiant warrior, rather then a vertuous man: which glory hee gained by his seruice and good successe in Armenia vnder Corbulo: whom notwithstanding he was supposed secretly to haue discredited with Nero. Whereupon by such sinister meanes growing in fauour hee attained a principall Centurions place: which though ill gotten was at the present to his great contentation, but afterward turned to his ruine. Antonius and Varus in passing tooke Aquileia, and the countrey thereabouts, and proceeding forward were at Opitergium and Altinum ioyfully receiued. At Altinum a garrison was left against the fleete of Rauenna, of the reuolt whereof they had not as yet receiued any intelligence: and marching forward they adioyned Padoua and Este to the side. Where aduertisement was giuen that three Vitellian cohorts and the Scribonian wing lay at Forum Alieni, hauing there made a bridge ouer the riuer. It was concluded to take the occasion, and to set vpon them as they lay negligently and carelesly; for that circumstance also was certified: and so accordingly they came vpon them at the dawning of the day, and surprized them being for the most part vnarmed. They were willed beforehand, that after some slaughter at the beginning they should seek to induce the rest with feare to change their allegeance; and some there were which yeelded themselues at the first: but the greater part fled ouer the riuer, and breaking the bridge cut off the passage from the enemy pursuing. This victory being diuulged, and the first attempts of the Flauianists hauing succeeded so prosperously, two Legions, the seuenth surnamed Galbiana, and the thirteenth called Gemina [2] with Vedius Aquila Lieutenant thereof, came to Padoua cheerefully, and full of courage. There some few daies were spent in reposing the army, and Minucius Iustus camp-master of the seuenth Legion was saued from the fury of the souldier, and sent to Vespasian, because his gouernment was straiter and more seuere, then the nature of a ciuill warre would support. At what time also Antonius supposing it a plausible action, and for the credit of the side, if Galbaes gouernment should seeme to be liked, gaue commandement thorowout all the free townes, that the images of Galba; which vpon change of times and dissention in state, had beene broken downe, should bee restored a new: a thing very long and greatly desired, and therefore interpreted cap. 8 gloriously in the highest degree. Then was it proposed and disputed, what place were best to be chosen, for seate as it were of the warre. Verona seemed fittest, the countrey about it being champion, and commodious for horsemen, wherein consisted

[2] And Vedius Aquila Flauianus Lieutenant generall of Pannonia.

ſiſted their principall ſtrength : and beſide to diſpoſſeſſe Vitellius of a Towne of ſuch wealth and importance, would both be commodious and bring reputation to the cauſe. In the paſſage thitherward they tooke Vicenza a thing of it ſelfe not greatly materiall, as being a towne of ſmall forces ; howbeit becauſe Cæcina was borne there it ſeemed a matter of conſequence ; when men began to recount, how that the Generall of the contrary part had loſt his owne country and home : but the getting of Verona was worth the paines taking. For both the ſide was relieued with their wealth, and the example was a good precedent to others : and the Army lying there opportunely in the way, betweene Germany and Vitellius powers, did ſhut vp the Rhœtian and Iulian Alpes, and cut off all hope of paſſage for the Germans that way. All which proceeding was either vnknowen to Veſpaſian, or expreſſely forbidden by him : his commandement was to march no further then Aquileia, and there to expect Mutianus ; adding alſo a reaſon thereof, that ſeeing Ægypt, the garners of the City, the reuenewes and tributes of the richeſt Prouinces were in his hands, Vitellius Army might through lacke of pay and vittel be conſtrained to yeeld. To the ſame purpoſe alſo Mutianus aduiſed them often by letters, alleadging what a glory it would be to obtaine a victory without bloud, and whereof no mourning enſued, with ſuch other pretenſes ; whereas he did it indeed vpon ambition, and coueting to reſerue the whole renowne of the war for himſelfe : but by reaſon of the great diſtances counſels came after the factes. Antonius hauing thus ſeated himſelfe in Verona iſſued foorth on the ſudden, and gaue the Alarme to the enemy, where trying their man-hood together in a light skirmiſh they departed on euen hand. Anon Cæcina encamped himſelfe betweene Hoſtilia, a village of the territory of Verona and the mariſhes of the riuer Tartarus, in a ſafe and defenſible place ; his backe being garded with the riuer, and the flanckes, with mariſhes : who if he had ment truth, hauing all his maſters power vnder his hand, might with great facility either haue ſurprized two ſimple Legions (the Army of Mœſia as yet being not ioyned) or at leaſt beaten them backe, and forced them to flee, and with ſhame forſake Italy. But Cæcina omitted traiterouſly all aduantages, which at the firſt were offered, ſpending the time in trifling delaies, and rebuking them by epiſtles, whom with like facility he might haue repulſed with armes : vntill by meſſengers paſſing betweene, the bargaine was driuen, and the couenants for his treaſon agreed vpon. In the meane time Aponius Saturninus came with the ſeuenth Legion ſurnamed Claudiana : the Legion was gouerned by Vipſanius Meſſalla a Tribune, a man nobly deſcended, and of noble qualities himſelfe, the only vertuous man and without note, that entred into that action. To this army, nothing comparable to his owne (for as yet there were but three Legions) Cæcina ſent letters, blaming their raſhneſſe, that being once ouercome they durſt put themſelues againe into armes : and withall he extolled the valour of the Garman army ; of Vitellius making ſmall mention and in common tearmes only, without any reprochfull word againſt Veſpaſian at all : in ſumme writing nothing that might either corrupt the enemy or terrifie him. The Captaines of the Flauian army, omitting to ſpeake of their former misfortune, returned anſwer concerning Veſpaſian in hauty and glorious tearmes, ſhewing themſelues very confident in their cauſe and ſecure of the euent ; reuiling Vitellius as enemies, and bragging of the Mœſian army, as being hitherto neuer ouerthrowen ; ſeeking * moreouer to weaken the faith, and win the good will of the contrary ſide, by putting the Centurions and Tribunes in hope of retaining their places, and fauours which Vitellius had beſtowed vpon them, and exhorting Cæcina himſelfe in plaine tearmes to reuolt. Both the letters were ſolemnely

* *Præſumpſere partem. Veſpaſ. &c.*

read to the Flauian ſouldiers : which thing increaſed not a little their courage and confidence ; ſeeing Cæcina to write humbly, as fearing to offend Veſpaſian, and their Generals contemptuouſly, as it were, inſulting ouer Vitellius.

[1] Antonius taking with him certaine &c.] The Legions their Captaines, and marching withall neceſſary circumſtances in a manner, are in this warre fully and plainly ſet downe by our Author, incomparably better then either in the laſt betweene Vitellius and Otho, or in the next betweene Cæſar and the Romans in Germany. Here Antonius Lieutenant of *ſeptima Galbiana* marcheth firſt, about the latter end of Auguſt, or beginning of September, with *vexillarijs è cohortibus*, and part of the Horſe, making vp no doubt a conuenient power, albeit there was not any entire Legion. With him went Arrius Varus, of no higher degree at that time, as I thinke, then a Primus pilus, of what Legion I cannot tell: but lib. 4. *Tertia Legio* is called *ſammarii Arrij Vari miles*: afterward, as it appeareth Hiſt. 4. he obtained the Captaine-ſhip of the Guard, and *Prætoria inſignia*, and being put by Mutianus from the Captaine-ſhip of the Guard, was made *Præfectus annonæ*. At Patauium or thereabout the two Legions of Pannonia ouertooke Antonius, namely *ſeptima Galbiana*, whoſe Lieutenant was Antonius himſelfe, and *tertiadecima Gemina* with Vedius Aquila Lieutenant thereof, the Lieutenant generall alſo T. Ampius Flauianus, as it may be preſumed, comming withall: for we finde him anon in the mutinee. At Verona Aponius Saturnius Preſident of Mœſia with *ſeptima Claudiana*, Vipſanus Meſſalla being Lieutenant thereof, ouertooke them. And anon afterward at Verona or thereabout the other two Legions of Mœſia, *tertia Gallica* with Dillius Aponianus, and *octaua Auguſta* with Numiſius Lupus. And this was all the power that was preſent of the Flauian ſide at the battell of Cremona, certaine bands of old Prætorian ſouldiers excepted, whereof we finde mention both in that field and elſewhere: but when and where they came to the ſide, is nowhere as it ought, expreſſely ſet downe. Of Vitellius part there were preſent in the action of Cremona two complete Legions, *vna & Vicęſima Rapax*, which came out of Germany with Cæcina, and Italica taken away from Lions by Valens; and ſix vnperfect Legions out of Germany: to wit *quarta*, and *octauadecima alias duo & vicęſima* out of high Germany; *primus, quinta, quintadecima*, and *ſextadecima* out of low Germany. Whereof ſix be named 2. Hiſt. [a] A little before the ioyning all the eight are ſet downe particularly, and by name. And beſide the eight Legions there were of that ſide *vexillarij* out of the three Britiſh Legions, *ſecunda Auguſta, nona, & vicęſima Victrix*, part of the eight thouſand which Vitellius brought out of Germany *è Britannicæ dilectu*, Tacitus 2. Hiſt. 5. and all his power vnder the charge of Cæcina. After the battell at Cremona *octo Legiones per Illyricum diſperſæ* Tac. 3. Hiſt. the fiue conquering Legions, being increaſed by *vndecima Claudiana*, and ſix thouſand men beſide out of Dalmatia, vnder the leading of Poppæus Siluanus Lieutenant Generall of that country, and Annius Baſſus Lieutenant of the eleuenth Legion, were left at Verona. Antonius with the Auxiliaries and *lecti è legionibus* marched to Fanum Fortunæ. Tac. 3. Hi. At Fanum they ſent for all their power from Verona, which ouertooke them at Carſulæ. On the other ſide after that ouerthrow at Cremona Vitellius ſent to Fabius Valens three Prætorian Cohorts with the Britiſh Wing, which were taken by Cornelius Fuſcus at Arminium. Then he ſent both the Captaines of his Guard with [b] fourteene Prætorian Cohortes and certaine Winges of Horſe-men, and a Legion *è claſſicis* different from Adiutrix Claſſica (which then was in Spaine) and belike newly enrolled. And this in effect was the power of both ſides imploied in this action.

[a] Stating that for *quintadecima, quartadecima* is written by errour of cope which Legion was quite ſent away into Britannie before.

[b] And three taken before at Arminium, ſemme xvij. beſides others perchance left with Vitellius at Rome, and yet ten was the ordinary number of all, and in Vitellius time, when they were moſt, but xvj. Tac. 2. Hiſt.

III. *A mutinee of the Pannonian ſouldier againſt Flauianus their Generall, and another of the Mœſian againſt Saturnius likewiſe theirs.*

SHORTLY afterward the third and eighth Leigon came; the one commanded by Dillius Aponianus, the other by Numiſius Lupus: whereupon they began to make ſhew of their forces, and determined to caſt vp a [a] militare Trench about the Towne of Verona. By chance it fell to the Galbian Legion to worke in the fore-part of the Trench toward the enemy, and ſome of their owne horſe-men appearing in ſight a far off cauſed a vaine feare, as if it had been the Vitellian power. By and by they laied hold on their weapons, and their bloud being ſtirred ſought to diſcharge their choler and rage vpon Flauianus, accuſing him of treaſon without either proofe or probability: but the man was before odious vnto them, and therfore his death was now violently required. They cried out againſt him that he was allied with Vitellius, that he had beene a traitour [a] to Otho, and intercepted their donatiue. No anſwer would be heard, albeit he beſought them holding vp his hands in moſt humble manner; lying for the moſt part proſtrate vpon the ground, with his garments rent, weeping and ſobbing pittifully: which kinde of behauiour prouoked their rage the more, as if this his ouer-great feare had certainely argued a guilty conſcience. Saturninus endeuouring to ſpeake in his defence was ſtill interrupted by the ſouldiers out-cries:

[a] *Vallum militare*, in oppoſition to *vt non vallarent, ſed foſſa egeſſu.*

[a] These particularities are not declared, as in my opinion they ought to haue beene, in the former ſtorie: ſeeing heere they are thought worthy the remembrance.

out-cries: and the reſt likewiſe were reiected with noiſe and clamour: onely to Antonius they were content to giue eare; for he was both eloquent and skilful to pleaſe a multitude, and beſide, of moſt authority amongſt them. When the ſedition waxed hoat, and paſſed from words and ill ſpeeches to weapons and blowes, he commanded Flauianus to be laied in chaines. The ſouldier perceiued the [b] ſleight, and breaking thorow thoſe that garded the Tribunall, they were at the point to haue ſlaine Flauianus: but Antonius oppoſed himſelfe with his ſword drawen, proteſting that if they would not deſiſt, he would either die by their hand, or by his owne: and withall deſired the aſſiſtance by name of all that he knew, or were of note otherwiſe for their degrees and places in ſeruice. Then turning himſelfe to the * enſeignes and gods of war, he beſought them to ſend ſuch fury, ſuch diſcord, into the mindes of their enemies rather: till at length the ſedition growing cold, and the day being ſpent, the ſouldiers ſlipped away each to his lodging. [1] Flauianus departed away the ſame night, and meeting with letters from Veſpaſian was deliuered from danger: but the Legions, as it were tainted with a contagious infection, ſtaied not there, but banded themſelues in like mutinous maner againſt Aponius Saturnius, Lieutenant generall of the Mœſian Army, vpon the comming abroad of certaine letters, which he was ſuppoſed to haue written to Vitellius: and their fury was ſo much the more hard to appeaſe, becauſe it began, not as the former toward the euening, when they were tired before with labouring, but at the noone time of the day. As in times paſt ſouldiers ſtroue to paſſe one another in modeſty and vertue, ſo then the contention was to excell in vnrulineſſe and inſolency; the Mœſian ſouldier being loath to vſe leſſe violence in ſeeking the death of Saturnius their generall, then the Pannonian were of Flauianus before: the Mœſian ſouldiers alleaged that they had helpt the Pannonians to proſecute their reuenge; and the Pannonian ſouldier as if the ſedition of others would acquit them, were glad to ſee the like fault committed againe. So agreeing together in this determination they went to the Gardens where Saturnius lodged. It was neither Antonius, nor Aponianus, nor Meſſalla, that ſaued him out of their fury, though they did what they could, but the ſecretneſſe of the place where he was hid, lying cloſe in the furnaces of certaine Bathes, which by chance were vnoccupied; and ſo priuily he conueied himſelfe to Padoua, putting away his ſergeants, and liuing a priuate perſon. The Lieutenant generall being thus remooued, Antonius had the whole gouernment and direction of both the Armies; his companions the Lieutenants of the Legions eaſily yeelding to him, and the ſouldiers fancying him aboue others: and ſome were of opinion, that both the mutinees were raiſed by his procurement, to the end that he alone might enioy the whole benefit of the war.

[b] Sce Tacitus Hiſtories, lib. 1. Hiſt. and Dion Caſſius.

* Contarenus ad Signa & bellorum deos, that is, ad Signa, where the Roman ſouldiers adored as gods.

cap 11

[1] Flauianus departed away] It had been well Tacitus had made vs acquainted with the contents of theſe letters, which met him ſo maruellouſly, ὥσπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς, *That is, Tanquam ex machina*; as if Veſpaſian in Iury two monthes before had foreſeene, that his good friende Flauianus ſhould haue beene ſuſpected and miſuſed by his ſouldiers at Verona, and thereupon directed letters in his fauour. Then where the letters ſo luckily met him, or at all whether he went is not ſpecified: but ſurely whether ſoeuer it was, being once out of the ſouldiers fingers, he was as I preſume out of all danger, at leaſt any ſuch as Veſpaſians letters could exempt him from.

IIII. *The reuolt of Lucilius Baſſus the Admirall, and of the Fleete at Rauenna. The treaſon of Cæcina Generall of the Army by land.*

OF Vitellius ſide alſo matters were no leſſe diſquiet, the diſſenſion being more dangerous, as proceeding not of ſouldiers ieloſies, but of the treaſon of the Generals. Lucilius Baſſus, Admirall of the Nauy at Rauenna, had woone to

cap 12.

the Flauian side the mindes of his souldiers, being somewhat inclinable thereto of themselues, the most of them were of Dalmatia and Pannonia, which Countries held for Vespasian. The time for accomplishing the treason was appointed in the night, that whilest the rest knew nothing of the matter, they onely of the conspiracy might assemble themselues in the Principia. Bassus either for shame, or doubt what would be the issue, kept himselfe within his house. The Captaines of the Gallies in the meane time with great tumult brake downe Vitellius images: and some few which resisted being put to the sword, the rest of the multitude vpon desire of change was easily induced to fauour Vespasian. Then Lucilius comming abroad auowed the whole fact as done by his authority, and the Nauy in his place made choise of Cornelius Fuscus for Admirall; who came with speed thither: and [1] Bassus was conueied by ship to Hadria, as it were vnder honourable arrest, and by Mennius Rufinus Captaine of a wing being in Garrison there put in bands; but soone after enlarged at the comming of Hormus Vespasians freed-man, who was also in this war counted among the Generals of that side. Now Cæcina, assoone as the reuolt of the Nauy was published abroad, assembled [a] the chiefe of the Centurions, and some of the souldiers, the rest being dispersed and busied in their ordinary militare duties, into the Principia, purposely chusing the most secret corner of the Campe. There he greatly extolled the valour of Vespasian, and the strength of the side, declaring also that the Nauy was already reuolted, the only support of Vitellius prouision: that France and Spaine were turned against him: that in the City there was nothing to be trusted vnto; and generally aggrauating all to the woorst against the person and state of Vitellius. Whereupon some that were priuy to the plot beginning to sweare to Vespasian, the rest amazed at the strangenesse of the matter followed the example: immediately Vitellius images were broken downe, and messengers sent to Antonius to declare what had passed. But assoone as this reuolt was bruted thorow out the camp and the souldiers comming into the Principia saw Vespasians name set vp, and Vitellius images cast vnder foote, they were mute at the first, then all at once they brake out with indignation. Is then the glory and fame of the German Armies now come to this? that without battell or any blow stricken they should thus binde their owne hands, and yeeld vp their weapons? for else what power was there of the other side to compell them? onely the Legions which before they had ouercome, and yet the flower and strength of them absent, to wit, the [b] first and fourteenth, which yet they had likewise ouerthrowen in the same field with the rest: and all belike to this end, that so many thousands of valiant souldiers should afterwards, like a droue of bondslaues, be bestowed as a present vpon Antonius an [c] exiled person: as though eight Legions were to be the dependance of one Nauy. But so was the pleasure of Bassus and Cæcina, after they had robbed the Prince of his houses and gardens, and treasure, to bereaue him also of his souldiers, albeit neuer touched nor wounded, and so to make them contemptible and vile, euen to the Flauianists also. For what could they say being required an account of their prosperity and aduersity? To this effect euery one by himselfe and all together crying out, as griefe and anger wrought in their mindes, the fift Legion being most forward they set vp Vitellius images againe and laying hold vpon Cæcina put him in fetters and appointed Fabius Fabulus Lieutenant of the fift Legion and Cassius Longus the camp master Generals in his place: killing certaine Gally-souldiers which by chance ariued there in an ill houre though vtterly ignorant and innocent of that which had passed. Then leauing their [d] Campe and breaking the bridge they returned to Hostilia, and from thence to Cremona to ioyne with the first Legion called Italica, and the one and twentieth surnamed Rapax

cap. 13

[a] This reuolt of Cæcina is described in the like manner by Josephus, libro quarto, capite quadragesimo primo.

[b] Prima adiutrix sexta victrix Syriaca, and Quarta decima Britanny.

[c] Tempora Neronis iam Tarquinios & Hostes fuisse damnatos, and so perhaps exiled.

cap. 14

[d] Inter Hostilium & paludes Tartari fluminis.

pax, which Cæcina had sent before, with part of his horse-men, to put themselues in Cremona.

* Bassus was conueyed] Why remained he not still in the charge? why was he committed, albeit it were cum *fodia honorata*, by those which fauored Vespasian: why sent to Adria? why there put into straiter prison, if Mennius were a frinde to Vespasians cause? if an enemy, why loosed at Hormus commandement, who was Vespasians man? and what then became of him? when, by whom, and wherefore was Mennius Rufinus put there in Garrison? These petty circumstances or some good part had in my opinion beene necessary in this place for the full satisfaction of the Reader.

V. *The skirmish of the Flauian and Vitellian horse-men betweene Bebriacum and Cremona.*

WHEN Antonius had vnderstanding hereof, he determined whilest the enemies were at dissention, and their forces not ioyned together, to vse his aduantage and assaile them, before either the Generals could ground their authority, or the souldiers fraine themselues to a new obedience, or the Legions recouer courage by vniting together. He gessed that Fabius Valens was already come out of Rome, and would make great haste, assoone as he heard of Cæcinaes treason: and Fabius was knowen to be a man faithfull to Vitellius, and not vnskillfull in seruice: besides a great power of Germans was feared by the way of Rhætia, and Vitellius had sent for Aydes out of Britanny, France and Spaine: enough to haue maintained a mighty and puissant war, had not Antonius vpon doubt thereof hastened the battell, and before-hand obtained the victory. So with his whole hoste he remooued from Verona, and the second night sate downe at Bebriacum. The next day imploying his Legions in fortifying the Campe, he sent out his Auxiliary Cohorts into the Territory of Cremona, to the end that the souldiers, vnder colour of prouiding necessaries, might be enured and fleshed [a] in ciuill spoile. He to safe conduct the Forragers aduanced himselfe with foure thousand horse eight miles forward from Bebriacum: and the skowtes in the meane time, as the maner is, pricked on further. About the [b] fift hower of the day one came riding in post, to giue intelligence that the enemies were hard at hand, that some few marched before, but the noise and trampling of the whole Army on euery side was clearely to be heard. Whilest Antonius was deliberating what was to be done, Arius Varus, desirous to do some piece of seruice, brake out with certaine of the forwardest horse-men, and made the Vitellianists recule, and slew some few: for by and by more of their fellowes comming to helpe, fortune changed, and they that were most forward before in pursuing, were now left last in the flight. This hast was against Antonius will, who supposed the euent would be such as it was: but seeing it could not be vndone he encouraged his men to fight valiantly: and diuiding his troupes in two parts, left a lane in the middle to receiue in Varus with his horse-men, word also was sent backe to the Legions to arme, and the alarme was giuen to those that were forraging abroad, that euery man should leaue of spoiling, and repaire with all speed the next way to the fight. Now by this time Varius in a great feare was retired within his owne Troupes, and induced thither a generall terror, the wounded and vnwounded were beaten in together, and greatly distressed thorow their owne feare, and the straitnesse of the waies. In all which confusion and tumult Antonius omitted no part either of a resolute Generall, or valiant souldier, encouraging those that were dismaied, staying them that shrunke; where most neede was; whence any hope appeared, there busying himselfe, with direction, hand and speech, in the view of the

[a] That is, in spoile getting by reason of ciuill warres.

[b] That is, as we account eleuen of the clocke, or there about.

enemy, in the ſight of his owne men, growing at the laſt to that heate, that with his Lance he ran thorow a Guidon-bearer who was fleeing away, and taking his guidon turned it againſt the face of the enemy: whereat for very ſhame there ſtaied about an hundreth horſe. That which principally helped was the quality of the place, the * way being there ſomewhat narrow, and the bridge broken of the Riuer that ran behinde them, whoſe vnknowen channell and ſteepe bankes ſtopped their further flight. That conſtraint or chance recouered the field that welny was loſt. For knitting themſelues ſtrongly together, with thicke and cloſe rankes, they receiued the Vitellian ſouldiers comming on looſely without any order. Which thing the leſſe it was looked for, amazed them the more. Whereupon Antonius finding them yeelding preſſed the more inſtanly vpon them ouerthowing all that came in his way: and withall the reſt as their inclinations were, ſome fell to ſpoiling and catching, ſome to take armour and horſes: euen they which before were broken and ſcattered abroad in the fields, hearing the ioyfull crie of their fellowes, returned then backe to take part of the victory. About fower miles from Cremona, the enſeignes of two Legions, Rapax and Italica, appeared, hauing marched ſo far vpon the ſucceſſe of their horſemen at the beginning: but when fortune turned, they were ſo far to ſeeke as that they neither did open their rancks, and receiue their diſtreſſed fellowes within them, nor yet went forward to aſſaile the enemy tired already with fighting and following ſo far. Thus béing by chance ouercome, they found in aduerſity the lacke of a Leader, which in their iolity they cared not for. As the Legions ſtood wauering in termes of breaking, the Flauian horſe-men charged vpon them: Vipſanius Meſſalla the Tribune was at their heeles with the Mœſian Aides, who in militare renowne, albeit lately enrolled, were nothing inferiour to the Legionary ſouldiers. So horſe-men and foote-men mingled together did eaſily breake the Vitellian Legions, and the Towne of Cremona lying ſo neare gaue them leſſe minde to reſiſt, and more hope to eſcape: neither did Antonius preſſe any further, conſidering the trauell and wounds, which both his horſe-men and horſes had taken, in ſo dangerous a skirmiſh, albeit the end went on his ſide. Toward the ſhutting in of the euening the whole power of the Flauian Army arriued: who aſſoone as they troad among the heapes of dead bodies, in the freſh ſteps of ſo late a ſlaughter, as if the whole warre had beene ended, cried to leade on out of hand to Cremona, and take by ſurrender or force thoſe conquered perſons. Theſe gay ſpeeches were in their mouthes and openly pretended, but ſecretly euery one caſt thus with himſelfe; That a towne ſeated in the plaine might be woon eaſily at a puſh; that their courage would as well ſerue them to enter in the night, and their liberty to ſpoile would then be much greater: but if they attended till day, then would there come ſupplications and intreaties for peace, and ſo for their labour and hurts they ſhould carry away the vaine ſmokes of clemency and glory, and ſuch other titulare matters, but the wealth and riches of the Towne would cleaue to the Captaines and Lieutenants fingers: that the ſpoile of a City taken by force fell to the ſouldiers, but of a City ſurrendered alwaies to the Captaines alone. Hereupon the perſwaſions of the Tribunes and Centurions, as perſons ſuſpect, were reiected: and becauſe no mans ſpeech ſhould be heard, they ratled their weapons, threating if no man would lead them beſide, to guide and conduct themſelues. Then Antonius inſinuating himſelfe among the common ſouldiers, after he had with the ſight of his perſon, and reuerence of his place, procured ſilence, proteſted vnto them, that his meaning was not in any ſort to defraude ſo well deſeruing ſouldiers, either of honour or reward. Notwithſtanding the captains and ſoldiers duties were of different nature: a ſouldier ought to be fierce and

* *Arctiore illic via*: and yet a little before he ſaith, *Angustiis viarum conſtrictabantur.*

cap. 18

cap. 19

cap. 20

and desirous to fight, but in Captaines a wary fore-sight and deliberate kinde of proceeding is rather commended: and more oftentimes profiteth and helpeth he by protracting, then venturing rashly. For his part as he had to his power with weapons and hand furthered the victory, so would he likewise helpe now with direction and counsell, peculiar qualities to a Generall, and the place he sustained. And surely if they list but a little consider, the dangerousnesse of the enterprise was very apparent. It was now night, the situation of the towne was vnknowen, within nothing but enemies, and euery corner fit for an ambush: nay if the gates were wide open, yet were it not safe for to enter, no not in the day time, but vpon good discouery before hand, and assurance that all coasts were cleere. What? would they begin an assault when they could not discerne the best place of approach, nor the height of the wals, whether it were best to attempt them by discharging of shot a farre off, or by engines at hand, or by mine? then turning himselfe to particular persons he demanded of them seuerally, whether they had brought their * Hatchets and Axes with them, and all other tooles necessary for an assault: and when they denied, What, quoth he then, are any mens hands in the world of that force, and strength to breake downe wals with lauelins and swords? What if it fall out that we must of necessity raise mounts, couer our selues with hurdles and frames of boord? Shall we not then be forced to stand like good silly fooles gazing and gaping at the height of their Towers, and the strength of their fortifications? Nay rather let vs stay for one night, and fetch hither in the meane time our engines and instruments of battery, and so cary the victory surely before. And heere-with he dispatched the * seruants and followers of the campe, and the freshest of his horse-men to Bebriacum, to bring vittels from thence and all other necessary prouision.

* *securis & dolabræ.*

* *calones & lixæ.*

VI. *The great battell at Cremona betweene the Flauianists and the Vitellianists. Cremona sacked and burnt.*

THE souldier discontented there at and repining, was growing toward a mutinee, when as their horse-men hauing scowred to the very walles of Cremona tooke certain stragglers of the Towne by whose confession it was vnderstood, that six Vitellian Legions, and the whole power that lay at Hostilia, hearing of the defeat of their fellowes, had marched thirty miles that very day, and prepared themselues to fight, and would by and by be vpon them. That terrour opened their mindes, which before were closed against all their Generals good counsell, and so he commanded the third Legion to make stand vpon the " Cawsey of the Posthumian way: fast by it on the left hand stood the seuenth surnamed Galbiana in a plaine field: then the seuenth called Claudiana hauing before it a * Common ditch for a kind of defence, as the place chanced to yeeld: on the right hand stood the eight Legion in an open ground: then the thirteenth in a thicket somewhat disunited by reason of bushes and shrubes. In this sort stood the standerds and enseignes of the Legions, but the souldiers were blended together, as it chanced in the darke. The band of Prætorians stood next to the third Legion, the Auxiliary Cohorts were placed in the wings, and the horse-men garded the flanckes, and reareward: Sido and Italicus the Sueuians with the choise of their Country-men serued in the foreward. On the other side, the Vitellian Army, whose best course doubtlesse had beene to haue taken some rest at Cremona, and refreshed themselues with food and sleepe, and so the next day to haue giuen the on-set vpon their enemies, starued with hunger and cold, for lacke of a Leader and want of direction, about the third hower

Cap. 21

" *or ridge.*

* *agro Tu fossa.*

Cap. 22

hower of the night dashed themselues vpon the Flauian Army, who stood now in array strongly prepared to receiue them. The order and standing of the Vitellian Army I dare not for certaine auouch, being doublesse disordered thorow anger and darkenesse. Some affirme that the fourth Legion called Macedonica stood * in the right wing: the fift and fifteenth Legions, with certaine Companies out of three Brittish Legions, the ninth, second, and twentieth filled vp the middle battell; the left wing consisting of the tenth Legion, the two and twentieth and the first: the souldiers of Rapax and Italica dispersed themselues thorow out all: the horsemen and Aides choise their owne standing. The fight continued all night very doubtfull and cruell, with great mortality sometime on the on side, and sometime on the other: courage or strength auailed little in the darke, where the eie could not discerne a frinde from an enemy. On both sides was the same kind of armour and weapons: by many mutuall questions ech knew others watch-word: the banners also were mingled together, as it hapned a band to take any from the enemy and carry them to and fro. The seuenth Legion lately leuied by Galba was pressed most hardly: sixe of her principall Centurions were slaine, and some ensignes taken away, the Standerd it selfe was hardly defended by Attilius Verus the chiefe Centurion; who with great slaughter of the enemy, and his owne death in the end, notwithstanding saued his charge. The Flauianists thus going to the worse, Antonius reinforced and strengthened the battel by sending for the Prætorian souldiers, who assoone as they vndertooke the fight repulsed the enemy at the first, and anon were repulsed themselues. For the Vitellianists had brought their engines of war, which before were dispersed and discharged against bushes and trees, without any hurt to the enemy, and placed them vpon the cawsey of the high-way to haue an open passage and free scope to shoote out; among the rest a [a] Balista of a wonderfull greatnesse, belonging to the sixteenth Legion, shooting out huge and mighty stones galled them sore, and had made a farre greater hauocke among them, had not two souldiers vndertaken an honourable exploite, and taking vp Targets among the dead bodies gone vnknowen, and cut the cords and waights of the engine: whereupon they were by and by cut in pieces, and so their names are not knowen; of the fact there is no question. Now the battell continued doubtfull, and Fortune indifferent to both sides, till at farre in the night the [b] Moone rose and discouered the Armies, though in deceitfull sort, and more in fauour of the Flauian side, because she was at their backes: by meanes wherof both the shadowes of the men and horses stretched along toward the enemies, and so the Arrowes and Dartes of the Vitellianists, being falsely bestowed vpon shadowes, fell short of the bodies; whereas contrarily, by reason of the Moone shining against them, the Vitellian souldiers were easily hit vnawares with the blowes of the other, discharging as it were out of couert. Antonius assoone as hee could discerne his owne Company, and be likewise discerned of them, began to inflame them seuerally, some with shame and rebuke, others with praise and encouragements, all with hope and large promises: demanding of the Pannonian Legions for what purpose they had now resumed Armes? If to wipe away the blot of their late ignominy, here was the field where they might reintegrate themselues in their honour againe. Then turning to the Mœsian souldiers, he challenged them as Authours and beginners of the warre, adding that in vaine they had dared the Vitellianists with words and threates, if now they durst not abide their hands and lookes. And after this and the like sort hee spake to all whom hee met: but most at large to those of the third Legion, putting them in remembrance both of their late and ancient victories; how [a] vnder the conduct of Marcus Antonius

* Inferere cornu

cap. 23

[a] Balista, with Vegetius lib. 4. c. 22. iumbus vermiculi, chordisque tendebat, quæ quamvis prolixiora brachia haberent, tamen spiritalia longius emittebant, & summæ arcus vibrationem, cum temperatæ essent, ad certum locum haurirent, quæ machinarum cum ante collegerunt, diligenter prouisa quotiescunque pertulerunt. the tail of a Balista threw with it a great part of the wall of the Campe in Germania.

cap. 24

Antonius they had ouerthrowne the Parthians, vnder Corbulo the Armenians, and of late the Sarmatians. Then directing his speech to the Prætorians in great anger: As for you disgraded souldiers (quoth he) if you win not here, what other Generall, or what other Campe shall receiue you ? Yonder loe, there be your enseignes and weapons, and present death if you leese, for you haue spent already your shame. Great crying and noise there was one euery side, when as the third Legion, as the manner in Syria is, with a great showte saluted the Sunne rising : vpon which accident, or by the Generals policy, a generall rumour was spred thorow the Hoste, that Mutianus was come, and the Armies had met and saluted ech other. Whereupon as supplied with new forces, they pressed forward and gaue a fresh on-set, the Vitellian rankes growing now thinner, as being without all direction, and banding together or disbanding as their owne courage or feare did induce them. When Antonius felt them weake in the shocke, and yeelding vnder his hand, with a Company firmely compacted he charged and disordered them. The rankes once loosed brake, and could not be reunited by reason of the Cariages and engines which hindered the matter. The conquerours hoatly pursuing the chase dispersed themselues along the High way. The slaughter was the more famous, because in the same it happened the sonne to kill his owne father : the thing and the names of the persons I will set downe, as Vipsanius Messalla hath reported it. Iulius Mansuetus borne in Spaine, and called to serue in the Legion surnamed Rapax, left a sonne at home vnder yeeres, who growing afterwards to mans estate, and being enrolled by Galba into the seuenth Legion, by meere misfortune heere met and encountred with his owne father ; and hauing wounded him deadly, going about to rifle him, came into knowledge of him, and was likewise knowen by him againe. Whereupon embracing the corpes, which now was without sense or life, with teares and lamentable voice he besought his fathers ghost, not to impute this impiety vnto him, nor abhor and detest him as a parricide : that it was the publicke act of the cause : and what a small portion was one souldier of these ciuill warres ? And withall he tooke vp the body, made a pit in the ground, and perfourmed his last duty toward his father. This was perceiued by them which were next, and then by more also : in the end the fame of this strange chance went thorow the whole Army, and much complaining there was, and detestation of so cruell, and wicked a warre : and yet they continued nothing the lesse to kill and to spoile both kinsmen and friendes, and euen their brethren also. They talke what a wicked fact was committed, and in the meane time commit it themselues. When as they came to Cremona, their appeared a new and no small piece of worke yet behinde. For in the warre against Otho the German souldiers had cast their Campe about the wals of Cremona, and about their Campe Rampires and Trenches, which they had now lately augmented. At the sight whereof the Flauianists were at a stop, the Generals being doubtfull what to appoint. To begin the assault the Army being tired with the trauel both of the day and the night, were a difficult matter, and hauing no place of retiring at hand dangerous too : to returne to Bebriacum were intolerable paine, the way being so long, and besides, all they had done would be lost, and the victory made voide : to sit downe and intrench, that also were a thing full of danger, and to be feared, least the enemies being so neere should sally out, and breed some disorder as they were dispersed, and busy at their worke. But aboue all these respects the Generals stood in most feare of their owne souldiers, who would sooner abide any danger, then any delay : all that tended to safety was vnsauory ; in precipitation was their hope ; the greedy desire of the spoile made all killing, wounding, shedding

their

their bloud to be matters of nothing. To this resolution therefore Antonius finally inclining, commanded to enuiron the Trenches with souldiers round about. And first they fought aloofe with arrowes and stones on both sides but with disaduantage to the Flauian part, vpon whom the enemy discharged from aboue: then approching neere he distributed to the Legions the trenches and gates, appointing to each their seuerall quarter, to the end the labour being thus diuided the difference betweene the valiant and the coward might be perceiued, and mutuall emulation of honour should excite them to vertue. The third and seuenth Legion were assigned the quarter next to the way, which leades from Bebriacum: the eighth and seuen surnamed Claudiana tooke vp the trenches on the right hand: the thirteenth was caried with a fury to the gate toward Brescia. After this they pawsed a while, til they had fetched out of the fields thereabout, some of them [c] spades and [d] axes, some others [e] hookes and ladders. Then with a strong [f] Target fence ouer their heads they came vnder the walles, and were receiued by those that vnderstood that kind of seruice, as hauing beene trained vp in the same schoole, who rowled down huge stones vpon it, and forced the frame to stagger and fleete, then followed and searched into it with iauelins and speares, till the conexion of Targets being dissolued and broken, they slew or maimed the men. Vpon so great slaughter the Flauianists were almost at a stay, had not the Captaines perceiuing the souldiers to be tired, and all other encouragements preuaile but a little, shewed vnto them the towne of Cremona, as the price of their victory. Whether this was Hormus deuise, as Messalla reporteth, or Caius Plinius be rather to be beleeued, who casteth the fault vpon Antonius, I cannot easily determine; this only that whether Antonius or Hormus were Author of this most bad part, it was not vnsutable to neither of their former infamous lines, and behauiours. But hereupon no danger of limme or life could stay the Flauian souldiers, from breaking downe the Trenches, and beating open the gates, euen with their shoulders; and some climing vp by a double Target-fence tooke hold on their enemies weapons, and caught them by the armes: so the wounded and not wounded, the halfe dead and dying, came downe tumbling together, and perished some after one fashion and some after another, representing all diuersities of deaths. The seuenth and third Legion fought most brauely, and gaue the sharpest assault, and Antonius the Generall himselfe, with the chosen men of the Auxiliary souldiers, had bended his forces that way. The Vitellianists perceiuing themselues not able to sustaine any longer the force, and fury of men so obstinately bent, and that whatsoeuer they cast downe vpon them slid away vpon the Target-fence, without doing any harme, resolued to rowle downe at the last a great [g] engine vpon them as they approched: which indeed for the present ouerwhelmed those that were vnder, but withall in falling it drew the battlements with it, and vppermost part of the rampier: and at the same time a Tower adioyning being battered with stones fell downe. At which breach as the seuenth Legion assaied to enter in a pointed battell, the third Legion in the meane season brake downe the gate with their swords and axes. It is agreed vpon by all writers, that the first man which entred the trench was Caius Volusius, a souldier of the third Legion, who presently going to the Rampire tumbled downe all that resisted, and aduancing himselfe in sight proclaimed the Campe was taken: and as the Vitellianists were now beginning to faint, and leape downe from the Rampire, the rest brake in. All the space between the trenches and the towne was filled with dead bodies. And there againe appeared a new worke, and another labour: the walles of the City were high, the Towers all of stone, the barres of the gates of iron, the souldier ready with weapon in hand on the walles,

the

cap. 27

[b] Galliana.

[c] Ligones.
[d] Dolabræ.
[e] Falces. Vegetius lib. 4. c. 14.
[f] Vineæ, malo adhuc & pro ferro, aut de muro exeuntibus lapidi, but here perchance it was but some common booke.

cap. 29

[g] ballista.

cap 30

the Townesmen many and sure to Vitellius; beside a great number of strangers assembled out of all places of Italy thither, by occasion of a Faire vsually holden there at that time. But that as it was a helpe to the defendants in respect of the multitude, so was it a prouocation to the assailants in respect of the spoile. Antonius commanded to take fire and burne certaine most goodly buildings, standing without the walles, if peraduenture the Townsmen vpon the losse of their substance would be induced to yeeld. The houses that were neere to the walles, and exceeded them in height he replenished with the valiantest souldiers he had; who with blockes of timber, and tiles, and fire-brands, beat away the defendants from the walles: by this time also, the Legions had cast themselues into a Target-fence, and others shot stones, and arrowes against them on the walles. Then the Vitellianists hearts began by little and little to faile them, and euery man as he was first in degree was likewise the first to yeeld vnto fortune, least if Cremona also should be taken there would be no hope of pardon remaining, the whole wrath of the winners being like to turne not vpon the poore and beggerly souldier, but vpon the Tribunes and Centurions, by whose death some gaine might be gotten: contrarily the common-souldier not searching into sequels, and in lesse danger by reason of his baseneſſe, persisted still for Vitellius: and wandring in the streetes, or hiding themselues in houses would not sue for peace, euen then wen as they had left off to make war. So the principall men of degree in the army razed Vitellius names, and defaced his images, and loosing Cæcina, who then was in bands, desired him to become interceſſour in their behalf. As he made dainty to doe it, and bare himselfe proudly against them, they besought him instantly euen with teares (a misery of all miseries, so many valiant men to implore the aide of a disdainefull traitour) and then hung out ouer the walles their *sacred veles and infules, in signe of submission. Whereupon Antonius commanding his men to surcease all hostility, they brought out their enseignes and standerds: the Vitellian Legions followed; a heauy company, vnarmed, and casting their eies to the ground. The Flauianists closed about them, and first outraged them in speeches, and seemed to threaten violence vnto them: but when they saw them not mooued thereat, but patiently to endure all indignities, according to the circumstance of their present fortune, they began to call to remembrance, that euen those were the selfe-same men, that had a little before at Bebriacum vsed their victory moderately. But when Cæcina came forth as a Consull in his robes, with his sergeants before him making way thorow the presse, the conquering souldiers lost al maner of patience, obiecting vnto him his pride, and his cruelty, yea and his treason too: so hatefull are vices euen where they are profitable. But Antonius interposed himselfe and sent him safely garded away to Vespasian. In the meane season the people of the towne, among so many armed men, were greatly annoyed, and they scaped nearely of a generall massacre, had not the Captaines intreated, and somewhat appeased the souldiers wrath. Antonius calling a full assembly made a solemne oration, speaking in glorious termes to the souldiers of his owne side, and in curteous to those of the other, concerning Cremona ambiguously. The Army was doubtlesse earnestly bent to the destruction and sack of the city beside a natural desire of spoile, vpon an old conceiued displeasure against them: for in the war of Otho also they were thought to haue bested & helped Vitellius side; and afterwards the thirteenth Legion being left there to build an Amphitheatre (as commonly these Townesmen are naturally malapert) they had iested and scoffed at them Many other circumstances made their case also the harder, as that Cæcina had in that Towne exhibited his shew of "Fencers in honour of Vitellius victory: that it was chosen now the second

cap. 31

* Velamenta & infulas.

cap. 32

" Gladiatores.

cond time for the ſeat-towne of the warre: that they had helped the Vitellian army with vittels: that ſome women were found ſlaine, which for extreme loue to the ſide had come out to the battell: and not leaſt becauſe the faire time had filled the towne, being otherwiſe wealthy, with ſhew of more wealth. And thus ſtood the ſouldiers for their part affected. As concerning the Commanders, the behauiours of the reſt were not much marked: Antonius by reaſon of his fortune and his fame was principally eied: who aſſoone as he entred the Towne went preſently to the Bath to waſh of the bloud, and finding it ſomewhat too coole, let fall a word which was quickely taken vp, that ere long it would be made hoater. This baſe ieſt turned the whole blame vpon him, as if he had giuen therby a watch-word to ſet Cremona
cap. 33. on fire, which to ſay the truth was burning already. Forty thouſand armed men were broken in, and of ſeruants and followers of the Campe both a greater number, and a great deale more diſordered in all kind of licentious and cruell demeanour: neither age, nor honourable calling could warrant any from violence, but without reſpect of either they abuſed their bodies in villanous maner, and ſlew them indifferently. Aged men and old women, nought worth to be ſold, they haled in a iolity for paſtime and ſport: if any maide of competent yeeres, or beautifull yongue man fell amongſt them, in ſtriuing who ſhould carry them away, they pulled them aſunder and tare them in pieces; and thereupon growing in choler turned to kill one another. Whenas any had gotten and caried away for himſelfe mony, or the gold and iewels out of the Temples, being met by a ſtronger, he left behinde him both his life and his booty: ſome contemning that which they found ready and open, compelled the Owners with torture and ſtripes, to confeſſe and yeeld vp their hidden riches, and treaſures buried vnder the ground. The ſouldiers walked with firebrands in their hands, which aſſoone as they had emptied the goods, they hurled in a ſport and wantonneſſe into the voide houſes, and empty Temples. And as in an Army diuerſe in language and manners, compounded of Romans, confederates, and ſtrangers, their luſts and deſires were diuerſe, and ſome-thing held lawfull by one, ſome-thing by another, and nothing vnlawfull to all. Fower whole daies Cremona miniſtred matter to ſacke and to burne: and all things beſide both holy and pro-
f The goddeſſe of ill fauours. phane being conſumed into aſhes, the Temple of f Mephitis without the walles remained vntouched, either becauſe it ſtood out of the way, or by reaſon of ſome diuine vertue of the goddeſſe. Cap. 34. 5 This end had the City of Cremona, two hundreth eighty and ſix yeeres after the foundation. It was built in the g yeere that Tiberius Sempronius and Publius Cornelius were Conſuls, when Hanniball was about to come into Italy, for a Bul-warke againſt the Frenchmen beyond the Po, and if any other power ſhould breake in by the Alpes. So by reaſon of the number of inhabitants, commodity of Riuers, fertility of the ſoile annexed, and affinities contracted with other people, it grew vp and flouriſhed, in forraine warres vntouched, vnfortunate in ciuill. Antonius aſhamed of this foule act, which daily grew more and more odious, made proclamation, that no man ſhould keepe any Citizen of Cremona as his lawfull priſoner: and all Italy with one generall conſent refuſing to buy any of them for ſlaues marred the ſouldiers market: who thereupon began to murther their priſoners. Which being once knowen, their friends and kinsfolkes ſecretly came and ranſomed them. In ſhort time after the reſt of the people returned to Cremona. The publicke places and Temples were reedified to the charges of the
g In the 1 yeere of the City 536. and the firſt yeare of the ſecond Punicke warre.
cap. 35. Townes-men, and vpon Veſpaſians ſpeciall encouragement. For the preſent, the ground being infected with the noyſomeneſſe of the dead carcaſes, ſuffered not the Flauian Army to dwell long vpon the ruines of the razed City. So they remooued

three

three miles off, and there reduced the Vitellianists, being disbanded, and trembling for feare, euery souldier vnder his colours, and anon afterward sent them away into Illyricum, lest during the time of the troubles they should fortune to worke innouation. Into Britanny and Spaine messengers were sent with the newes of the successe: and for a proofe of their victory, into France they sent Iulius Calenus a Tribune, and into Germanie Alpinus Montanus captaine of a cohort, because Alpinus was of Tries, and Calenus an Æeduan, and both had followed Vitellius side: and withall they kept and fortified the passages of the Alpes with garrisons, fearing the descent of the German that way in fauour of Vitellius.

[1] The Moone rose] The very same effects fell out vpon the like cause, in the night battell betweene Pompey and Mithridates described by Plutarch, and Dio But the Epitome of Dio, setteth this heere downe somewhat otherwise then Tacitus. τὴν δὲ ταραχὴν ἐπέξησεν ἡ σελήνη τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκλιπεσα, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐσκιάσθη (καὶ γὰρ τοῖς δεισιδαίμοσι καὶ τὸ πιαῦτα φόβον φέρει) ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ αἱματώδης καὶ μέλαινα ἄλλατε τινὰ χρώματα φαινομένη ἐφάνη. *That is, The Moone being eclipsed that night increased the astonishment, not so much because she was darkened (although in such as are affrighted such things also strike a terrour) but because she seemed bloody and blackish, and streaming out some other fearefull colours.*

[2] Vnder the conduct of M. Antonius] Some three or foure yeeres aboue an hundreth yeere before. so that no one man, that serued then with Antonius, could in possibility now be heere in this seruice. but we are to vnderstand of a Legion, as the lawyer saith of a shippe, that being repaired by peecemeale, albeit in processe of time there be no one stick remaining the same, yet doth it continue still the same ship, although the Philosophers, saith Plutarch, are not yet fully agreed of the point, τῶν μὲν ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ, τῶν δὲ ὡς ἕτερον τὸ αὐτὸ, διαμένει λεγόντων. *That is, Some defending it to remaine the same ship still, some denying it. I beseo.*

[3] Target fence] Testudo. The manner of Testudo and the vtilitie is very well declared by Liuie lib. 44 in these words. *Quadrato agmine sinistra scutis supra capita densatis stantibus primis, secundis summissioribus, tertijs magis & quartis, postremis etiam genu nixis fastigiatam, sicut tecta ædificiorum sunt, testitudinem faciebant. vbi illi armati superstantes propugnatoribus muri fastigio altitudinis æquarentur. Soli tamen in fronte extrema & ex lateribus non habebant super capita elata scuta, ne nudarent corpora, sed prætenta pugnantium more: ita nec ipsos tela ex muro missa subeuntes læserunt, & testitudini iniecta imbris in modum lubrico fastigio innoxia ad imum labebantur.* Plutarch Antonio. οἱ θυρεοφόροι γονυπετοῦντες εἰς γόνυ προκάλλοντο τοὺς θυρεοὺς· ὧν δεόντως ὑπέρογον αὐτῶν τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ κεῖναι ὁμοίως ἕτεραι. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα προσπίπτον ἑρέψει μυρμηκιὰν ὄψιν τε θεατρικὴν παρέχει, καὶ τῶν βλημάτων σεσαγευτικόν· τὸν ὅτι πρὸς τοῦ ὄμβρους ἀπολιθαίνοντας. *That is, The target bearers, kneeling on their knees hold before them their targets, those which next follow couer them with theirs, and others them againe, the forme is very like the couering of a house, somewhat also resembling a theatre, and of all other defences is most sure against arrowes sliding downe vpon it.* Now in case one Testudo would not serue to set their armed men high enough to match them on the trenches or walles, they made as I thinke, a double Testudo, one vpon another. Tacitus in the words following *super iteratam testudinem scandentes*; albeit those wordes may receiue also another construction. The strength of targets so compacted together is declared by Arrianus ἀναβάσ. 1. When as Alexander had to ascend the mount Hæmus, the top whereof was occupied by the enemies, who turned downe mighty great carres vpon his armie, he willed such as could not open their rankes, & so giue passage to their violence, ξωνώσαντας καὶ πεσόντας εἰς γῆν συγκλεῖσαι εἰς ἀκριβὲς τὰς διαστάσεις, ἵν', κατ' αὐτῶν φερόμενας τὰς ἁμάξας, καὶ τῇ ῥύμῃ καὶ τὸ εἰκὸς ὑπερπεσούσας, ἀβλαβῶς ἐπιλθεῖν. καὶ ἅπερ ξυνέβη, ὅπως παρήνεσέ τε καὶ ἐξανέστη καὶ εἶπε. *That is, To couch and fall to the ground, that the carres comming downe vpon and carried ouer them amaine as it was likely, with their owne force might passe away without doing harme, and as Alexander gessed, so it came to passe.*

[4] Of a disdainfull traitour] Xiphilinus seemeth to say that vpon hanging out of their velamenta and insulæ obtaining not pardon, they loosed Cæcina, and sent him in his Consular robes αὐτὸ ἱκετεύσαι; καὶ ἐτύγχανε τῆς συγγνώμης. *That is, To intreat for them; and by his meanes obtained mercy.* Iosephus 4 ἁλῶσ. cap. 41. saith that Antonius loosed Cæcina after his entry into the towne. By Tacitus heere it should seeme he went not to Antonius til after the souldiers had yeelded.

[5] This end had Cremona] In this battell, saith Iosephus ἁλῶς. 4. cap. 41 were slaine of Vitellius side thirty thousand and two hundreth: of Antonius souldiers foure thousand and fiue hundreth. Ziphilinus saith that in Cremona, with those which were slaine in the field, died fifty thousand persons. The time was about the latter end of October, about which time also, as it appeareth by Tacitus, the newes were brought to Rome of Cæcinaes reuolt.

VII. *Fabius Valens setteth forward. Vitellius blockish behauiour. The death of Iunius Blæsus.*

BVT Vitellius, hauing within few daies after Cæcinaes departure set foorth Fabius Valens also to the warre, as if nothing else were now to be done, layd aside all care of affaires, and betooke himselfe to his riotous life. He made no prouision of armour, confirmed not the souldiers with comfortable speeches, or militarie cap. 36

exercises; he conuersed not in publike in the face of the people (like those sluggish creatures, which if you supply with foode lye carelesly stretched along) lurking in arbours and places of pleasure, he had cast off all memory alike, of past, present, and to come. Thus wallowing in sloth, and languishing in the groues of Aricia, the heauie newes came vnto him of the treason of Lucilius Bassus, and of the reuolt of the nauie at Rauenna: soone after the sorrowfull tidings mixed with some ioy concerning Cæcina came, both that he had reuolted, and that he was put in bands by the armie. His blockish and dull disposition apprehended more the ioy then the care, insomuch that with great triumph he made his returne vnto the citie, and there in a solemn assembly commended, and highly extolled the dutifull affection of the souldiers. Then he commanded Publius Sabinus captaine of the Garde, because he was inward with Cæcina, to be committed, substituting Alphenus Varus in his roome: immediately going to the Senate hee made there a stately and magnificall oration vnto them, and was requited of them againe with all kinde of exquisite flatteries. Then proceeded a heauie sentence against Cæcina, [a] pronounced first by Lucius Vitellius, and so by the rest of the Senate in order: who was in the Princes behalfe vttering their owne griefe aggrauated his fact with tearmes of affected indignation, That a Consull should betray the common wealth, a Generall his soueraine Lord, and a man so greatly aduanced in riches and honour his sole aduancer and maker; without any touch at all or iniurious speech against any of the Flauian captaines but onely blaming the errour, and ouersight of the armies: and for Vespasians proceedings, with great caution touching that string, and alwaies sparing his name. Then Roscius Regulus presented petition, and by humble suite obtained, a ridiculous thing both to giue and to take, the Consulship for one onely day which remained behind of Cæcinaes time, and so the last day of October he entred and resigned his office. It was obserued by men skilfull that way, that neuer before was there any such substitution seene, but either vpon errour in the creation, or an expresse law for that purpose enacted. For [b] Caninius Rebilus had likewise beene Consull for one day alone, at the time when Caius Cæsar was Dictatour, " and the seruice of many in the ciuill warre required much speed in rewarding. About the same time the death of Iunius Pl œsus was openly knowen and much talkt of abroad: the circumstances whereof, as we haue receiued them are these. Vitellius lying sicke of a grieuous disease in the Seruilian gardens, chaunced to espie in a turret not farre off many lights burning in the night season, and demanding the cause, they about him made answere, that in Cæcina Tuscus house there was a solemne feast, and much company met, whereof Iunius Blœsus was the principall guest; amplifying the sumptuousnes of the entertainment, and the mirth, and the wanton solacing themselues, and such other matters farre aboue truth: yea and some stucke not directly to accuse Tuscus himselfe and others; but aggrauated most against Blœsus, that had so good leysure and lust in the Princes sicknes, to banquet and passe the time so merrily away. When they found Vitellius humour once sharpned, and it was cleere to them, that see deepely into Princes dislikes, that Blœsus might be ouerthrowen, the promooting and prosecuting against him was committed to Lucius Vitellius: who vpon a sinister emulation malicing Blœsus (because hee was so famous a man, and himselfe by desert so infamous) entred into the Emperous chamber, and taking his little sonne in his armes fell downe at his feete. When his brother demanded the cause of this his confusion, I come not (quoth he) for any feare or care of mine own, but my humble suite is, and these teares are shed in your owne behalfe, and your childrens. In vaine do we stand in feare of Vespasian, whom so many Legions as we haue

[a] In amplifying the great bountifulnes of *Vitellius*, towards a man in all respects so vnworthy as *Cæcina*, they vttered indeed their own griefe, that so lewd a person should be so highly preferred, and yet seemed to complaine in *Vitellius* behalfe.

[b] Of whom that iest of *Tully* is remembred: *Quam vigilantem habemus consulem, qui toto consulatu suo tempore somnum capere non vidit.* " Or, who being beholding to no man, had many to pleasure.

haue of our ſide, ſo many prouinces of valour and truſt, and ſo great and infinite diſtance by Sea and land doth withhold and keepe off: wee had more neede to take heede of an enemy at home in our boſome, who vaunts of the [c] Iunij and [c] Antonij for his progenitours, and maketh all demonſtrations of curteſie and bountifulneſſe toward the ſouldiers, as one deſcended of the imperiall bloud: that way all mens minds beginne now to bend: whileſt your maieſty in the meane time, careleſſe of the eſtate both of your friends and foes, nouriſheth a concurrent, that taketh delight out of his banquetting houſe to behold his Princes ſickneſſe and griefes. Vouchſafe, I beſeech you, for his vnſeaſonable mirth, to render him a ſad and ſorrowfull night, whereby he may both know and feele, that Vitellius liueth and ruleth, and if ought ſhould befall him but good, hath a ſonne to leaue in his place. Vitellius ſtanding in dread betweene the feare of differring, and the open auowing ſo wicked a fact, leſt the one might breed his deſtruction, the other procure great enuy and ſlander, finally reſolued to attempt it by poyſon: the ſuſpition whereof was ſtrongly confirmed, by his going in great ioy to viſite Blœſus as he lay a dying; and moreouer a moſt ſauage ſpeech of his was ouerheard, wherein he vaunted (for I will report his owne very words) that he had fed his eies in beholding his enemies death. Blæſus beſides his honourable birth and courtly conditions, was loyall and faſt to Vitellius. For before Veſpaſian put vp, when as matters were yet entier, being ſollicited by Cæcina and the chiefeſt of the ſide, who began now to waxe weary of Vitellius, he ſtifly reſiſted; a man of vpright conuerſation, not turbulent, not deſirous of haſty riſing, and ſo far from ambitious aſpiring to the Empire, that in many mens opinions he was eſteemed not vnworthy of it.

[c] By reaſon of both which name he might claime to be lineally deſcended of Oſtauius ſiſter to Auguſtus Cæſar, as by their pedegree it may appeare.

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VIII. *The proceedings of Fabius Valens, and his taking.*

cap. 40.

IN the meane ſeaſon Fabius Valens marching forward, more ſlowly then was conuenient in going to warre, with a great and effeminate traine of concubines and eunuches, was aduertiſed in poſt of the treaſon of Lucilius Baſſus, with the loſſe of the nauie at Rauenna: and if he had followed with expedition his purpoſed iourney, he might either haue preuented Cæcinaes falling away, or ouertaken the Legions before the battaile was giuen. And ſome perſwading him to take a few of his truſtieſt friends, and ſo auoiding Rauenna by ſecret bywaies to go in all ſpeed to Hoſtilia, or Cremona: others were of opinion to ſend for the Prætorian cohorts out of the Citie, and ſo by ſtrong hand to make paſſage. But Valens vſing delay, to the great hurt of the cauſe, ſpent the times of action in conſultation: and then reiecting both the aduiſes, and taking a [1] middle courſe, which in caſes of danger and doubt of all is the woorſt, he neither was venturous enough with the one, nor prouident inough with the other, but onely wrotte lettets to Vitellius for ſome ſupply. Whereupon[a] three cohorts were ſent with the Britiſh wing, a number neither fit to paſſe ſecret withall, nor ſufficient to breake thorow by force. But Valens euen then, amidſt ſo great danger, abſtayned not from his olde vntemperate liuing; but was diffamed, and noted to take by force his lewd pleaſures, and pollute his hoſts houſes, whereſoeuer he came, with adulteries, and other vnlawfull luſts: he had both might and money, great means to induce; and the laſt luſts fortune beginning to fall, now at the farewell ſhewed themſelues moſt outragious. When the horſemen and foormen were come, then appeared the weakeneſſe and fault of that counſaile. For neither could hee with ſo ſmall a company, though he had beene moſt truſtie, paſſe thorow the enemies, neither yet were they faſt and truſtie indeede: but for a while

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[a] Of *Prætoriani* it ſhould ſeeme: and yet we finde 14 more *Prætoriani*, and there were but 16. in all 3. *Hiſt.*

shame, and the reuerence of their Generall being present, restrained them, bonds of no long continuance with men [a] greedie of dangers, and careless of credit: vpon feare whereof Valens sending the cohorts before to Arminium, and appointing the wing to garde them behind, with a few in his company, whom aduersitie had not altered, turned aside into Vmbria, and from thence into Etruria. Where vnderstanding the euent of the battaile at Cremona, he entred into a notable determination, & if it had succeeded, of great consequence; to betake himselfe to the sea, & setting on land in some part of the prouince of Narbon, to raise Fraunce and the nations of Germanie, and so sturre vp a new warre. Assoone as Valens was gone, Cornelius Fuscus came with an army vpon them at Arminum, and bestowing his shippes not farre from the towne forced the souldiers for feare to yeelde, and made himselfe master of the plaine of Vmbria, and the countrey of Picenum all along the sea side: and so all Italy on the one side of the Appennine mountaines was vnder the subiection of Vespasian, and on the other side vnder Vitellius. Valens hauing embarked himselfe in the bay of Pisa was driuen by the violence of the sea, or contrary windes, into the port of Hercules Monœcus. Not farre from thence Marcus Maturus Procuratour of the sea Alpes remained, a man very faithfull and constant in Vitellius cause, notwithstanding all thereabout had declared themselues for the contrary side; who intertaining Valens with all kind of courtesie, and warning him, not rashly to enter into the prouince of Narbon, with this admonition strooke a terrour into his minde, and with all the rest of the company began to faint for feare, and stagger in their allegeance. For Valerius Paulinus a [b] Procurator, a valiant souldier, and a friend of Vespasians before his aduancement, had sworne the cities round about vnto him, and gathering all those, which being [c] dismissed by Vitellius of their owne accord resumed armes, kept the colonie of Forum Iulij, being the key of the sea, with a garrison: his dealing therein carrying the more credit, because hee was borne in that towne, and was highly esteemed among the Prætorian souldiers, whose Tribune sometimes he had beene; and the townesmen also vpon fauour to their countreyman, and hope of greatnes hereafter, endeuoured to further the side. This strong preparation being reported in the amplest sort to the Vitellianists, who already were wauering in minde, Fabius Valens retired in all speed to the shippes, accompanied onely with foure "Spearemen, three of his friends, and as many Centurions: Maturus and the rest were at their liberty to stay behinde, if it liked them, and sweare to Vespasian. But as the sea was safer to Valens then the shoare, or towne, so floating thereon vnresolued, and seeing rather what to shun then what to follow, he was at the length by contrary weather cast vpon the Stœchades Ilands, vpon the coast of Marseils; from whence Paulinus sending out of his ships fetched him in.

cap. 42.

[b] Belike in *Gallia Narbonensi.*

cap. 43.

[c] Ment as I take it of *Others* olde *Prætorian* souldiers onely, other dismissed by *Vitellius* I finde not: and mention is made by and by eapecially of the *Prætorians.*

"Speculatores.

[a] A middle course] It may seeme that Valens for his part resolued vpon the first opinion, that was *acciri in urbe cohortibus validâ manu perrumpere*, but the fault was in Vitellius who sent no more.

[a] Men greedy of danger] *Apud auidos periculorum.* So be the words in our copies, the meaning I know not; & the narration following I finde in my conceit to be somwhat vnperfect. as wherefore Valens did send the powers readie to Arminum into the enemies month, then backe to Vitellius, if he meant not to follow then himselfe vpon what intent and purpose he went into Vmbria and Etruria, and what he would haue done, if hee had not had aduertisement of the battell at Cremona, vnlesse it were to take the secret way now, which before he refused, toward Hostilia and Cremona. Which circumstance surely would not haue beene omitted.

IX. *The estate of the prouinces abroad vpon the troubles in Italy.*

ASSOONE as Valens was taken, all the prouinces turned themselues to Vespasians side, the matter beginning in Spaine at the first Legion surnamed Adiutrix; which vpon the memory of Otho was enemy to Vitellius, and drewe with it the tenth and sixt Legion also. Neither did the prouinces of Fraunce make any stay. And for Britanny, the great fauour and reputation in warlike affaires, that Vespasian had gotten being Lieutenant thereof the second Legion vnder Claudius, did easily win that Legion vnto him, albeit not without some sturre of the rest, whereof many Centurions and souldiers, who had beene aduanced by Vitellius, were vnwilling to change the Prince, whom they had prooued already. By meanes of which dissention and continuall rumours of ciuill warres, the Britains tooke hart and rebelled, through the procurement [a] of Venusius; who beside a naturall fiercenesse of courage, and hatred of the Roman name, was incensed particularly, by a priuate vnkindnesse betweene him and the Queene Carthismandua. Carthismandua was Queene of the Brigantines, of high and noble linage, who vpon the deliuerie of King Caratacus, whom she tooke by [b] fraud, and sent to furnish and set out the triumph of Claudius, wan fauor with the Romans, & greatly increased her strength: whereupon ensued wealth, and of wealth and prosperity riotous and incontinent life: insomuch that casting off Venusius, who was her husband, shee ioyned her selfe in marriage with Vellocatus his harnish-bearer, and crowned him King: which fact was the ouerthrow immediately of her house. The good will of the countrey went generally vpon the lawfull husband: but the Queenes vntemperate affections were peremptory and violent in maintaining her minion. Whereupon Venusius by the helpe of his other friends, and the reuolt of the Brigantes, made warre vpon Carthismandua, and brought her into great extremities; then praying aid at our hands, our cohorts and wings were sent to defend her, which after sundry skirmishes with diuerse euent, deliuered her person out of perill, but the kingdome remained to Venusius, and the war vnto vs. About the same time our affaires in Germany through the insufficiencie of our captaines, and seditiousnesse of our Legions, forreine force assailing vs, and our allyes betraying vs, were reduced to those desperate termes, that we stood in danger of leesing the countrey: but that warre together with the causes, and particular euents thereof (for it continued long) I [c] will heereafter declare. The Dacians also stirred, a nation neuer louing vs, and as then our army being withdrawn out of Mœsia, not fearing vs neither. When the first alterations & troubles began, they held themselues quiet, and looked but on: but when as they perceiued Italy to be all in armes, and betweene the sides euery where open hostilitie, forcing the standing campes of the cohorts and wings, they put themselues in possession of both the bankes of Danubius, and were now at the point to haue razed the campes of the Legions, had not Mutianus, hauing knowledge before of the victorie at Cremona, opposed the sixt Legion against them, lest two forrein powers should haue broken in at one time, the Germans and Dacians, from two diuerse coasts. As often heeretofore, so now specially fortune was fauourable to the Romans, bringing Mutianus with the power of the East to arriue there at that instant; and that in the meane time the matter was so dispatched at Cremona. Mutianus departing away left Fonteius Agrippa, who had beene one yeere Proconsull of Asia, Lieutenant Generall in Mœsia; assigning him sufficient forces out of the

cap. 41.

cap. 45.

[a] *Iuganimus cl. mitate 12. Annal.*

[b] *12 Annal.*

cap. 46.

[c] *lib. 4.*

Vitellian Legions, whom it was thought a point both of policie and peace to di-
cap. 47 sperse abroad in the prouinces, and keepe occupied in forraine warre. Neither were other nations at quiet. In Pontus a barbarous bondman, which sometime had been Admirall of the kings nauie, raised vp a sodaine warre in the countrey: his name was Anicetus a freedman of the late King Polemo, somtime of great credit and power,
d In Neroes time. and now since the kingdome was[d] reduced into a prouince displeased and greeued with the change. Whereupon hauing associated vnto him in Vitellius name the nations that dwell vpon Pontus, alluring the poore and neediest sort with hope of bootie and spoile, he became in short time Commander of competent forces; with which he sodainly inuaded and brake into Trapezus, a very ancient citie built by the Græcians, in the vttermost borders of Pontus: where a cohort was slaine, which in time past was in the seruice there of the king, but being afterward made citizens of Rome, had taken ensignes and armour after our maner, retaining the slothfulnesse and dissolute life of the Greekes notwithstanding. Hee burned also the nauie there, doing his pleasure on that sea, which as then was vngarded, by reason that Mutianus had giuen order for the best of the galleyes, and all the souldiers to meete him at Byzantium: vpon occasion whereof [1] the barbarous people also of the country ranged abroad, and robbed without fear of checke or controlement; building them
e Ἀκατιοπλοῖα στενὰ καὶ κοῖλα, ὅσον εἰσδέχεσθαι πέντε ἢ ἕξ ἐπὶ τοῖς πλευροῖς ἐπιβεβλημένα σανίδια δὲ τρία ἑκάστου ἐξάδην ἐπὶ πᾶσαι διαμβῶτες. καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὰ οἱ Ἕλληνες καμάρας. Strabo lib. 11. boates on the sodaine, which they call [e] Cameræ, of narrow sides and broad bottoms, wrought and ioyned together without any brasse or iron, & when the sea goeth high, as the waues rise they raise also the sides of the vessell with boordes, vntill they close and couer it aboue like a house, and so the boates tumble vp and down in the middle of the waues, hauing a prow alike on both sides, and ready to row either way without any danger, as it shall fall out for their purpose. These things mooued Vespasian to assigne vnto those parts some Vexillary soldiers out of the Legions, and Virdius Geminus for captaine, a man of good proofe in seruice: who setting vpon the enemies being in disarray, and dispersed in seeking of spoile, draue them to their boates, and then causing some galleyes to be built in haste, pursued and ouertooke Anicetus in the mouth of the riuer Cohibus, being there vnder the protection of the king of the Sedochezi, whom he had won by money and gifts to vndertake his defence. And indeede at first the king threatned to protect his suppliant with force of armes: but when as he saw himselfe put to the choise, to accept either reward for yeelding him, or warre in defending him, as an vnconstant and disloyall barbarian, vpon composition he surrendred Anicetus to die, and deliuered the fugitiues, and so end was made of that seruille warre. Vespasian being ioyfull vpon the obtaining of this victorie, all things succeeding vnto him aboue his owne wish, was certified soon after being in Ægypt of the battaile at Cremona, which caused him to make the more haste to Alexandria, that seeing Vitellius armie was defeated and broken, he might presse also with hunger the citie of Rome, standing altogether vpon forraine prouision. For so likewise hee made preparation to inuade Africke, situate on the same coast, both by sea and land, meaning to cut off the two storehouses of corne from the enemies and so procure famine, whereof consequently dissention would grow.

[1] Barbarous people also of the countrey] Others as I thinke beside those which associate themselues with Anicetus: namely the Achæi, Heniochi, and Cercæi dwelling of the other side of Pontus Euxinus; and according to Strabo[a] liuing, as they are heere described, by pyracie.

[a] Lib. 11.

X. *Antonius Primus marcheth from Cremona to Fanum Fortunæ. His iarring with Mutianus.*

WHILEST in these generall alterations, thorow out the whole world, the state thus altered and passed, Antonius Primus leauing Cremona, left also his former care of well carying himselfe, supposing the warre to be at an end, and no difficulty in that which remained: or else peraduenture prosperity, in a man of that disposition, discouered the secret and inward faults of his minde, as couetousnesse and pride, and other vices that were suppressed before. Italie he harried as a conquered countrey: the Legions with all kinde of courtesie he sought to assure to himselfe: in summe by all speeches and deeds hee made the way to his owne greatnesse. And to giue the souldier the more his owne will, and leaue him the bridle at large, of his meere motion he graunted vnto the Legions the choise of Centurions in their roomes that were slaine: by which kinde of election the busiest and troublesomest fellowes were chosen; and generally the souldier was not gouerned by the direction of his captaine, but the captaine drawne by the violence of the souldier. After these points tending to faction and corrupting of discipline, hee conuerted himselfe to the pray, nothing dreading Mutianus at hand, which was a more hainous offence, then to haue contemned Vespasian himselfe. Neuertheless the army marched on, without cariages, because the winter was neer, and the fields ouerflowen with the Po. The ensignes and standerds of the conquering Legions, and the aged or impotent souldiers, with many sound also, were left at Verona. It seemed sufficient, now the warre was in so good a forwardnesse, to take onely the cohorts and wings, and certaine chosen men out of the Legions. vnto this companie the eleuenth Legion also adioyned themselues; who at the first had made some delay, but seeing the good successe of their fellowes were sorry it was their ill hap to be absent: with it there came also sixe thousand Dalmatians newly leuyed. Poppæus Siluanus was Lieutenant generall: but the whole direction of matters rested in Annius Bassus Lieutenant of the Legion, who with great industry and quietnesse disposed of all that was to be done, and vnder colour of obedience gouerned Siluanus peaceably, being a man of no action in militarie seruice, and trifling out the times of doing in talking. To this power were adioyned the best of the mariners at Rauenna requiring Legionary seruice, and in their roomes the Dalmatians were sent to serue at sea. At Fanum Fortunæ the army and the leaders were at a stop, being in doubt concerning their principall purpose, because they had heard the Prætorian cohorts were already set foorth out of Rome, and presumed that the passages of the Apennine hilles were fortified and garded against them. But that which caused most feare was want of prouision, in a countrey wasted and consumed by warre, and the seditious cries of the souldiers demaunding *Clauarium (which is the name of a donatiue) of them who had neither prouided money nor corne: and the too much hast of the souldiers hindered greatly, whilest that which in due order might haue beene taken and serued some while, was in a moment spoiled in snatching. It is reported by most credible writers, that among the winners there was such a contempt of common honesty, and such vnnaturall dealings against all lawes humane and diuine, that a common souldier among the horsemen was not ashamed openly to professe, that he had slaine his owne brother in the last battell, and to require recompence for the same at the captaines hands: who neither willing to reward the fact in regard of common humanitie, nor daring to punish it in respect

*Clauarium, a donatiue to buy them cassiques clauiques Calcaria in Suetonius Vespasiano cap 8. to buy them shooes.

cap. 49

cap. 50

cap. 51

respect of the nature of the present warre, differred the matter, pretending that he had deserued much more, then they were presently able to giue: how it was ended I finde not recorded; notwithstanding in former ciuill warres I finde the like to haue happened. For in the battaile fought against Cinna at Ianiculum, one of Pompeyes souldiers slew his owne brother, and when he saw what hee had done, slewe himselfe also, as Sisenna reporteth: so much our ancestors haue exceeded vs, not onely in glory of their vertues, but in griefe for their faults. These and the like drawne out of ancient history it shall not be amisse to remember, where the place and matter requires to set downe either * example of that which is good, or comforts for that which is bad. Now Antonius and the Flauian captaines being at Fanum, thought it expedient to send some horsemen before, and search all the coast of Vmbria, to finde some easie and gentle passage ouer the Apennine: and withall they determined to send for the standerds and ensignes, and all the souldiers that remained at Verona, and to repleniſh the Po and the sea with store of prouision. There were of the Commaunders which sought all meanes to delay: for Antonius was *growen now too intollerable, and * better hope was conceiued of Mutianus: who being inwardly vexed that the victory was so speedily gotten, and fearing vnlesse he were present at the taking of Rome at the least, he should haue no part, neither of the warre, nor the honour, wrote vnto Primus and Varus ambiguously, sometime perswading to follow with instance, and sometime discoursing of the profitablenesse of delaying; framing his speech in such sort, that if things fell out ill, hee would clearely disclaime them; if well, he might take them vpon him: but to Plotius Griphus, whom Vespasian had lately made Senatour and Liuetenant of a Legion, and the rest of his trusty friends he gaue plaine direction to stay till his comming: all which persons returned vnto him a plausible answere, and greatly blamed the heady proceeding of Primus and Varus. Those letters Mutianus sent to Vespasian, and so procured that Antonius deuises and dooings were not accepted according to his expectation. Which thing Antonius tooke very impatiently and imputed the fault thereof vnto Mutianus, by whose calumniations he conceiued his dangers had growen: neither did he forbeare to vse hard speeches against him, as a man of an intemperate tongue, and not accustomed to acknowledge any superiour. Hee wrote also letters vnto Vespasian in a more hawty and arrogant stile, then beseemed a subiect to his Prince, with secret glances and nips at Mutianus: That it was Antonius and no bodie else, who first put in armes the Legions of Pannonia, and brought them into the field: that by his procurement and working the captaines of Mœsia were first stirred vp to the warre: by his resoluteneſse the Alpes were passed, Italie possessed, and the aid of the Rhœcians and German nations cut off: then, that Vitellius Legions being at discord and dispersed the vantage was spyed, and they ouerthrown first by a furious charge of horsemen, afterward by a power of footemen for a whole day and a night together; that was indeede the braueſt point of the seruice, and his onely doing: as for the mishap of Cremona, it was a mischance of warre; and that the deciding of other ciuill dissentions in other ages had cost the common wealth much deerer, euen the subuersion of many great townes. that he serued his Prince not with sending of messages and writing of letters, but with his person and weapon in hand: neither did hee enuy or hinder their glory, that in the meane time had quieted Mœsia: they regarded the peace of Mœsia, and hee the conseruation and safety of Italie. by his perswasions France and Spaine, the most puissant parts of the Empire, were ioyned to the side: but all his paines and trauaile were in vaine, if they alone should reape the rewards, which had no part in the perill.

*exemplo recti aut solatia mali. Cap. 52

*primus iam Antonius. *certiora de Mutiano sperabantur.

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perill. Mutianus was aduertised of all this proceeding, and thereupon ensewed great enmitie, which Antonius prosecuted simply and souldier like, but Mutianus closely, and therefore the more irreconcileably.

XI. *Vitellius proceedings and behauiour after the losse at Cremona. The reuolt of the nauie at Misenum.*

BVT Vitellius hauing receiued so great a blow at Cremona, concealing the newes, and foolishly dissembling the matter, differred the remedies of his euils, not the euils themselues. For if he would haue plainely confessed it, and taken aduise thereupon, he had both hope and strength inough and too much remaining: but when as contrarily he faigned that all went on his side, by that vntruth he marred his owne case, and cut off from himselfe all meanes of recouery. In his presence there was no mention of warre, but a woonderfull silence that way: in the citty all speeches of it were forbidden, which caused the more: and they, which if it had been lawfull would haue talked nothing but truth, being restrained gaue out much more then it was. The captaines also of the Flauian side helped to increase the fame, carying Vitellius spies, as they chanced to take them, round about the campe, to see and view the strength of their victorious army, and so dismissing them back to their master. All which at their returne Vitellius, after secret examination had, commanded to be made away. But aboue all other the [a] constancie and resolutenes of the Centurion Iulius Agrestis was most notable; who after much speech tending to incite Vitellius to vertue in vaine, at length obtained that himselfe might be sent to view the forces of the enemie, and see what had passed at Cremona. For the performing whereof he sought no corners, but addressed himselfe directly to Antonius, and openly professing what charge he had from his Prince, and what was his intent, he required he might be permitted to take a perfect suruey of al things. so some were sent with him, which shewed him the place where the battel was fought, the ruines of Cremona, the conquered Legions. Agrestis went home againe, and making relation, when as Vitellius would not beleeue his report, but charged him with vntrueth, and further that hee was hired thereto: Seeing then (quoth Agrestis) no meane proose will serue, and neither my life nor my death can now stand you in any other steede, I will giue you an assurance which you may beleeue; and so departing from him, he sealed his sayings voluntarily with his bloud. Some write that he was slaine by Vitellius commaundement, but of his fidelitie and constancie they report the same. Now Vitellius being as it were awaked out of sleepe, commanded Iulius Priscus and Alphenus Varus with fourteene Prætorian cohorts, and all the wings of the horsemen to keepe the streits of the Appenine. after them followed a Legion of Seamen; a power both for number and goodnesse of men and horses sufficient (if another had beene Generall) to make warre offensiue, not onely to stand vpon their defence. The rest of the cohorts were committed to Lucius Vitellius his brother to garde the Citie withall. Himselfe abating nothing of his wonted riot, and hastie through distrust, hudled vp the election of officers, wherein hee declared Consuls for [b] many yeeres to come. Moreouer [1] new treaties and more gracious were concluded with our allyes, and the right of Latium conferred vpon strangers. To some he released their tributes, to others he granted immunities, without all care of posteritie mangling and maymng the Empire. But the common sort accepted these fauours that seemed so great, and the foolishest bought them with money, which wise

[a] *Suetonius Otho. c. 10. Xyphilinus, and after him Zonaras, reporteth this in the storie of Otho, in the former war, with some small difference of circumstances.*

[b] *Suetonius Vitel. lio. c. 11. comitia in decem annos ordinauit seq; perpetuum consulem.*

wise men accounted but voide, being such as could neither be giuen nor taken with the safetie of the state. At the last through the instant request of his army lying in Meuania, with a great traine of Senatours assumed, partly vpon suite and most vpon feare, he repayred to the campe irresolute of himselfe, and obnoxius to vnfaithfull counsailes. As he was speaking to his souldiers in publike assembly, it fell out so many vnluckie birds to flie ouer his head (a monstrous matter) that the day was ouercast, as it were with a blacke cloud: and another no [2] lesse ominous and of euill presage, that a bull which was appointed to be sacrificed, brake away from the altars, ouerturned the furniture of the ceremony, and was knocked downe farre off from the accustomed place. But the greatest monster was Vitellius himselfe, a Prince without skill in the profession of armes, and deuoide of direction & counsell, demanding eftsoones of others in what order to march, what diligence was requisite in making discoueries, what meane was to be obserued in vrging or delaying the warre, and vpon euery flying report apparently fearefull in countenance, and trembling in gate, and beside all this most commonly drunken. At the length growing weary of the campe, and vnderstanding of the reuolt of the nauy at Misenum, he returned to Rome, euer fearing most the blowe that came last, and careless in the meane time of the maine chance. For whereas it had been a course most cleare in reason, and euident in sight, to haue passed the Appenine with his army, which then was in hart and strength, and so to haue assailed the enemies almost consumed with hunger and colde, he on the other side fell to [c] dispersing his forces, and so abandoned his best and faithfullest souldiers, whom he left thereby to the enemies mercie, and deliuered them as it were into their hands; contrary to the opinion of the most expert Centurions, who disliked greatly the disuniting, and if their aduise had beene asked, would haue tolde plainely their minde: but Vitellius inwardest friends hindered them from accesse, the Princes eares being so framed, that he accounted all sharpe that was wholesome, and liked of nothing but that which was presently pleasant, and afterwards hurtfull. But the nauie at Misenum (so much the audaciousnesse euen of one single man in ciuill dissentions may worke) was brought to reuolt by the meanes of Claudius Fauentinus, a Centurion ignominiously cassed by Galba, who counterfayting letters from Vespasian, with hope of reward induced them to change their alleageance. The Admirall thereof was Claudius Apollinaris, a man that neither constantly kept his fidelitie, nor stoutly maintained his treason: and Apinius Tiro, who had beene Pretor, and was then by chaunce at Minturnæ, offered himselfe a head to them which reuolted; by whose meanes the colonies and free townes were drawne to the side, the Puteolani shewing themselues most forward that way. But Capua on the other side, persisted firme to Vitellius: whereupon there passed, vnder colour of the publicke cause, much priuate choler between the two townes. To the pacification of these troubles Vitellius chose out Claudius Iulianus (who had lately beene Admirall of the nauie at Misenum, and gouerned himselfe in that charge with great mildnesse) as the meetest man to appease the souldiers mindes; assigning vnto him a power of one citie-cohort, and the [e] fencers which were vnder his charge. As soone as the campes approached the one to the other, Iulianus without any great stay turned to Vespasians side, and so iointly they tooke Tarracina, a place of great strength in regard of the wals and situation, if the men within had beene faithfull and good. Vpon knowledge whereof Vitellius leauing part of his forces at Narnia, with the captaines of his Guard, sent his brother Lucius Vitellius away with sixe cohorts and fiue hundreth horse, to manage the war of Campania. Himselfe being greatly perplexed in minde was yet somewhat reui-

ued

cap. 56.

[c] Taking some with him to Rome, but principally in that he sent away with his brother, as appeareth anon, sixe cohorts and fiue hundreth horse into *Campania* out of this armie.

cap. 57.

[e] Gladiatores.

cap. 58.

ned with the earneſt good will of the ſouldiers, and claimours of the towne people requiring armour and weapons; whom being nought elſe but a cowardly company, whoſe boldneſſe neuer went beyond words, he called by the falſe title of armies and Legions. At the perſwaſion of his freedmen (for of his friends the greateſt men were leaſt truſty) hee commanded the tribes to bee called, and ſware them which gaue in their names: too many preſenting themſelues, he diuided the charge of the muſter betweene the two Conſuls, and aſſeſſed the Senators at a certaine number of bondmen, and quantity of ſiluer. The Gentlemen of Rome made offer both of their ſeruice and money, euen the Libertini requiring of their owne motion they might be admitted to doe alſo the like. This counterfet forwardnes made the offices, that were done for feare, be thought to proceede of good will. And indeed many pitied not ſo much the man, as the place he ſuſtained: & Vitellius himſelfe ceaſed not by his countenance, ſpeech and teares to prouoke compaſſion and pitty, promiſing largely, and (as the nature is of men in great feare) without meaſure. Moreouer he tooke then vpon him (which he had refuſed before) the ſtile of[a] Cæſar, vpon ſome ſuperſtitious conceit of the name, and becauſe in a time of feare, the counſels of wiſe men, and pratlings of the people are heard and reſpected alike. But as all actions entred into vpon heat without conſideration are ſtrongeſt in the beginning, and afterward fade and decay, ſo here the Senatours began by little and little to ſhrinke, and the Gentleman likewiſe; at the firſt with ſome reſpect and in Vitellius abſence, but afterward more openly, being afraide and pentiue for the danger which was like to enſue; till in the end Vitellius ſeeing the attempt not feaſible, for ſhame was contented, not to demand that he could not obtaine.

[a] Suetonius ſeemeth not to say otherwiſe, but that he commanded Cæſar to be called, and ſo ſware them that gaue in their names. Tacitus in perpetuum retained ſtile.

[1] New treaties: *Fœdera ſociis, Latium externis*] that is, to our *ſocij* their *fœdera* were renewed with a further increaſe of exemptions and priuiledges; and to forrainers that priuiledge was graunted, that thoſe which had borne annuall office with them ſhould by that meanes become *ciues Romani*: for that is the maine point of *ius Latij*. *App.* 2. Ἐρυθρ. πόλιν δὲ Νέκωμον ὁ Κάισαρ εἰς Λατίνων ὄνομον ὅτι τῷ Ἀλπέων ὄχλῳ, ὧν ἔστι κατ' ἔθνη ἄρχον, ἐχαρίσατο Ῥωμαίων πολίτιν. τόδε γὰρ ἰσχύει τὸ λάπον. *That is, Cæſar had founded the colonie of Nouum Comum in the Alpes and endowed it with ius Latij; ſo that whoſoeuer had borne annuall office there, by vertue thereof became citizens of Rome. for ſo much Ius Latij importeth.*

[2] No leſſe ominous] the breaking away of the beaſt at ſacrifice was among Romans an ominous matter. Titus a little before his death *Sabinos petit*, ſaith [a] Suetonius, *aliquanto triſtior, quòd ſacrificanti hoſtia aufugerat.* Idem [b] Iulio. *Cum immolanti aufugiſſet hoſtia, tamen profectionem non diſtulit.* and [c] Galba. *Taurus ſecuris ictu conſternatus rupto vinculo eſſedum eius inuaſit.* Feſtus. *Piacularia vocabant, quòd ſacrificantibus triſtia portendebant: cum aut hoſtia ab ara profugiſſet, aut percuſſi mugitum dediſſet, aut in aliam partem corporis quam oportet decidiſſet.* Plin. lib. [d] 8 *Notatum eſt vitulos ad aras humeris hominum allatos non litare, ſicut nec clandicante, nec aliena hoſtia deos placari, nec trahente ſe ab aris.*

[a] Cap. 10. [b] Cap. 59. [c] Cap. 18. [d] Cap. 45.

XII. *The Flauianiſts paſſe ouer the Appennine. the Vitellianiſts at Narnia yeeld themſelues. the death of Fabius Valens.*

AS the poſſeſſing of Meuania by the Vitellianiſts had wrought great terrour in Italie, ſeeing another warre as it were ſprung vp a freſh by that meanes, ſo of the contrary ſide the departure of Vitellius in ſo fearefull manner procured great credit, and good to the Flauian cauſe. For preſently thereupon the Samnites, and Peligni, and Marſi reuolted; and vpon emulation that Campania had preuented them, to recompence their ſlackneſſe, as men newly come to a new maſter, ſhewed extreme diligence in furthering the ſeruice. But in paſſing the Apennine the armie by the fowleneſſe of the winter weather was greatly diſtreſſed, and marching with all liberty and quietnes could hardly wreſtle out of the ſnow, ſo that it was cleare to be ſeene, what danger they muſt needs haue ſuſtained, if fortune, to cap. 59

which

which the Flauian Captaines were more often beholding, then to their good guiding and skill, had not turned Vitellius backe home againe. In the mountaines Petilius Cerealis met them, who in clowniſh apparell through knowledge of the countrey had eſcaped Vitellius hands. Cerealis was of neere affinity with Veſpaſian, and of ſome name for matters of warre, and therefore was aſſumed among the Leaders. Many write that Flauius Sabinus and Domitian might alſo haue eaſily eſcaped, and certaine it is, that diuers meſſengers ſent by Antonius by ſundry cunning ſleights came to their ſpeech, pointing the place, and offering them means for their ſafety: but Sabinus alleadged that his crazy body was not to vndertake a matter of that paines, and ſuch an audacious attempt. Domitian would gladly haue ventured, but he feared the keepers whom Vitellius had ſet about him, although they offered to accompany him in his eſcape, leſt peraduenture it had beene a ſnare to intrap him: and indeed Vitellius himſelfe, in regard of his owne kinsfolkes, intended
cap. 60. no crueltie againſt Domitian. When the Flauian captaines were come to Carſula, they ſtayed there a few daies to repoſe their army, till their Lgionary power ſhould ouertake them: and the place of the campe in it ſelfe was delitefull, with a large goodly proſpect, and very ſafe for the prouiſion of vittailes, hauing ſo many of the wealthieſt Cities, as it were ſtore-houſes behinde them. And beſides they were in ſome hope that the Vitellianiſts, which were not diſtant aboue tenne miles would fall to ſome parle, and ſo from a parle to a reuolt: which thing the ſouldiers could not abide to heare of, but deſired an end rather by conqueſt, then by peace: euen their owne Legions they were vnwilling to ſtay for, loath to haue more fellowes in the ſpoile, when they needed none in the danger. But Antonius calling them publikely together, ſhewed vnto them, that Vitellius had yet ſome forces remayning, wauering perhaps and vnconſtant if they might haue time to conſult, but of fierce ſtomacke if they were driuen to deſpaire: that the beginnings of ciuill warres were to be permitted to fortunes deciding, but the accompliſhment of the victorie was to be gouerned by reaſon and wiſedome: that the nauie of Miſenum, and the moſt flouriſhing countrey of Campania were already reuolted, and there remayned nothing of all the world vnto Vitellius, ſaue onely ſo much as lay betweene Tarracina and Narnia: and ſurely they had wonne honour ſufficient in the battaile at Cremona, and blame too much by deſtroying the towne. therefore they ſhould not now deſire to take Rome, but rather to ſaue it: their reward would be greater, and their glory moſt great, if they wrought the ſafety of the Senate and people of Rome
cap. 61. without bloudſhed. With theſe and other like ſpeeches their mindes were mollified, and ſoone after the Legions came. The Vitellian cohorts terrified with the fame of the armie ſo much increaſed, began to wauer, no man animating them to the warre, but many to reuolt, who deſired to make a preſent of their bands and cornets vnto the conquerour, to purchaſe fauour heereafter; and gaue alſo aduertiſement, that faſt thereby at Interamna was a garriſon of foure hundreth horſe. Wherupon immediately Varus was diſpatched with a band of men lightly appointed, and ſlew ſome few that made reſiſtance: but the moſt part laide downe their weapons, and yeelded themſelues to his mercy: ſome fled to the campe at Narnia, and filled all there full of feare and terror, extolling aboue truth the forces and valour of the enemies, to diminiſh their owne diſhonour in loſing their fort. Neither was there any puniſhment for offences among the Vitellianiſts; on the other ſide the rewards were apparent of thoſe that reuolted: ſo that from thence foorth the contention was, who ſhould be moſt traitour, and daily ſome of the Tribunes and Centurions fled to the enemie: for the common ſouldier was obſtinately bent for

Vitellius,

Vitellius, vntill Priſcus and Alphenus Generalles forſaking the Campe vpon feare, and returning to Vitellius, diſcharged the reſt from all blame of treaſon. About the ſame time Fabius Valens was put to death in the priſon at Vrbine. His head was openly ſhewed to the Vitellian Cohorts to put them out of all hope: for before they beleeued that he was eſcaped into Germany and putting in armes both old and new ſouldiers there: but when they ſaw he was dead, they began to deſpaire. The Flauian Army alſo tooke a wonderfull conceit as if his death were vndoubtedly the end of the warre. Valens was borne at Anagnia, of a Gentlemans houſe, loose in conditions, and not without grace in ſeeking by wanton ieaſtes the name of a pleaſant conceit. In the games of Iuuenalia in Neroes time he * plaied a part, firſt as it were by compulſion, then voluntarily, with more dexterity then credit. Being created Lieutenant of a Legion he both ſought to prefer Verginius to the Empire, and then to diſcredit him. Fonteius Capito his Lieutenant Generall, either becauſe he was entred into treaſon, or becauſe he could not induce him to treaſon, he murdred and made away. A traitour he was no doubt to Galba, and true to Vitellius, a vertue in him ſo much the more eminent, becauſe ſo many others were falſe. Now the Vitellian ſouldiers ſeeing all their hope cut off, going to yeeld themſelues to the contrary part, euen in that alſo had a care of their honour, and came downe into the plaine vnder Narnia vnder their enſeignes and banners diſplaied: the Flauian Army ſtood armed with their weapons bent, as in battell, in thicke ranckes along the way ſide. So the Vitellianiſts were receiued in the middle, and being ſo incloſed about Antonius entertained them with comfortable and gracious words, and appointed ſome of them to abide at Narnia, and ſome at Interamna, leauing ſome of his owne Legions withall, without moleſtation to them if they were quiet, and yet of force ſufficient to repreſſe them if they rebelled.

* Mimum egit.

cap. 62.

cap. 63.

XIII. *Vitellius vpon compoſition with Flauius Sabinus Veſpaſians brother offereth to reſigne vp the Empire. Sabinus by the ſouldiers is driuen into the Capitoll, and there beſieged. The Capitoll is burnt: Sabinus taken and ſlaine.*

DVRING their abode at Carſula, Antonius and Varus ſent continually meſſages vnto Vitellius, offering him, if he would ſurceaſe Armes, and yeeld himſelfe and his children to Veſpaſians mercy, life, mony, and what ſecret place he would chuſe of Campania to retire himſelfe into: to the ſame effect Mutianus wrote alſo vnto him: and Vitellius oftentimes gaue eare thereunto, entring into ſpeech about the number of his ſeruants, and the choiſe of the place. So great a ſenſleſneſſe had poſſeſſed his minde, that if other men had not remembred, that he had beene once Prince, and therefore was not to looke for ſecurity in priuate eſtate, hee himſelfe would haue quickly forgotten it. But the principall men at Rome ſecretly incited Flauius Sabinus being Prouoſt of the City, to put himſelfe into the cauſe, and vndertake part of the victory and of the honour: making remonſtrance vnto him, that the City Cohorts was his owne peculiar ſouldier, the Cohorts of the Watch-men would queſtionleſſe take his part, and their owne retinue of bond-men ſhould be at his diſpoſition, beſide the fortune of the ſide, and the eaſie courſe of proceeding they finde, that be in traine of winning: that he ſhould not yeeld the honour of the Action of Antonius and Varus: that Vitellius had but few Cohorts in number, and thoſe diſcouraged and trembling at the euil newes that came out of all

cap. 64.

quarters: the common people was fickle and changeable; and if Sabinus would present himselfe for a head, they would vse the same flattering tearmes for Vespasian, which now they did to the other: as for Vitellius he was a man not able to gouerne himselfe in prosperity, much lesse sufficient to weild and winde out of his declining estate: that the honor of finishing the war would be his who first should take possession of the Citie; and so were it fit in all congruity, both for Sabinus to reserue the Empire to his brother, and for Vespasian to esteeme of all other mens seruice secundarily to Sabinus. These warlike speeches made but a slender impression in his feeble old minde and some did secretly suspect and charge him that thorow enuy and emulation he sought rather to hinder his brothers good fortune. For Flauius Sabinus was the elder brother, and exceeded Vespasian both in riches and authority, whiles they were both priuate men and was thought to haue saued his credit and kept him from breaking by lending him mony, but taking in morgage his house and lands for repaiment therof: wherupon albeit in outward shew they continued frindes, yet some secret iealousies were feared between them. But the better interpretation was, that being a milde man he abhorred from slaughter and bloud, and therefore treated diuers times with Vitellius of a peaceable composing of matters vpon conditions. And after diuerse meetings at his house, at the last a capitulation was concluded vpon (as the fame went) in the Temple of Apollo, only two persons, Cluuius Rufus and Silius Italicus being[a] witnesses of their words: their countenances were noted a far off by the beholders: Vitellius seemed abiect and base, Sabinus not insulting, but pittying rather. And if Vitellius could as easily haue perswaded his frendes, as he was ready to yeeld himself, Vespasians Army had entred the City with out bloud-shed: but the loyall and faithfull seruants of Vitellius flatly reiected all speech of peace and conditions, declaring the danger and dishonor therof, and that the performance consisted only in the winners good pleasure. Nay said they, Vespasian will not be so confident, as to suffer Vitellius to liue, though in a priuate estate: or if he would, yet your very owne souldiers and friends will not abide it: and so thorow their pitty your life shall come in danger. You are old, and therfore for your part, as one that hath had his fill of both fortunes, are content to accept of conditions; but what title and state shall your litle son Germanicus haue? now they offer mony, seruants and the pleasant places of Campania to solace you in, but when Vespasian shal once be setled in the Empire, neither he, nor his frindes, nor his souldiers will thinke themselues safe, while so great a concurrant doth liue. Euen Fabius Valens, whom they had in prison, and reserued in store if ought should goe wrong, was too heauy for them to indure: much lesse are we to thinke, that Antonius and Fuscus and the chiefe flower of the side Mutianus, will otherwise deale with Vitellius then to make him away. Cæsar left not Pompey aliue nor Augustus Antonius, vnlesse perhaps Vespasian cary a brauer mind, the meanest among many of your fathers followers and clyents, when he was fellow in office with Claudius the Emperor. Nay rather as it beseemeth you being son of a thrise Consul and Censor, as it becommeth so many honorable titles of your most noble house, let despaire at the least arme you to courage and boldnesse. The souldiers persist still for you: the good wil of the people continueth yet very feruent: in sum no greater harme can happen, then that which we run into voluntarily, die we must, if we be ouercome and die we shal, if we yeeld: the difference only is this, whether we should end our liues vertuously and with honour, or with shame and perpetuall reproch. But Vitellius eares were stopped against all manfull counsels: his minde was ouercome with care and pitty, lest with too long resisting he should leaue the conqueror lesse mereiful to his wife and children. A[b] mother also he had of great yeeres but

cap. 65.

[a] Suetonius Tranquillus & Plutarch saith Vespasian spake with Vitellius cap. 15. Plutarch, pag. 1130. D.

[b] Suetonius Tranquillus, cap. 15. Reliquum est ut memoriae eius [illegible] pietatem aliquam praestiterit, nemini minus Caesar vitam, cui velut [illegible] ademit, quam qui [illegible] ademerat, ita demum [illegible] mori, si diuisset [illegible] imperatorem, [illegible] fauentes [illegible] Adiecit [illegible] ipsum, ut [illegible] perfunctum, & [illegible] cap. 67. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

but she died some few daies before, very seasonably not to see the ruine of her house, hauing gained nothing by her sonnes preferment, but sorrow and a good name. Vpon the eighteenth day of December, hearing of the reuolt of the Legion and cohortes at Narnia, hee departed out of the Palace in mourning weede, with his seruants all sadde and weeping about him, and withall in a small *chaire was caried his little yoong sonne, as it were to his burial. The people in passing vsed their accustomed flatteries, being as then out of season: the soldier kept silence, but seemed to carry wrath in his countenance: neither was there any man so senseleſſe, or vnmindfull of humane instabilitie, which was not mooued with that sight. An * Emperour of Rome, a little before Lord of the whole world, to abandon the seat of his state, and thorow the people, the city to go out of the Empire! The like was neuer seene, neuer heard of before. So daine violence oppressed Cæsar the Dictator, and secret conspiracie Caius: night and the obscure corner of a countrey house couered Neroes flight: Piso and Galba died as it were in the field: but Vitellius in the assembly of his owne people, amidst his owne souldiers, women also looking out of their windowes, after he had vttered some few speeches agreeable to his present hesunnes; that he gaue place in regard of quietnes, and the good of the weale publike, onely desiring them to retaine some remembrance of him, and take pitty of his brother & his wife, & the harmeles age of his yoong children; presenting withall his son vnto them, & recõmending him sometimes to particular persons sometime to the generall assembly: at the length ouercome with teares he loosed his sword from his side and offered it vnto Cæcilius Simplex the Consull that stoode by, surrendring thereby as it were the power of life and death ouer the citizens. Which when the Consull refused to accept, the whole assembly also clamourously gainsaying it, he departed protesting he would in the temple of Concordia lay downe all his regalities, and so as a priuate man retire himselfe to his brothers house. But there the multitude began to cry more then before, not suffring him to enter into a priuate house, but calling him to the Palace stopping vp the other passage, & leauing that only open which led to Via sacra. Whereupon not knowing what to do, or whither to turn him, he returned in the end to the Palace again. Now the fame was gon before the fact that he had resigned the Empire: & Flauius Sabinus had written to the Tribunes of the cohorts, to keepe their souldiers in order. And now as if the whole common wealth were fallen into Vespasians armes, the chiefe of the Senators with many gentlemen, and all the Citty-souldiers, and the watchmen flocked to Sabinus house. There they vnderstoode of the peoples constant affection towarde Vitellius, and the threatnings of the German cohorts: but Sabinus had proceeded too farre now to drawe backe; and euery man vpon his owne particular feare vrged him being otherwise loath to goe out and take armes, lest the Vitelianists should meete with them afterward when they were seuered, and so of lesse strength But as it falles out in such cases, all gaue counsaile, but few tooke part of the perill. About Lacus Fundani the armed men of Sabinus were encountred by some of the most resolut Vitelliã soldiers: there a small skirmish was fought, as in a sodain tumult; wherin the Vitellianists had the better. Sabinus seeing his side go down, as the safest way vpon the present, seazed vpon the Capitol with his soldier, & some Senators & gentlemẽ, whose names it is not easy to set down, because very many when Vespasiã was prince pretended to haue done that seruice to the side. Some womẽ also retired into the Capitol, & there were besieged: amongst whom the most famous was Verulana Gracilia, drawen neither with respect of children, nor kinsfolke, but only because she would be of a party. The Vitellianists hauing pinned them vp, set the setinels so negligently

ligently, that about midnight Sabinus set foorth and brought into the Capitoll his owne children, and Domitian his brothers sonne, and dispatched out other messengers to the Flauian captaines, shewing them how they were besieged, and vnlesse succour came, were in great danger, and passed the whole night in that quietnesse without any attempt from the enemy, that he might haue easily escaped without any perill. For the Vitellian souldiers as they were fierce, and stout against dangers, so in labour and watching they were not diligent; and withall a great shower falling on the sodaine hindred both their sight and their hearing. When the day appeared, before any act of hostilitie was begun by either, Sabinus sent Cornelius Martialis a principall Centurion with instructions to Vitellius, complaining and charging him with breach of couenants, and that it was but a colourable matter in him, and a fayned shew of resigning the Empire, onely to intrap so many noble personages: for if otherwise, why withdrew he himself from the Rostra, into his brothers house standing neare to the Forum, and full in the sight of the world, and not rather to his wiues in mount Auentine out of the way; for so had it beene meetest indeed if he had ment to haue liued as a priuate man, and auoyded all shew of a Prince: whereas contrarily he returned againe euen into the Palace, the very seate of the Empire, and from thence he sent forth a company of armed men, who had polluted the most famous part of the citty with the blood of innocent persons, not forbearing the Capitoll it selfe: for his part he continued vnarmed, and liued in all respects as an other Senatour, whiles in the meane time the matter was tried betweene Vespasian and Vitellius by maine battels of Legions, taking of townes, and yeelding of cohorts: yea when Spaine, Germanie and Britannie were reuolted, yet did he being Vespasians brother continue still in allegeance, till Vitillius began first to motion a parle; who surely should find in the end that peace and composition is indeed for the glory of the conquerours, but for the vtility of the conquered: or if it repented him of his bargaine, let him not make war against him, whom he had with falshood beguiled, nor against Vespasians yoong sonne (for what woulde the death of an olde man and one childe auaile?) but let him go out and encounter the Legions, and there trie the maine matter: other things would follow the euent of that battaile. To his charge Vitellius in great feare made answere, with some words in excuse of himselfe, & laying the blame vpon his souldiers, whose too much vehemencie, his modestie, he saied, was vnable to bridle: and withall aduised Martialis to conuey himselfe out of the house by a priuy way, least the soldiers should murder him as a negotiatour of the peace, which they so greatly detested: and indeede Vitellius was now but a cipher, neither able to commande nor forbid, not Prince in effect, but onely matter of warre. Martialis was scarce returned into the Capitoll, when as the Vitellian soldiers, in a great fury were also at hand, without any leader or captaine, but euery man of his owne head: leauing with speede the Forum and temples vpon it behinde them, they set themselues in array and marched vp the hill, euen to the first gate of the Capitoll. There were in old time certaine open galleries vpon the side of the cliffe, on the right hand as a man goeth vp; from the tops whereof the defendants with stones and tiles beat the Vitellianists downe, who had in their hands nothing but swords, and to[st]aie while engins and shot were fetched seemed lost time: wherefore they tooke firebrands and hurled them into the vttermost gallerie, and following the fire were at the point to haue entred the gate of the Capitoll being halfe burned, had not Sabinus pluckt downe all the images and glorious monuments of our progenitours, and in the entrance of the gate made as it were a countermure of them. Then they assaied to make their entrie on the other

side

side of the Capitoll by Lucus Asyli, and by the stayres of a hundreth steps in the ascent to Rupe Tarpeia. At both these places the assault came vnlooked for, but the nearer and hoater was that by the Asylum: neither could they be stopped from climing vp by the buildings that touched together, which as in a time of long peace were raised to the height of the floore of the Capitoll. Heere it is doubted whether the assailers fired those buildings, or (as the more recived opinion is) the defendants thereby to repulse them which pressed forward, and were come so farre on: but howsoeuer it was, the fire there beginning, from thence ran along to the galleries that ioyned to the temples: then the Eagles which bare vp the [e] roofe being of olde drie timber drew and maintained the flame. And so the Capitoll, the gate being shut, no man defending it, no man attempting to spoile it, was burned to ashes; the most lamentable mischance, and detestable fact that euer befell the people of Rome since the Cittie was founded; especially no forraine enemie inuading, & the gods most plentifully powring their benefits vpon vs, if our owne ciuill conditions would haue permitted vs to enioy them: the seate of the [f] great god Iupiter founded by our ancestors with the approbation of the gods, [1] as a pledge of the Empire, which neither [2] Porsenna when the cittie was yeelded, nor the Frenchmen when they tooke, it could hurt, thus to be destroied by the fury of our owne Princes; It was once also burned before in a [g] ciuill warre, but by priuate malice: now it was publikely besieged, and publikely burned: and that not in honorable defence of our country, which might som what lighten the losse, but in the ambitious vpholding of partialities and sides. The Capitoll was [h] vowed first by king Tarquinius Priscus in the warre against the Sabins, [3] who laied also the foundation, rather according to the hope of future greatnes, then propotionablie to the present estate of the Romans. After him Seruius Tullius with the helpe of our allies, and Tarquinius Superbus with the spoile, when Suessa Pometia was taken, finished the worke: but the honor thereof was reserued to the time of libertie. For [i] after the kings were driuen out, Horatius Puluillius in his second Consulship dedicated it, in that magnificent and sumptuous sort, that the excessiue wealth of the Romans which afterward followed, perchance might adorne and beautifie the worke, but did not augment it. Fower hundreth twentie and fiue yeeres afterward, when Lucius Scipio and Caius Norbanus were [k] Consuls, it was burned and builded againe vpon the same foundation. Sylla after he had gotten the vpper hand tooke the care of it vpon him, yet did he not dedicate it: this point onely he wanted to make him indeed, as he was in [l] name perfectly happie: but Luratius Catulus name remained to bee seene, among so many workes of the Emperours, euen till Vitellius time. That building then was fired, which disiuged more the defendants then the assailers, for the Vitellian souldiers lacked neither skill, nor resolution in cases of difficultie: but of the other sides the souldier was fearefull, the captaine without courage, and as a man halfe distract, had neither the vse of his toong, nor his eares, nor gouerning himselfe by the aduice of others, and yet notable to resolue of himselfe, but running about from one place to another, at euery cry of the enemie, forbad that he had commanded, and commanded againe that he had forbidden. Anon, as it happeneth in lost and desperate cases, euery man was a commander, and no man a putter in execution: at the length casting away their weapons, they began to deuise how to flee & escape secretly away. Then the Vitellianists brake in and killed, burned, and slue; some few military men that offered to fight were slaine: among whom Cornelius Martialis, Æmilius Pacensis, Casperius Niger, Didius Scæua were the most of note. Flauius Sabinus was beset and taken, being neither armed, nor attempting to flee,

[e] Of the timber following Plutarch, Dion, Suetonius, Tacitus, and others, because there were no tiles in the beginning of Rome.

[f] The temple was according to Dionysius 46. paces in length, and 56. in breadth. Plutarch in Num. & Dion. lib. 4. Suetonius in Vespas. cap. 8.

[1] Liuie calls Sylla amongst others concerning this Capitoll, Plutarch in Sylla, Appian. lib. 1. Ρωμης ἐπικρατειαν.

[2] Porsenna was driuen away by Horatius Cocles, Mutius Scæuola, Clelia, and others. Liuie lib. 2. Dionysius lib. 5.

[g] Liuie lib. 6. Dionysius lib. 5. Plutarch in Camillo.

[h] Liuie lib. 1.

[3] Fiue yeeres after, Dionysius lib. 5. Liuie lib. 2. putteth the dedication in the first Consulship of Horatius, in the first yeere of the free state, contrary to Dionysius and Tacitus here.

[i] Ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἔτος ἕβδομον καὶ πεντηκοστόν.

[k] Decisa dein C. Norbano & Scipione consulibus Sylla Victore. Appian. lib. 1. Ρωμης. Ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ὑπάτων Σύλλας ἐκ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων ἐπανελθὼν τὸ Καπετώλιον ἐνέπρησε καὶ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἀφανίσας ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐπιγραφῶν ἐπέγραψεν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας συνάρχων τὰ ὀνόματα. Plutarch in Sylla. Ὁ πύρ ἐκλιπὼν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἐπανελθὼν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐνέπρησε καὶ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς ἀφανίσας ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐπέγραψεν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν συνάρχων τὰ ὀνόματα.

flee, and Quintius Atticus the Consull, a man of speciall marke by reason of his office, and through his owne vanitie and follie, hauing published edicts in honour of Vespasian, and to the disgrace of Vitellius. The rest made sundry shifts to escape, some in bondmens apparell, others were hidden by their clients, and conueyed away amongst the stuffe: some there were also that had learned the Vitellianists watch-word; whereby one of them knew another, and so asking and answering accordingly vsed boldnesse in liew of a hole to lurke in. Domitian at their first breaking in was hid in the sextens house, and there by the policy of his freedman put in a linnen garment, as the ministers of the temple did weare, & so escaped vnknown, and lay secret at the house of Cornelius Primus, one of his fathers followers, neere to the Velabrum. Afterward when his father came to the state he pulled down the sextens lodging, and builded there a little chappell in honour of *Iupiter his Preseruer*: and also erected an altar and caused this history to be cut in marble: and when hee came to the Empire himselfe he built a great temple to *Iupiter his Keeper*; and consecrated himselfe in the lap of the god. Sabinus and Atticus being loaden with irons, and brought to Vitellius, were neither receiued with ill speech, nor ill countenance; wherat they which challenged to kil them, & reward for their seruice, fretted and chaffed: and so the next beginning the cry, the rascall sort of the people demanded Sabinus death, mingling threats and flatteries together. And as Vitellius presented himselfe vpon the staires of the palace to intreate for his life, they forced him in the end to desist: then they stabbed and mangled him, and cutting off his head trailed the body into Gemoniæ. This was the ende of Sabinus, a man surely not to be contemned. He had serued in publicke place thirtie fiue yeeres, and was greatly renowned both for matters of peace and of warre: for integritie and vpright dealing no man could touch him: somewhat he was too full of wordes; the onely thing blamed in him during the seauen yeares that he ruled in Mœsia, & the twelue yeares that he was prouost of the Cittie: in this last act of his life some iudged him cowardly, others moderate rather and sparing of his citizens bloud; but of this all men agree that before Vespasian was Prince, the reputation of the house rested in Sabinus. It was thought that Mutianus was glad of his death: and many were of opinion, that it fell out not ill in respect of quietnes, all strife and emulation being therby taken vp betweene two, whereof the one was the Emperoursbrother, and the other caried himselfe as his fellow. But Vitellius when the people required also Atticus the Consuls death plainly withstood them himselfe, being somewhat appeased, and in some sort to requite him, for that being examined, who had first fired the Capitoll, he tooke vpon him the matter himselfe, and by that confession, whether it was true indeed, or fained onely to serue the present purpose, seemed to take vpon him the blame of the fact, and cleere Vitellius and his adherents.

cap. 74.

cap. 75.

[1] As a pledge of the Empire] Liuius. lib. 1. *secutum aliud magnitudinem imperij portendens prodigium est. caput humanum integrâ facie aperientibus fundamenta templi dicitur apparuisse: quæ visa species haud per ambages arcem eam imperij caput sedemque rerum fore portendebat. idque ita cecinere vates quique in vrbe erant, quosque ad eam rem consultandam ex Etruria acciuerat.* Dionisius li. 4 reporteth the words of the answer made to certain messengers sent from Rome purposely into Etruria. ἀνδρες ῥωμαῖοι, λέγετε θεοὺς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν πολίτας, ὅτι κεφαλὴν εὑρόντα γῆ θεὸν συμπάσης ἰταλίας τὸν τόπον ἔκρινε, ἐν ᾧ τὴν κεφαλὴν εὑρετο. *That is, Men of Rome go tell your Citizens that the Gods haue decreed, that where this head was found, that place should be the head of all Italie.* Varro lib. 4. de Ling. Latina. *Capitolium dictum quod hic, cum fundamenta foderentur ædi Ioui, caput humanum inuentum dicitur. hic mons ante Tarpeius dictus à virgine Vestali Tarpeia quæ ibi ab Sabinis necata armis & sepulta: eius nominis monumentum relictum, quod etiam nunc eius rupes, Tarpeium appellatur saxum.* And this head so found I take to be that *pignus imperij* here in Tacitus.

[2] Porsenna when the Citty was yeelded] It must be that either Tacitus followed some other tradition in this storie then we haue, as in deede by Liuy it appeareth there were other, or else had forgotten himselfe in reporting it. Of hostages giuen to Porsenna Dionysius *lib.* 5. and Liuie *lib* 2. make mention: of surrendring the Citty I finde no word spoken by any other we haue extant saue Tacitus, to my remembrance.

[3] Who laid also] According to Dionysius Halic. Tarquinius Priscus did but only leuell the ground: Tarquinius

quinius Sura: but lied the foundations and builded most of it vp, but did not consecrate the worke: ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἑξακοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ τοῦτο ἔτους ἐπὶ Λευκίου Ἰουνίου καὶ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου ὑπάτων ἐτελέσθη. That is, but the Temple was finished vnder the annuall magistrates the third yeare after they came in. Read the same Dionysius lib. 4. and lib 5. But it may seeme that Tacitus tooke hold of these words in Liuy lib. 1. *Tarquinius Priscus aream ad eidem in Capitolio Iouis templum fundamenta.* which notwithstanding is not otherwise meant, but of leuelling the ground, and making it ready for the laying of the foundation. For Superbus, as it appeareth by the same Liuie, was the man that layed the foundation. Of Seruius Tullius in this building I haue not found mention elsewhere to my remembrance.

XIIII. *Lucius Vitellius taketh Tarracina.*

IN the meane season Lucius Vitellius pitching his campe at Feronia, pressed sore vpon Tarracina to take it, hauing shut into the towne the "fencers and mariners, who durst not come out of the wals, nor hazard themselues in the fielde. Their captaines (as we haue remembred before) were Iulianus ouer the fencers, and Apollinaris ouer the mariners, men both in a dissolutenes, & insufficiency more like fencers then captaines: obseruing no order in watching and warding, nor repayring the weake parts of the wals, but passing both nights and daies in wantonnesse and melodie, vpon those pleasant sea-shoares, and dispersing the souldiers abroad to make prouision for their riot, neuer talking of warre, but in banquet. Apinius Tiro was departed some fewe daies before, and with his extortions and sharpe dealing in the free townes, purchased more ill will then strength to the side. In the meane time a seruant of Virginius Capito fled out of the towne to Lucius Vitellius, promising him, if he wold allow him sufficient men, to deliuer secretly the castle being vnmanned, and accordingly in the dead of the night he brought certaine light armed cohorts, into the place standing vpon the top of a hill, ouer the enemies head. From thence the soldiers ran down rather to a butchery then a battell, killing some vnarmed, others beginning to arme, some newly awaked out of sleepe distracted and confounded with feare, darknesse, and sound of trumpets and noyse of enemies. A few of the "fencers made resistance, and were slaine, albeit they sold their liues deare: the rest ran headlong to the ships, where through to like feare all things were in the like confusion; or so much the more because the townesmen were gotten in amongst them, whom the Vitellianists also did kill without any difference. Six ships vpon the notice of the surprise escaped, and with them Apollinaris the Admirall of the nauie: the rest were either taken vpon the shore, or else suncke in the sea, being ouercharged with the company that leapt into them. Iulianus was brought to Lucius Vitellius and scourged, then slaine in his presence. Diuers haue accused Triaria Lucius Vitellius wife, that girding hirselfe with a sworde like a souldier, she should haue demeaned hirselfe cruelly, and insolently amidst the pittifull cries, & lamentable destruction of the poore towne. Lucius himselfe sent a lawrell in token of victory to his brother, requiring withal his further pleasure, whether he should returne presently to Rome, or stay and subdue the rest of Compania: the interposing of which little time fell out greatly for the good both of Vespasians side, and of the state. For if the souldiers presently after their victory had directly repayred to Rome, whiles they were in courage and hart, by reason of their late good successe, beside a naturall obstinatenes in them, the matter would not haue beene ended so quickly without much ado, and the euident destruction of the Cittie. For Lucius Vitellius albeit he were infamous otherwise, yet was he industrious, and powerable not as good men by vertues, but by vices as the worst sort.

cap. 76.

"Gladiatores.

cap. 77.

"Gladiatores.

XV. *The Flauian armie entreth the citty. The Prætorian campe is taken by force. Vitellius is slaine.*

a Saturnalia begin the 17. of December, and continue till the 24. of the same moneth.

WHILES these things were a doing of Vitellius side Vespasians armie remooved from Narnia to Otriculum, and at good leysure celebrated the a Saturnalia there. The cause of this harmefull delay, was to stay for Mutianus: some impute it to Antonius, as done with a traiterous intent, vpon letters receiued from Vitellius, wherein he offred vnto him the Consulship, and his daughter in mariage with a great dower, if he could reuolt, in reward of treason: others affirme, that all this was falsely surmised, and maliciously spred to please Mutianus withall. Some are of opinion, that it was the purpose of all the Commanders rather to put the Cittie in feare, then to seeke to take it by force, seeing the most and principall cohorts had already relinguished Vitellius; and now al the strength being cut off, it was likely he would resigne the Empire without further coaction: but all that course was crossed, first by Sabinus haste, and then through his cowardlinesse; who rashly taking armes was not afterward able to keep a fortresse of that strength, and which euen great armies could not haue taken, against three onely cohorts. But the fault cannot well be imputed to one, which was common to all. For both Mutianus was some occasion of stay, by meanes of his doubtfull letters, and Antonius by his preposterous obeying or in seeking to auoide enuie, deserved great blame, and the other Commanders presuming the warre to be finished, made the ende of it more notorious. Neither did Petilius Cerealis (who was sent before with a thousand horse, to coast through the countrey of the Sabins, and so to enter the citty by Via Salaria) make that haste as the matter required, till in the ende the newes of the siege of the Capitoll made him stirre all at once. Antonius came forward by the Flaminian way to Saxa rubra late in the night, and too late to succor. For there he vnderstood that Sabinus was slaine, the Capitoll burned, the city in great feare, and all things went ill: it was also declared, that the people and bondmen were arming for Vitellius. And besides Petilius Cerealis had receiued a blow in a skirmish of horsemen, by running headlong and charging rashly vpon the enemie, presuming them conquered persons: but the Vitellianists, with horsemen and footemen interlaced together, valiantly receiued the charge. This skirmish was not farre from the citty among the buildings, and gardens, and crosse lanes, wherewith the Vitellianists were well acquainted, the other not; which was an occasion to dismay them the more: and besides, all their horsemen were not of one minde and affection, some being of those that hauing lately yeelded at Narnia kept aloofe, meaning afterward to close with the winner. Tullius Flauianus captaine of a wing was taken prisoner, the rest ranne away dishonorably: but the Vitellianists pursued no further then to Fidenæ. By this successe the affection of the people was greatly augmented, & immediately the townesmen tooke armes few had many military targets, but the most tooke vp whatsoeuer weapons came to their hands. & forthwith required the signe of the battell. Vitellius thanked them hartily, and willed them to issue out with all speed in defence of the city. Then he called a Senate wherin Embassadors were appointed to the armie, which as in the name & vnder the colour of a common weale, should perswade them to peace and agreement. The hap of the Embassadors was not all alike: For they which met with Petilius Cerealis incurred extreme daunger, the souldiers refusing vtterly all conditions of peace, and Arulenus Rusticus the Pretor was wounded, which beside the enormity of the fact, in the person of an Embassadour

Cap 79

Cap. 80.

ſadour and a Pretor, was alſo more hainous, in regard of the woorthines of the man. His traine was diſperſed, and one of his ſergeantes next before him ſlaine, for preſuming among armed men to make way thorow the preaſe for his maſter: and vnleſſe they had beene defended by a band that the captaine aſſigned to garde them, the right and priuiledge of Embaſſadors, reputed ſacred euen amongſt ſtrange nations, had through ciuill furie beene violated by murder, euen at the very gates and wals of the cittie. But they which came to Antonius found more courteous entertainment, not becauſe thoſe ſoldiers were ciuiller, but becauſe the General was of greater authority. Into the company of theſe Embaſſadors Muſonius Rufus inſerted himſelfe, a gentleman of Rome addicted to the ſtudy of philoſophie after the way of the Stoicks, who thruſting himſelfe among the companies of the ſouldiers began to diſcourſe of the good of peace, and danger of warre, and to ſchoole men in armes: at which many ſcoffed, more grew weary of it, and ſome forbare not to puſh and ſpurn him away, till in the ende by the aduice of the diſcreeter ſort, and the threats of the other he was perſwaded to deſiſt from his vnſeaſonable wiſedome. The Veſtall Virgins alſo were ſent with letters from Vitellius to Antonius, requeſting him to differ the battaile for one day: by meanes of that little delay with more eaſe would all points be agreed vpon. The virgins were ſent home with honour, and anſwere was made to Vitellius that by the murther of Sabinus, and the burning of the Capitol al parle of peace was cut off, and all extremitie to be looked for: notwithſtanding Antonius calling his armie together aſſaied to pacifie them thus farre, that they would be content to encampe themſelues for that preſent at the Miluian bridge, and not to enter the towne before the next day; the reaſon of the motion was, leſt the ſouldier hauing his bloud heated in skirmiſh, ſhould afterwarde ſpare neither people nor Senate, no not the churches and temples of the gods. But they miſliked and ſuſpected all delay as a hinderance to the victorie: and withall certaine banners glittering vpon the ſide of the hils, albeit followed by none but towne-people, and men of ſeruice, made a ſhew of an armie. Whereupon the Flauianiſts diuiding themſelues into three companies, made their approch to the towne: one part as it ſtoode along the Flaminian way, another cloſe by the bancke of the Tiber, and the third by Via ſalaria toward the Gate called Collina. The towne-people was immediately broken by the horſemen, but the Vitellian ſouldier made head, diuiding [b] alſo themſelues into three ſeuerall bandes. Many skirmiſhes paſſed betweene them before the towne, & with diuers euent, but more commonly to the aduantage of the Flauianiſts, who had more ſufficient men to their captaines. They onely of that ſide were diſtreſſed, which turned vpon the left hand toward the Saluſtian gardens, through narrow lanes and ſlippery waies: where the Vitellianiſts ſtanding aloft vpon the wals of the gardens, with ſtones & iauelins repulſed them, till it was towards the euening, when as the horſemen that in the meane time had entred at Collina were at their backes and ſurprized them. In Campus martius alſo there were hoat skirmiſhes betweene them. The Flauianiſts had the fauour of fortune, and the vantage of ſo many victories: the Vitellianiſts ran headlong and furious, ſupported with onely deſpaire: and albeit they were defeated and broken, yet did they rally themſelues againe in the cittie. The people ſtood by and looked on as they fought, and as in a paſtime or game clapped their hands, & encouraged ſometime the one, and ſometime the other: and when either ſide turned their backes, and hid themſelues in houſes or ſhops, they cryed to haue them pluckt out and killed, and ſo attained themſelues the greateſt part of the prey: for whiles the ſoldiers minded nothing but ſlaughter and bloudſhed, the ſpoile fell to the common peoples ſhare. Ouer all the

cap. 81.

cap. 82.

cap. 83.

[b] ἐς βραχὺ κατὰ τὴν πύλην σφᾶς διέλαβον φόνος πολύς in all fifty thouſand perſons if *Joſephus* ſay true. 4. ἀλώσ. c. 43

cittie

cittie a cruell spectacle and shamefull was to be seene : in one place fighting and wounding, in other tippling and bathing : here streames of bloud,& heapes of dead bodies,& hard by it strumpets & strumpets fellowes:in sum all the licenciousnes of a dissolute and riotous peace,& the misery of a most cruell captiuity : so that a man plainly would iudge one & the same towne, bothe extremely furious and raging,& extremely drowned in pleasures. There had afore times passed great conflicts betweene armed powers in the citie,twise when Sylla,& once when Cinna ouercame, & the cruelty then was no lesse:but this was an vnnaturall brutish security,that men for one moment of time wold not intermit their accustomed pleasures,but as if this had giuen them further occasion of ioy amidst their festiual daies,clapped hands & reioiced,without care of fides,at the publick calamities. But the greatest difficulty of al was in taking the Prætorian campe,vnto the which the valianteſt amongst the Vitellian soldiers had betaken themselues, as to their last refuge;& therfore the Flauianists were the more earnest to assault it,especially the old Prætorian cohorts,employing all means deuised for the taking of most fortified towns,as the target fence, engins of battery,mounts,& firebrands,crying aloude that that one worke was the accomplishment & perfection of all the trauels and dangers, which they in so many battailes had passed; that the city belonged to the Senate and people,and the temples to the gods, and both were restored to their owners : but the souldiers honour was in the campe,that was his countrey, and his dwelling place,which vnlesse they could straightwaies recouer,they must and would lye all night in their armour. On the other side the Vitellian soldiers,although inferiour both in number and fortune, disturbed the course of the victorie, hindred the peace,polluting the houses and altars with bloud, and embracing the last comfort to conquered persons. Many lay gasping and died vpon the towers and battlements of the walles. When the gates were broken vp, they that remained aliue presented themselues to the conquerors, and died all with their face toward the enemy, and wounded vpon their foreparts : such care they had,seeing they must die,to die in most honourable maner. Vitellius when as the citie was taken, conueyed himselfe in a carying * chaire, by the backegate of the Palace, into his wiues house in the mount Auentine intending if he could haue lyen secret that day, to haue fled by night to Tarracina to his brother and the cohorts there. Anon changing his minde, and as it falles out to men in a maze,fearing all things, and most disliking the present, he returned into the Palace againe now vast and desolate,euen his basest seruants being either fled away,or else purposely shunning his presence. This great solitarinesse, and silence in those places astonished him : whereupon he assayed to open that which was shut, and was amazed finding all voide. After much pittifull wandring about, being wearied he cast himselfe into a [c] base corner : whence Iulius Placidus Tribune of a cohort pulled him out,and led him along thorow the citie with his hands bound behinde him, and his garments all torne, a most ignominious spectacle, many reuiling him, and no man pitying his case:the dishonorablenesse of his end had taken away all compassion. Being led in this maner, one of the German souldiers aimed a blow, whether intending to strike at Vitellius vpon some quarrell, or because he would sooner rid him from shame, or else at the Tribune it is vncertaine, certaine it is that in striking he cut off the Tribunes eare, and was forthwith slaine himselfe. Then forcing Vitellius with the points of their swordes sometimes to looke vp and abide all indignities,some times to see his owne images breaking their neckes,and many times to beholde the Rostra,and the place where Galba was slaine,they haled him along, and at the last thrust him into the Gemoniæ, where the body of Flauius Sabinus had

cap. 84.

cap. 85.

* Sellula. Suet. Vitel. c. 16. gestatoria sella.

[c] In Collidam ea-bitrem, Iuuen. Satyr. 10. reliquæ pro sordibus erant, lectique & culcitra obiecta.

had lien. One word he was heard vtter not proceeding from an abiect minde, in answer to the Tribune who insulted ouer him : That he had yet sometime beene his Prince : and so after many wounds receiued he fell downe dead : and the common people as much without reason railed vpon him when he was dead as they flattered him being a liue. He was sonne to Lucius Vitellius : about seauen [1] and fifty yeares old when he died : the Consulship and sacerdotall dignities, with a name and place among the chiefest of Nobility, he attained vnto, not thorow any sufficiency of his owne, but by his fathers great fame and renowne : the Empire was conferred vpon him by those which knew him not ; and yet neuer man found so constant good will of his souldiers by vertuous meanes as this man with all his cowardly sloth : notwithstanding there was in him plaine meaning and liberality, which without discreet handling turne often to a mans ruine: faithful friends he deserued rather then found, because he sought them more by great gifts, then vertuous behauiour. It was a singular benefit to the Common-wealth, it cannot be denied, that Vitellius was put downe ; but they which betrayed him to Vespasian [b] haue small reason to recken it among their good deedes to the State, being the same men that had also reuolted from Galba before. That day the Senat could not be called, because it was already farre spent, and the Magistrates and Senatours vpon feare had withdrawen themselues out of the City, or else lay hidden in their Clients houses. Domitian when all feare of hostility was past, presented himselfe to the Flauian Captaines, whom the souldiers straight-waies saluted Cæsar, and armed accompanied him to his fathers house.

cap. 86.

[b] Especially some of them who were afterward traitors to *Vespasian* also, as *Cæcina* by name. *Suetonius, Tito. cap. 6. Xiphilinus, &c.*

[1] Seuen and fifty yeere old] Vitellius was borne, saith Suetonius, [a] *Druso Cæsare & Nobano Flacco Coss* which was *ab vrbe condita* the 768. yeere, the 24. of September, or as some say, the seuenth of the same moneth. The day in which he went out of the Palace with intention to resigne the Empire, was according to Tacit. the 18. of December *in anno* 822. the day following being the 19. of December the Capitoll was burned, the [b] twentieth of December Antonius entred into the towne, and the death of Vitellius ensued. All which doth appeare plainly by the course of the Story of Tacitus. So that from his birth to his death we haue no more by iust account but fifty foure yeeres, and as much as is betweene the seuenth or foure and twentieth of September, and the twentieth of December.

[a] *Vit cap. 3.*

[b] Beside the circumstances in Tacitus, Iosephus 4. ολων cap. 42. expresl saith, μετα μιαν ημεραν (of the burning of the Capitoll) ε'πεστησεν αντωνιος. περι την μεσην επιλαιου.

THE

THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I. *The behauiour of the Flauian ſouldiers in the Citie, after the death of Vitellius.*

cap. 1.

VITELLIVS thus being ſlaine, the warre was rather ended then peace begun. For the conquerours with implacable hatred, purſued the contrary ſide thorowout the City in armes: the ſtreetes were ſtrawed with dead carcaſes, the Temples and common places embrued with bloud; euery one lying ſlaine, where it was his chance to be ouertaken, without diſtinction of place: and anon licentiouſneſſe growing, they began to ſearch houſes, and fetch forth ſuch as were hid: if they ſaw any man looke like a ſouldier, perſonable of ſtature and of yeeres not diſagreeing were he ſouldier or Citizen they murdred him: ſatiating themſelues at the firſt, whileſt their malice was freſh, with nothing ſaue bloud. But anon the heate of their choler aſſwaging, they conuerted their cruelty into couetouſneſſe: ſuffering no Cloſet to eſcape vnrifled, no hidden place any where to be ſecret, pretending the Vitellianiſts lay hidden therein: that was the colour to breake vp mens houſes, or if reſiſtance were made, an occaſion to ſlay them. Beſide the ſouldiers, the raſcals and beggerly ſcumme of the people, now with the foremoſt, helped to ſacke and to ſpoile: and ſome of the lewdeſt bond-men voluntarily deſcribed their wealthy maſters; ſome were detected by their owne friendes: euery where lamentations and outcries were to be heard, and the miſerable ſtate to be ſeene, and face, as it were, of a City taken by the enemy: inſomuch that the inſolent and riotous ſouldier of Otho and Vitellius, ſo much deteſted before was now in compariſon much wiſhed for againe. The Commanders of the ſide were indeed ſufficiently able to kindle a ciuill war, and vnable to moderate the victory. For to ſtirre vp diſſentions and troubles, the woorſt man moſt commonly beares greateſt ſtroake; but peace and quietneſſe are not eſtabliſhed, but by men of rare gifts, and excellent vertues. Domitian [a] had already poſſeſſed himſelfe both of the title, and lodging of Cæſar: not bending his ſtudies as yet to matters of ſtate, but in [b] adulteries and diſſolute demeanour behauing himſelfe as an Emperours ſonne. Arrius Varus was Captaine of the Guard: but the whole power, in effect, and direction of affaires, reſted in the hands of Antonius Primus; who at his pleaſure tooke mony, and ſeruants out of the Palace, with the like liberty, as if it had beene the ſpoiles of Cremona. The reſt, either for modeſty or becauſe they were not of name, as in war they paſſed vnrenowned, ſo at this time they went vnrewarded.

cap. 2.

a Translating Plutarche his words, Ἀρχὴν μεγάλην παρεσκεύαζε, which Tacitus would not haue vnderſtood by the Gouernors in Britaine.

b Tacitus in vita Agricolæ, adeo diem laetum Domitiano, & ei proprium ſortemque tam ſecundam vſurpauit.

II. *Lucius Vitellius yeeldeth himſelfe, and his ſouldiers to the Flauianiſts.*

THE City fearing new troubles, and ready to ſubmit themſelues to the preſent poſſeſſour, required that Lucius Vitellius, as he with his Cohorts returned from Tarracina, might be ſurprized, and ſo all remnants of ciuill warres vtterly extinguiſhed.

extinguished. Whereupon the horsemen were sent before to Aricia, the Legions going not beyond Bouillæ: but Vitellius incontinently, without further delay, yeelded himselfe and his cohorts to the discretion of the conquerour: his souldiers likewise threw away their vnfortunate weapons vpon indignation, rather then fear. Then they were marshalled in length and led thorow the citie, as it were, in triumph garded with armed men. Not one of them shewed any signe of submissenesse in countenance, but all sad and sterne, not moued with the showtings, and taunts of the multitude insulting ouer them: onely some few, through impatience breaking out; were beaten downe by their gard, the rest committed to prison. Not one of them let fall any vnseemely worde, but euen in the middest of aduersity they retained their honour and fame. Then Lucius Vitellius was put to death: a man in vices equall to his brother, howbeit in his brothers raigne the more vigilant man: and not so much partaker with him in prosperitie, as violently caried away with the current of his aduersitie.

III. *Lucilius Bassus sent to quiet Campania, the seruant of Verginius Capito hanged.*

ABOVT the same time Lucilius Bassus, with certaine light horsemen, was sent to quiet the countrey of Campania, where the free cities were at discord rather ech against other vpon priuate quarels, than any against the Prince vpon rebellious intent: but at the first sight of the souldiers they were straightwayes appeased. And the lesser colonies escaped vnpunished, only [a] Capua was appointed to lodge the third Legion that Winter, and some noble families by [b] reason thereof were afflicted: whereas on the contrary side, the Tarracinenses, who for Vespasians sake had endured so much, were no wayes relieued. So much are we proner to requite iniuries than good turnes: for thankefulnesse is a burden, reuenge sweet and reckned as a gaine. Notwithstanding it was some comfort vnto them, that the seruant of Virginius Capito, who betrayed the towne, as before we haue shewed, was hanged with the same rings on his fingers, which he had receiued from Vitellius, as a reward of his treason.

cap. 3.

a 2. *Hist Capua Vitellio fida &c.*

b This affliction surely was very short for it could not begin before the very latter end of December, and in the beginning of January, *tertia legio, familiaris Arno Varo miles. in Syriam remissa*, Tacitus elsewhere: vnlesse he forgot himselfe in the one place or the other.

IIII. *Matters concluded vpon in the Senate, after the death of Vitellius.*

NOw at Rome, whatsoeuer honours and preeminences were vsually vnited to the Emperors person, the Senate [a] bestowed vpon Vespasian, ioyfully, and conceiuing assured hope of future tranquillitie. For seeing the contagion of ciuill dissention, beginning in [b] France and Spaine, had passed to the German souldiers, then taken a course to Illyricum, and lastly infected Ægypt, Iudæa, and Syria, in summe, all prouinces and armies: they were to presume reasonably, the whole world being thus purged and clensed, that the humour was spent, and ciuill warres and calamities were at an end. Which hope and gladnes of theirs was increased by certaine letters receiued from Vespasian, endited as if the warre had yet beene on foot; for so they shewed at the first sight: notwithstanding he spake in all points as their Prince; modestly indeed of his owne person, and of the weale-publicke magnifically howbeit the Senate was not slacke in declaring their obedience. To himselfe with Titus his sonne was awarded the Consulship, to Domitian the Pretorship and *Consulare authoritie. Moreouer Mutianus had written letters to the Senate, which thing ministred matter of speech: If he were a priuate man, why should he write thus in publicke to the Senat? he might haue spared his pen, and within few

a A fragment of this *Senatus Consultum* extant *ad verbum* among the ecaied antiquities of Rome.

b In the warre of *Galba & Vindex* against *Nero.*

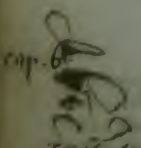
* *Consulare imperium* Dio. lib. 54. specifieth two points of it, τὸ διὰ βίου ἀρχιερατεύειν καὶ τὴν πατρικὴν ἀξίωσιν καὶ αἰρεῖσθαι ἐν ἑκάστῳ ἔτει τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὅσους ἂν βούληται καὶ ἀπογράφεσθαι. cap. 4.

daies after haue vttered the same there in person, as one of the house. likewise his inueying against the Vitellianists was misliked, as comming too late, and carying no shew of liberty now: but especially that seemed arrogantly spoken against the common weale, & contumelious against the Prince, where he vaunted, that the Empire was in his disposition, & by him was collated vpon Vespasian. Neuertheles couering their disdaine in secret, they flattered openly, & in most ample & honorable termes awarded him triumphall ornaments; indeed in respect of his seruice in the ciuill warre but an expedition against the Samaritan [a] was pretended: then to Antonius Primus were decreed Consulare ornaments, and Prætorian to Cornelius Fuscus, and Arrius Varus. After these things, deuoutly remembring the gods, they enacted that the Capitoll should be builded anew: all which points were specified first and comprised in Valerius Asiaticus the [b] designed Consuls oration; to whom the rest assented, the greater part with countenance and wagging of hands, some few either chiefe in place, or chiefly exercised in the art of flatterie, with set orations and speeches. But when the course came to Heluidius Priscus, who was designed Pretor, he vttered his opinion, in termes honourable inough to a good Prince, yet without all flattery or glozing: a thing much commended and allowed of greatly by the Senate: and this was the day which especially procured vnto him, both great offence and great glory. The matter seemeth to require, seeing we are [d] once againe fallen to mention him, whom many times hereafter we shall haue cause to remember, that we should at this time briefly record what life he had led, what studies he had followed, and what fortune he had prooued. Heluidius Priscus was borne in the first region of Italy, in the free city [z] of Tarracina: his fathers name was Cluuius a principall Centurion. Being very young he applied his rare and excellent wit to those profound studies, not, as the most part to cloke sloth, and idlenesse with so glorious a name, but that he might proceed to manage publike affairs being first by that meanes better armed against all mischance of fortune. In the studie of philosophie hee followed the learning of those [c] masters, which define that onely to be good which is honest; that onely ill which is dishonest: other qualities not inherent in the mind, as powerableneſſe, nobility and such like, neither good nor euill. When he had onely beene Questor; Petus Thrasea made choise of him for his sonne in lawe. Of his father in lawes conditions hee borrowed nothing so much as libertie: in qualitie of citizen, Senatours husband, sonne in lawe, friend; in all parts and offices of life he was alwaies one, and the same man, a contemner of wealth, stiffe in a good cause, not remooueable for any feare: to some men he seemed too desirous of glory: and indeed that passion, amongst all other, euen of wise men is last layed away. At the fall of his father in law he was [f] driuen into banishment, and returning vnder Galba he called Eprius Marcellus, who had informed against Thrasea, to his answere. This attempt, of so great and so iust a reuenge, notwithstanding diuided the Senate into parts: for if Marcellus were ouerthrowen, then whole troupes of others, which were in the same case, must needes goe to wracke. At the first the contention was hoat and fierce, and maintained of both sides with notable orations: but when Priscus perceiued that Galba was doubtfull in the point, at the intreatie of many Senatours, he desisted from following the suite; diuerse men, according to their seuerall dispositions, diuerſly interpreting his fact, some commending his moderation, others misliking his vnconstancie. But that same assembly when the Senate confirmed the Empire to Vespasian, with all an embassage was agreed vpon, to be sent to the Prince. Hereupon arose taunting and bitter words betweene Heluidius and Marcellus Heluidius opi-

[b] *Consul designatus* was ordinarily the first that did he day ere to the matter moued by the *Consul* in *Senate*.

[d] 2. *Hist.* for otherwise in the *Annales* he is mentioned often beside.

The Stoiker. out of whose schoole these opinions had their beginning *Laert. Zenone. lib. 7 Cicero Paradoxis, and others.*



Tac. 16. Annal.

nion

nion was, that the Embassadours should be elected, and named by the magistrates being first sworne to chuse of the fittest. Marcellus required they might be chosen by lot, to which purpose also the designed Consull had spoken before: but the principall cause, which pricked Marcellus so forwarde that way, was the shame which might redound to himselfe, fearing, lest other being chosen, he should seme to be, as vnworthy reiected. And so, after some few brawling words interchangeably vsed, by little and little they fell to continuall, and bitter orations: Heluidius demaunding, what caused Marcellus so much to feare the iudgement of the magistrates, seeing he excelled many other, both in eloquence, and wealth, things which might easily moone them to that choice: vnlesse peraduenture the remembrance of his own manifold misdeeds draue him to distrust thē: that the lot made no difference betweene the good & the bad, but suffrages & the iudgment of the Senat were deuised to enter into euery mans fame, & behauior that it greatly appertained both to the cōmodity of the common wealth, & to Vespasians honour, that those of the Senat should be sent to meete him, which were best accounted of for innocencie, and integritie of life, who might season (as it were) the Emperours eares, with good and vertuous speeches: that Thrasea, Soranus, and Sentius had beene of Vespasians old friends, and acquaintance, whose accusers, if they must not be punished, much lesse sent and shewed in places of credit: and that by this choise of the Senate, the Prince should, as it were be admonished whom to like & whom to eschue. For no greater instruments, or helps of good regiment can there be, then good friends: that Marcellus had done for his part sufficiently, hauing induced Nero to the destruction of so many innocents: let him enioy his rewards and impunitie, and leaue Vespasian to better directors. Marcellus replyed, that not his opinion, but the opinion of the designed Consull was impugned, and the ancient precedents, which committed the choise of Embassadors to lot, to take away al occasion of suiting and debate: that there was no new cause, that he knew, why so olde a custome should now be abolished, or why this honour done to the Prince should be turned into a dishonour to any, considering that euerie man was sufficiently able to carrie that message and do a low reuerence to him in the name of the Senate: nay rather they were to beware, lest through the peruersnes of some the Princes minde might bee offended, being now at his entry full of iealousies, and marking not onely words, but also all gestures and countenances. That, for his part, he well knew the qualitie of the times wherein he was borne, and what forme of gouernment our fathers, and grandfathers had established: [g] beyond he honored and admired, but professed to follow the present estate. That he prayed and wished indeed for good Princes: but if it were otherwise, would tolerate such as they were. As for the ouerthowe of Thrasea, why should he giue account of accusing, whenas the Senate gaue none of condemning? not his orations, but their voices wrought his vndooing: but so was Neroes maner, with such shewes to colour his cruell proceedings; whose fauour and friendship anguished his minde peraduenture as much, as banishment did some other mens. Finally, that well might Heluidius in constancy, and courage be equall to Cato and Brutus: for his owne part, he was one of that Senate, which were but seruants, as well as himselfe, and would likewise counsell Heluidius, not to seeke to clime aboue the Prince himselfe, nor like a tutour to bridle with his precepts Vespasian * hauing attayned to those yeeres, and that honor, & hauing beside so goodly an issue. For as wicked Princes loue to rule, and raigne without limitation: so euen the best would haue their subiects vse a mean in their liberty. These things, argued thus to and fro with great heat, distracted the Senate into diuerse opinions; notwith-

cap. 3.

cap. 8.

g That is, the time of the free state.

* *Senem triumphalem*, for his seruice in *Britany* in *Claudius* time *Vespasian* had obtained *triumphalia ornamenta*, saieth *Suetonius Vespasiano cap. 4.*

notwithstanding that part preuailed, which allowed of lots; not onely the woorst, but the middle sort striuing to retaine their auncient custome: yea and the greatest inclined that way, for feare of displeasure, and enuie, if they themselues should be chosen. After this there followed another contention. The Pretors of the common treasure (for at that time the common treasure was gouerned by Pretors) complayning of the emptinesse of their bags, presented request, that some restraint might be made, to abridge the publicke expenses. This proposition, both for the greatnes of the charge, and difficultie of the remedy, the Consull designed thought good to reserue to the Prince: but Heluidius would haue it deciced in Senate. And as the Cousuls proceeded in asking of voices, Vulcatius Tertullinus Tribune of the people[a] interceded, forbidding that any thing of so great moment should be determined of, the Prince beiug absent, Heluidius also, declaring his minde in the Senate, was of opinion, that the Capitoll should be builded againe, at the charges, and in the name of the common wealth, and Vespasian should helpe; Which speech of his the modestest sort passed ouer then with silence, and afterward forgat; how beit some there were that remembred it well. Then Musonius Rufus commenced an action aganst Publius Celer, by whose false witnes, he affirmed, that Barea Soranus was condemned. If cognition should be taken thereof, that were to enter againe into the odious, and endlesse quarrels against the accusers: notwithstanding, the guilt, and vilensse of the party now in perill was such, that hee could no waies be protected. For Soranus was of honourable memorie, and Celer, that of philosopher by profession, became a false witnesse against his frieud, was iustly hated of all men, betraying, and violating that sacred bond of friendshippe, whereof hee would seeme a principall teacher. The [b] next session was appointed for the hearing of the cause: but the whole company seeing that matter reuiued, and mens minds bent to reuenge, looked no lesse for Heluidius and Marcellus, with others at that time, then for Musonius and Celer.

cap. 9

a Or interposed his negatiue.

cap. 10.

b Of audience for such matters. for it was neither the next day nor the next session of the Senate.

[1] Was pretended] Triumphes, and triumphalia ornamenta, which succeeded in their place, were awarded vpon great seruice done, and vpon some notable conquest obtained against a forraine enemy: at least neuer any man in the Romane state made profession of triumphing *de ciuibus victis* L. *Sylla*, saith Valerius, lib. 3. *qui plurima bella ciuilia confecit, cum consummata ac constructa potentia sua triumphum duceret, vt Græcis & Asi(multas vrbes, ita ciuium Romanorum nullum oppidum vexit.* [3] Cæsar after he had ended the ciuill warres, albeit he spared in shew to triumph *de victis ciuibus*, and chose rather the name of king Iuba for the title of his African trimph, then of Scipio, Cato or Afranius, who were Generals in the field, yet went he further then Sylla, carying their images and pictures in triumph, [2] grieuing thereby the people of Rome. Augustus, hauing ouercome at Actium Antonius and Cleopatra, entitled likewise his triumph vpon the woman, omitting the man, εὐφημίας ἕνεκα. true it is, that oftentimes finding small cause of triumph ouer an externall enimie, and not daring to name the citizen, diuerse colours, as heere, haue beene vsed.

a Appian. 2. Ἔμφυτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φιλαξίμφορα ἔργα ἐς ἐμφύλια, ἐς τὰ κάτω δίωνται, ἐς τὰ μάλιστα αἰσχρὰ ἐς ἀνανδρίαν ἀποτρεπόμενα ἔργα ἔρχονται, καὶ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ οὐ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἀνθρώποις ἐς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους ἀνθρώπους ἐς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους ἀνθρώπους ἐς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους ἀνθρώπους

Syria solus primato nomine Vespasianum salutauerat, & in praetura omnibus edictis sine honore ac mentione vlla transmiserat, non ante successit quam altercationibus insolentissimus penè in ordinem redactus. Hunc relegatum primo, deinde interfici iussum, missis qui percussores reuocarent, seruasset, nisi iam periisse falsò nuntiatum esset. Probus. *Elianus Priscum post damnationem soceri Pœti Thraseæ, interdicta sibi Italia, Apolloniam concessit, sed post interfectum Neronem restitutus à Galba, non aliter quam libero ciuitatis statu exit.* See Arrian also *libro primo, cap. secundo differt. Epictet.*

+ P. Celer] Publius Egnatius Celer a chiefe witnesse produced against Barea Soranus. Tac. 16. Ann. *Cliens hic* (speaking of Egnatius) *Soram, & tunc emptus ad opprimendum amicum auctoritatem Stoicæ sectæ præferebat, habitu & ore ad exprimendam imaginem honesti & exercitii, cæterum animo perfidiosus & subdolus, auaritiam ac libidinem occultans, quæ postquam pecunia recluſa sunt, dedit exemplum præcauendi, quomodo fraudibus innolutos, aut flagitijs commaculatos, sic specie bonarum artium falsis, & amicitiæ fallaces.* Iuuenalis.

Stoicus occidit Baream delator amicum,
Discipulumque senex -- The Scholiast vpon Iuuenal toucheth another particularitie. *Egnatius philosophus filiam Bareæ Sorani, cum ipsius ad magicam descendisset hortatu, Neronem duxit.*

V. *The entrie of Mutianus into the citie, and his actions there.*

THINGS being in this state, the Senators iarring one with another, the conquered part being full of malice, the conquerors wanting authoritie, no lawes regarded, no Prince present to gouerne the state, Mutianus made [a] his entrie into the citie, and with a maine course drew the whole manage of affaires into his owne hands. Antonius Primus, and Varus were soone out of credit, when it was perceiued, that Mutianus loued them not, although in countenance he pretended otherwise: but the citizens hauing a quicke eie to see into secret dislikes, espying the truth, turned themselues quickly about, and went to Mutianus: he alone was courted, and followed of all. Neither was he, for his part, negligent in vsing all meanes to retaine his souerainty, being continually guarded with souldiers, and for his pleasure changing of houses and gardens; in his prouision, his gate, his traine, and warders, keeping the state of a prince, although he forbare the title and name. And first he commanded Calpurnius Galerianus to be slaine, which strooke an exceeding great terrour into mens hearts. Hee was sonne to Caius Piso, and had not entred into any attempt, but being of a noble house, and a comely young man, hee was greatly talked of by the common people: and as in a citie vnsetled, and among a people gladly imbracing new tales, some there were, which vainly named him to the princes place. Wherefore, at the commandement of Mutianus, hee was committed to a gard of souldiers: and lest his death in the face of the citie should haue beene more offensiue, forty miles off, in the Appian way hee was put to death, by letting the bloud out of his veines. Iulius Priscus, who had beene captaine of the garde vnder Vitellius, killed himselfe, rather for shame, then vpon necessity. His fellow Alphenus Varus ouerliued his honour, and sawe himselfe counted a cowarde, and a person infamed. Asiaticus, for his lewde credit vnder his master, made satisfaction now as a freed-man with a seruile death.

cap. 11.

[a] *Iosephus dicit. 4. cap. 42.* maketh *Mutianus* entry on the very next day to *Antonius*, which is contrary to the circumstances in *Tacitus*, yet entring before the beginning of Ianuary he was not many daies behinde and *Tacitus, paucos post dies.*

VI. *The rebellion of the Batauians and Caninefates through the instigation of Iulius Ciuilis.*

AT the same time the newes of the ouerthrowe in Germanie was rife in the citty, and the citty nothing troubled thereat (Euery man talked how the armies were slaine, the standing campes of the Legions taken by the enemy, how France had reuolted,) as if it had been newes of a strange countrey, not a calamity that touched themselues. That [a] warre, vpon what causes it arose, and with how great banding it was maintained, both of our allies, & of forraine nations, I wil now declare from the beginning. The Batauians, whilest they dwelt beyond the

cap. 12.

[a] This warre is shortly set downe by *Iosephus dicto. 7. cap. 11.* and touched by *Frontinus Strateg. 4. cap.* and *Sabellicus rien. in polyerastico.*

Rhene, were a part and member of the Catti; and being throwen out by ciuill sedition, they seated themselues in the vttermost limits of France, which then lay voide of inhabitants, and tooke in with the iland that is situate in the flattes, and hath the Ocean before, behinde and on either side the riuer of Rhene. And albeit they were confederate with the Romans much mightier then themselues, yet were they not, as it happeneth in such ouermatches, spoiled of their riches and wealth, but only bounde to minister men and armour to the behoofe of the Empire, and so for a long time they were employed in the German wars. Afterward they became more famous by reason of certaine cohorts of them sent ouer into Britannie by the Romans, vnder the leading of certaine noblemen of their owne nation, according to their ancient order: and beside, there remained behinde in the cuntrey a company of chosen horsemen practised especially in swimming, so that they would in whole troupes passe ouer the Rhene in harnesse, and gouerning their horse in their handes. The principall men among them, and farre excelling all other, by reason of their royall parentage, were Iulius Paulus, and [b] Claudius Ciuilis, whereof Paulus was lately put to death by Fonteius Capito vnder colour of a fasly surmised rebellion: Ciuilis was sent in chaines vnto Nero, and acquitted by Galba, and againe vnder Vitellius [c] escaped narrowly, the armie instantly demanding his death. Vpon these causes his anger was founded, and vpon our troubles his hope. But being of a crafty and suttle wit, aboue the ordinary of those barbarous people, and carying himselfe rather like a Sertorius, or an Hanniball (as indeed in the maime of his face he was not vnlike) fearing lest if he should make open defection, our armies would aduance themselues against him as an enemie, he couered his dealing with loue to Vespasian, and fauour toward the side. And in truth [d] Antonius Primus had sent certaine letters vnto him, wherein he willed him to diuert away the aides [e] sent for by Vitellius, and vnder shew of trouble in Germany to stay the Legions there. The same aduise also Hordeonius Flaccus had giuen him by worde of mouth, partly vpon good will to Vespasian, and partly vpon a care of the state, which seemed to be in euident perill of vtter destruction, if a new warre should begin, and so many thousands of armed men passe into Italy. Thus Ciuilis being resolued to breake, and yet concealing his purpose, as meaning to gouerne himselfe in the action by the euent, began after this maner to worke innouation. At the commandement of Vitellius, the able men of the Batauians were summoned to be pressed to the warre: which being of it selfe a burdensome thing, was made much more insupportable, by the auarice and lewd disposition of the officers, who billed chiefly such as were old or impotent persons, and then for money released them: againe such as were vnder age, and faire (as many of their youths are of a comly tal stature) them they caried away to abuse their bodies. At these dealings the cuntrey being highly offended, certaine factious heads were suborned, to perswade them to refuse to be pressed. Wherupon Ciuilis assembling into a sacred wood vnder pretence of a banquet the nobility of the nation, and the chiefe of the communalty, when he saw them, at farre in the night, merrie, and warmed with wine, he beginneth a solemne oration, recounting first the praises, and glorious acts of the nation, and then discourseth vnto them of the iniuries, insolencies, and other miseries whereunto they are subiect, that are subiect vnto a strange nation: for that now they were not with the Romans in state of friends and alleies, as in former times, but flat seruants and slaues; and that not vnder a Lieutenant general, which were more tolerable, albeit they come with a chargable traine, and a proud and disdainfull kind of commanding: but they were deliuered into the hands of pettie captaines, and Centurions, whom when they had filled with

cap. 13.

[b] *Tacitus* himselfe, 1. *Hist.* Πρὸς τῷ, *Frontinus* and *Sarisburiensis* call him *Iulius Ciuilis*. but howsoeuer their names were, it seemes by *Tacitus* that *Paulus* and *Ciuilis* were brethren.

[c] 1. *Hist.*

[d] By this circumstance wee may gather, that the German rebellion began about the beginning of winter, for *Tacitus* in noting both places and times, is in my sense too negligent.

cap. 14. [e] *Tac.* 2. *Hist.*

with ſpoiles and bloud, then were they remooued, and ſtraight waies freſh hungry maſters ſet ouer them, and new deuiſes of polling inuented. that now the day of the muſter approched, when children ſhould be drawne from their parents, brethren from brethren, neuer to ſee one another againe: and that, which might the rather encourage them, the Romans were neuer in ſo poore a caſe, hauing nothing in their ſtanding campes, but a rich ſpoile, and old men to garde it: wherefore they ſhould onely lift vp their eies, and not be afraide [i] at the naked and bare names of Legions. that they had ſtrength of their owne, both of footemen and horſe, the Germans were allied vnto them in bloud, the French likewiſe affected: that euen the Romans themſelues would not greatly miſlike of this warre, the loſſes whereof, if any were, they might impute to Veſpaſian, and if they went through and conquered, they ſhould not be called to their account. Hauing ended his ſpeech with great approbation of the audience, he bound them with barbarous ceremonies and adiurations vſed by them in like caſes, in a firme aſſociation togither. Straightwaies meſſengers were diſpatched to the Caninefates, to induce them alſo into the league. The Caninefates inhabite a part of the Iland, of the ſame language and race, in valour equall to the Batauians, but inferiour in number. Then Ciuilis ſent ſecret meſſages to ſolicite the [f] Batauian cohorts, which had ſerued as aydes in Britannie, ſent into Germanie as before [g] we haue ſhewed, and at that time remaining at Magontiacum. Among the Caninefates there was one Brinio, a wilde and foolehardy braine, howbeit of a high and noble ſtocke, whoſe father, hauing ſundry time inuaded our borders, and done many actes of hoſtility, boldly contemned thoſe mocke-expeditions of Caius the Emperour: wherefore being deſcended of ſo rebellious a kindred, in that reſpect they liked him beſt of all others. And thereupon ſetting him, after their countrey manner, on a target, and bearing him rounde about on their ſhoulders, they elected him Generall: and he foorthwith aſſociating vnto him the [h] Friſians, a nation beyond the Rhene, inuaded the ſtanding campe of [i] two cohorts adioyning to the Ocean. The Roman ſouldiers, neither foreſawe this ſodaine inuaſion of the enimie, neither, if they had, were of ſufficient force to repell it: ſo the campe was taken and ſpoiled, and the vittailers and marchants, wandering ſecurely abroad as in peace, cut off. Then they drew foorth, to make their approches to the caſtles, and holdes, which by the captaines of the cohorts were ſet on fire, becauſe they were not defenſible: the enſignes, and bandes, and ſuch ſouldiers as were left, gathered themſelues, vnder the leading of Aquilius a chiefe Centurion, [k] into the higher part of the Iland, compoſing an armie, rather in name then in power: for Vitellius at his departing drew away the chiefe ſtrength of the cohorts, and for ſupply tooke out of the neereſt villages, of the Neruians and Germans, a rawe companie, whom he had loaded with armour. Ciuilis, ſuppoſing it ſureſt to worke by fraud and deceite, blamed the captaines, for that they had forſaken their caſtles; aſſuring that he alone, with the cohort vnder his charge, would eaſilie repreſſe the tumult of the Caninefates: and therefore willed them to returne euery man to his own place. It was perceiued, that his counſaile proceeded not of good meaning, but tended onely to this end, that the cohort being ſeuered might be ouerthrowen with greater facilitie: and by many apparent arguments, and ſpeeches of the Germans themſelues, a nation ioyfull of warre, and not concealing long their owne ioy, it was diſcouered daily more and more, that Ciuilis, not Brinio, was the head and contriuer of this conſpiracie. Wherefore, ſeeing his ſecret plots tooke none effect, he fell to plaine force, and caſt his power conſiſting of Caninefates, Friſians, and Batauians into three pointed battels, ech nation by themſelues. The Romans oppoſed their forces

cap. 15.

[f] Whereof mention is made 1. *Hiſt.* 2 *Hiſt.* & 3. *Hiſt.*

[g] *Tacit. de mor. German.*

[i] For within the Iland no Legion was encamped, but only ſome cohorts.

[k] Neeret to *Vitera*, where two Legions lay, *quinta & quintadecima.*

cap. 16.

forces against him, not farre from the riuer of Rhene, directing also their shippes, which after the burning of the castles, they brought to that place, against the enimie. After a little skirmishing, a cohort of the Tungrians fled to Ciuilis: whereupon our souldiers, discomforted with the sodaine treason, were on all sides beaten downe, both by their false fellowes, and enimies: the like perfidiousnesse was also on the water. A great part of the rowers (being Batauians borne) faining vnskill in handliug their oare, hindred both the mariners, and souldiers in doing their dutie: anon without dissimulation they wrought directly against them, and forced the ships to the enimies side, killing the Masters and Centurions, that woulde not condescend to their treason. And so the whole fleete, of fower and twentie barkes, either fled to the enimie, or was taken by force. This victory both presently wanne great reputation, and afterward stoode in great steade: for they got both armour and ships, which before they wanted; and throughout France and Germanie, they were highly renowned as the authors of libertie. The Germans by and by sent Embassadours offering them aide: and Ciuilis, by policie and gifts, endeuoured to win the harts of the French, sending the captaines, whom he had taken, gently home, and giuing the cohorts free choice, either to abide with him, or at their pleasure to returne to their cuntrey: if they would tarrie, he offred them honorable reward for their seruice; if otherwise, at their departure he bestowed vpon them the spoiles of the Romans, withall admonishing them in secret of their calamities sustained so many yeeres, and of their miserable thraldome falsely intitled a peace; shewing them how the Batauians, though not charged with tributes, as they, had notwithstanding taken armes against them, which tyrannized ouer them both. that the Romans, at the first encounter, were put to the flight by them, and discomfited: what were then to be hoped, if all France shoulde ioyne to shake off the yoke? Italie was disarmed, and could of it selfe, neither conquere nor keepe; but with the prouinces bloud were the prouinces won. that they should not be discouraged with the remembrance of Vindex misfortune: for the Batauian horse were the men, which defeated him and his armie; And among the Aides of Verginius there were beside some French out of Belgica, and in true account France was ruined by her owne forces. But now if it pleased them to ioine with him in this action, they both should make but one partie: beside that they had seene and learned the best of the Romans militare discipline: moreouer those old experienced Batauian cohorts, before whom Othoes Legions could not stand, no doubt would goe with him. let Syria, and Asia, and the East, vsed to serue kings, be slaues if they list; in France many men were yet alitie borne before tributes [1] began: neither could it be denied, that Germanie of late, by the ouerthrow and death of Quintilius Varus, had giuen a checke to the Romish vsurpers, banished seruitude, and prouoked to the field, not a Vitellius, but a Cæsar Augustus. that libertie was granted by nature to dumbe beasts also, but vertue and valour were peculiar ornaments of mankind, and to the valiant alone the gods gaue their assistance. Wherefore, since they were at good leisure, and fresh, he willed them to set couragiously vpon their busily occupied and tired enemies: whiles some leaned to Vespasian, some clane to Vitellius, vndoubtedly harme might be wrought against both. Thus Ciuilis, laying the plot for France and Germany, aspired, if his purpose tooke effect, to the monarchy of those most mightie, and most wealthie countries.

cap. 17.

cap. 18.

[1] And Tributs began almost fiue foure yeeres before the many in France belike were long liued.

[1] At the naked and bare names of Legions] At this time were six vnperfect Legions, or rather names of Legions, as he termeth them heere: in high Germanie, at Magontiacum, two, quarta Macedonica & octauadecima aliàs duoetvicesima, beside eight Batauian cohorts. In lower Germany, at Bonna, *prima legio*: beneath it at Nouesium

ſium *ſextadecimæ*; and loweſt of all, at Vetera *quintæ & quintadecimæ*, both vnder Mummius Lupercus. The two laſt were in this warre vtterly deſtroyed, and their campe razed. Tac. *Sextadecimæ & primæ*, after Hordeonius death yeelded themſelues to the enimy, and were by the enimies appointment remoued to Treues, then of their owne accord they went to the Mediomatrici, and from thence were ſent for Cerealis and receiued into grace. The two Legions alſo at Magontiacum yeelded themſelues to the enimy at the ſame time, & were not remoued from their campe, who vpon Cerealis comming returned againe to the Romans, Tacit. The eight Batauian cohorts reuolted at the firſt beginning of the warre to Ciuilis. Now in ſupply of theſe to reuolting, yeelding themſelues, and being ſent, here were aſſigned vnder the leading of Petilius Cerealis ſeuen Legions, ſaith Tacitus, to wit *ſexta Victrix*, which came with Muſianus out of Syria, and *Octana Auguſta*, one of the Moeſian Legions (for ſo it ſhould be read, not *Octana decima*, there being none of that name *inter victrices*) *vnaet vicesima Rapax* & *ſecunda*, ſurnamed as I thinke *Flauia, è recens conſcripta*: *quartadecima Gemina* out of Britanny: *ſexta Ferrata*, & *decima Gemina* out of Spaine. For whereas the common copies of Tacitus haue *tertia ac prima ex Hiſpania* &c. there was no *tertia* in Spaine, and that the Spaniſh *ſexta* was in this action, we finde expreſly ſet downe *lib. 4. Hiſt.* True it is, that a *prima* ſurnamed Adiutrix was in Spaine: but ſeeing we finde *lib. 5.* twiſe mention of *decima*, a Spaniſh Legion, we muſt ſay, that either all Legions of Spaine were called away, againſt probabilitie, or elſe that *prima*, ſhould be read *decima*. So that following theſe corrections, in the latter end of this warre againſt the Germans and French, we haue not at one time eleuen Legions employed by the Romans.

Superioris Germaniæ
- *Quarta Macedonica.*
- *Octaua decima alias Duodetricesima: Didius Fecula legatus.*

Inferioris Germaniæ
- *Prima: Herennius Gallus Legatus.*
- *Sextadecima: Numiſius Ruſus legatus*, as I thinke.

* Quere, whether there were not two Legions, at leaſt in the firſt warre, ſent and remoued, and perad-uenture Vitellius had taken one away but newly, ſeeing Didius & alſo although Legion but only Legates of the ſame, the reſt remoued no doubt but to charge.

Sexta Victrix, è Syriaca.
Octaua Auguſta, è Mœſica.
Vnaetvicesima Rapax, è Vitelliana.
Secunda Flauia, è recens conſcripta.
Quartadecima Gemina, è Britannica.

Sexta Ferrata } *ex Hiſpaniis.*
Decima Gemina }

VII. *Hordeonius Flaccus, Lieutenant generall of both Germanies, lying at Magontiacum, commaundeth Mummius Lupercus, who with two Legions the firſt and fifteenth lodged at Vetera, to goo foorth againſt Ciuilis and the Batauians: but the Romans loſt the battell and fled backe to Vetera their ſtanding campe.*

BVT Hordeonius Flaccus, who at the firſt by conuenience nouriſhed Ciuilis attempts, now receiuing fearefull aduertiſements, that the * campes were ſurprized, the cohorts defeated and ſlaine, not one Roman left in the whole Batauian Iland, commanded Mummius Lupercus the Lieutenant, who gouerned the ſtanding campe of two Legions, to go foorth againſt the enemie. Lupercus taking the Legionaries about him, and the Vbians at hand, with certaine horſemen of the Treueri not far off, led them out in haſte, taking alſo with him a wing of Batauians which being long ſince ſecretly corrupted, notwithſtanding made ſhew of fidelitie; to the end that in the very inſtant of ioyning, betraying the Roman, they might ſlip away with more dammage to the one, and better welcome to the other. Ciuilis placed round about him the enſeignes of the late taken cohorts, that his ſouldiers might be encouraged in beholding the monument of their late glorie, and the enemy diſmayed with the memory of their ouerthrowe. Moreouer he cauſed his mother, and ſiſters, togither with the wiues & young children of all his ſouldiers, to ſtand at their backes for an encouragement to the victory, or a ſhame if they happened to flee. In the ioyning of the two armie, the ſinging of their men, and how-

* *Caſtra, ſ. ex-tenta.*

ling

ling of their women, farre exceeded and drowned the feeble showte of our Legions and cohorts; and the Batauian wing fleeing to the enemie, and straightway turning vpon vs, bared the left flancke of our battell: notwithstanding the Legionary souldiers, as in a case of such danger, yet retayned their weapons in their hands, and themselues in array. The Aydes of the Vbians and Treueri ran most shamefully away, and brake euery where, which chase the Germains pursued and gaue by that meanes leysure to our Legions to retire themselues into their campe called Vetera. Claudius Labeo captaine of the Batauian wing, who had followed at home a contrary faction to Ciuilis, lest that either his death should offend the countrey, or his presence minister cause of dissention, was quietly sent out of the way into Frisia.

[1] Mummius Lupercus]. Behke Vitellius left the Legions onely bare of men, and as it were halfe Legions (for in these two Legions were not aboue fiue thousand men) but dismissed of captaines also, leauing here but one Lieutenant ouer two Legions, and yet as though he had forgotten himselfe, we find another *vterque ex nostris*, to wit Numisius [1] Rufus. Of whose comming into Vetera as we find no reason, so we find him in another place out of Vetera with lesse reason. If he were there from the beginning, why doth Tacitus tell vs heere, that Lupercus alone *duarum Legionum hibernis praerat*? if not, how and when came he? and specially how and when went he out? But in the setting downe of this German warre there are in my opinion many little imperfections and negligences, whereof part we will touch, as occasion shall serue, but most of them we haue supplied and explaned in the contents of the chapters, and by inserting sometimes a word or two in the text, as by comparing the books it will appeare.

[1] Legati legionũ Mummius Lupercus & Numisius Rufus vallum munitq; firmabant.

VIII. *The eight Batauian cohorts, which had serued the Romans so long in Britannie, against Otho, and elsewhere, sollicited by Ciuilis forsake Magontiacum, make their way at Bonna by the sworde, and so ioine to Ciuilis.*

cap. 19

IN the meane season the messenger sent by Ciuilis to Magontiacum, to sollicite the cohorts of the Batauians and Caninefates, came thither, and found them in readinesse, by Vitellius commaundement, to march toward Rome. Vpon that message receiued, foorthwith they waxed prowd, and intolerable, crying out (or els refusing to march) for their donatiue, for double wages, for an augmentation of the number of their horsemen, things indeed promised by Vitellius, but demanded by them, not in hope to obtaine, but to picke an occasion of mutinee: and Flaccus, yeelding to diuers of their demaunds, gained nought els, but that they more instantly craued those things which they knew he could not but denie. So setting Flaccus at naught they took vp their ensignes, and marched toward low Germany, to ioyne themselues with Ciuilis; Hordeonius calling the Tribunes and Centurions also to coucell, debated the matter, whether he should by maine strength seeke to inforce them which so contemptuously brake away: anon, partly of his owne cowardly nature, partly through the timorousnesse of the officers, who trusted neither the faith of their Aides, nor the force of their [4] Legions, being gathered in haste of men vnskilfull in seruice, he resolued to keepe his souldiers within the trenches, and let the Batauians passe. Afterward, repenting himselfe of that resolution, they also blaming it, which were chiefe Authours thereof, as if he ment to pursue them, he wrot to Herennius Gallus gouernor of Bonna, and Lieutenant of the first Legion which wintered there, that he should stop the Batauians from passage, promising that he with his whole power, would not faile to be on their backes. And so verily they might haue beene defeated and slaine, if Hordeonius of the one side, and Gallus of the other, had brought forwarde their power, and enclosed them in behind and before:

[4] At Magontiacum then with Hordeonius were abiding ouer Legionis quatuor & duodecimae & Batauorum cohortes.

fore: but Flaccus changed his purpose againe, and in other letters of later date willed Gallus, not to stay their passage. Whereupon suspicion arose, that the Lieutenants of set purpose stirred vp and fostered these warres; yea all the mischiefes, which either had chanced already, or were feared heerafter, were imputed, not to the cowardlinesse of the souldier, or strength of the enemie, but onely to the fraude and falsehoode of the Leaders. When the Batauians drew neare to the campe at Bonna, they sent before certaine messengers, to declare to Herennius Gallus the intention of the cohortes: that their meaning was not to make warre with the Romans, in whose behalfe they had so oft borne armes; but forasmuch as they were wearied with a long and fruitlesse seruice, their desire was, quietly to liue at home in their countrey. And therefore if no man made opposition, their passage should be harmelesse: but if any hostilitie were offred, they would make their way with the sword. Whilest the Lieutenant stoode deuided in minde what to doe, his souldiers vged him to put it to the fortune of a field. There were in his campe three thousand [b] Legionary souldiers, and certaine tumultuary cohorts of Belgians, and withall a number of pezants, and followers of the campe, braue men before the danger approche, in the danger but cowards. Out they issue at all the gates of the campe to enclose the Batauians, whom they knew to be farre inferiour in number. The Batauians mindfull of their olde order in seruice, set themselues in array in pointed battels standing on euery side close together, and hauing their front, their flancks, and their backe surely garded, & so with great facilitie brake thorow our thin companies. The Belgians first gaue grounde, and then our Legionaries were beaten backe, and ran for feare toward the trenches, and gates of the campe, There the most slaughter was committed: the fosses we filled vp with dead bodies, and many died in the throng, by tumbling one ouer another, and running vpon their own weapons, as well as slaine by the enemy. After this victorie the Batauians went forward, leauing Coleyn of the right hand, & attempted no act of hostilitie in the rest of their iourney, but excusing the battaile at Bonna as a thing done by constraint, and for their owne safety, when as they intreated for peace and it would not bee granted.

cap. 20.

[b] Whereas the full and iust number of a Legion should be 6000. it was 5000. at the least.

[a] The cohorts of the Batauians and Caninefates] These are the *octo cohortes Batauorum quartadecimæ legionis auxilia*, so oft mentioned in the first and second of the History, & now remaining at Magontiacum, whither Ciuilis sent secret messengers to sollicite them to the party, as it appeareth in this booke. And albeit in none of the places before remembred there is any mention of Caninefates, yet by this place it is to be intended, that those eight cohorts consisted of both people, onely the Batauians caried the name, as being the greater and more knowen people; and to say truth Caninefates were but a kinde of Batauians, dwelling in the Batauian Ilande, vsing the same speech and descended of the same race, as Tacitus sayeth a little before: and therefore, as I thinke, in his booke *de moribus Germanorum*, he nameth onely the Batauie, either because the other were intended also by that name, or because they were not greatly worth naming.

IX. *Ciuilis colourably sweareth his men to Vespasian: then with his Batauians, and the assistance of certaine Germane nations, he besiegeth Vetera; giueth an assault, and is repulsed:*

CIVILIS, vpon the comming of those olde cohorts, had now vnder his conduict a full and complete armie: neuertheless wauering in minde, and standing irresolute, considering the puissance of the Roman Empire, he caused all his men to sweare to Vespasian, and sent forthwith Embassadours to the two Legions, which being defeated by him in the former battaile were fled to Vetera, requiring them also to take the like othe. Their answere was, they would not be aduised neither

cap. 21.

neither by Traitour, nor enemy; that Vitellius was their Prince, to whom alone they owed their faith, and should stand for him in armes, to their last breath: wherefore let not a fugitiue, and faithlesse Batauian cary himselfe as vmpier of the Roman affaires, but rather looke for condigne punishment for his desert. Ciuilis being greatly incensed with this answer, bringeth the whole Nation of the Batauians into the field. The Bructeri and Teucteri associats themselues, and messengers were sent into Germanie, who raised the whole Country, some to win honour, and some to gaine spoile. Against these great threatnings and bandings of so many enemies, Mummius Lupercus, and [a] Mumisius Rufus, Lietenants of the Legions, fortified their trenches and [b] wals, and razed the buildings, which in so long a peace were erected, not farre from the Campe, in manner of a towne, least they should be a harbour for the enemy. But through oversight they omitted to conuey the vittaile, and other prouision therein into the Campe, suffering it to be taken at discretion: and so in few daies that was riotously consumed, which by good order would haue relieued their needes a long time. Ciuilis led the middle battell himselfe, wherein was the flower and strength of Batauia: and on both sides of the Rhene, to the end the sight of his army might strike in the greater terrour, he caused the regiments of the Germans to march, the horsemen gallopping about the fields: and withall the ships were brought vp the streame. So on the one hand the ensignes of the old cohorts, on the other the pictures and images of the wild beasts taken out of their woods and consecrated groues, according as every Nation vseth to beare in the field, amazed our men, and terrified them doubly, with the shew both of an externall, and civill warre. Moreouer the great compasse of the trench made the attempt of the besiegers more feasable and increased their hope, For whereas it was made to containe two Legions, at that present it had scarse fiue thousand armed men to defend it, beside the followers of the campe, which vpon the breaking vp of the peace gathered thither and there remained doing them some seruice in the war. A part of the camp was situate vpon the pendant of an easie hill, and part stood vpon the plaine grounde. That standing campe Augustus setled there, supposing it sufficient to watch ouer, and as it were, to besiege the countreyes of Germany, neuer imagining that the world could go far otherwise, as that they should presume to begin and assaile our Legions whereupon the lesse cost was bestowed, either to helpe the site of the place, or the strength of the bulwarks: men and armour alone were thought a sufficient defence. Now to the ende, that being seuered in place, the prowesse of ech nation might more distinctly appeare, and be seene, the Batauians, & the Germans which dwelt beyond the Rhene; tooke standing ech by themselues & began to dart at our men a farre off: But when as they saw most of their weapons sticking in vaine in the turrets, and pinnacles of the wals, and many of themselues wounded with stones throwen from aboue on their heads, leauing that kind of oppugnation, they suddenly with great forces and outcry assaied to scale the trenches, the most part by setting vp ladders, others climing ouer the heads of their fellowes vpon a target fence. And as some were now clamering vp, they were beaten downe headlong with swords and push of pike, and so with clubs, and darts ouerwhelmed, being men otherwise hoat in the beginning, and too too couragious when fortune fauoureth, but then for desire of prey they tolerated all hardnesse also; yea and that which with them is vnusuall, they endeuoured to prooue with engins, whereof they had of themselues neither experience nor skill, onely some fugitiues and captiues taught them to frame timber * in ' maner of a bridge, and to driue it forward on wheeles, whereon certaine standing aboue might skirmish with them on the wals,

cap. 22.

[a] μυμμιον τον ε-ουστικον for Lupercum alone duarum legionum præerat & that Mussium was not in Petera, but rather was Lieutenant of the sixteenth Legion whose standing campe was at Noueliun: it may be gathered elsewhere by Tacitus.

[b] For the Hiberna, or standing cameses of the Legions, were in these last times walled as townes

c To wit, the Batauians.

cap. 23.

wals, as it were from a mount, and others within secretly vndermine the foundations. But the defendants, with great stones shot out of * engines, battered downe their rude and ill framed worke. And when as prouision was made of * hurdles, and planckes to couer them in giuing the assaulr, our men shot burning speares, and fired the workes; assayling with fire euen their assaylers; who despayring at length to effectuate any thing by force, deliberated to lay a lingring siege thereunto, knowing that they had but few daies vittaile within, and many vnprofitable mouthes to consume it, and hoping withall, that of want of foode treason would ensue: that the faith of bondmen alwaies fickle would now be fleeting, beside the casualties, which vsually happen in warre.

* Ballista.
* Crates & vinea.

[1] In maner of a bridge] Vegetius, *lib.* [2] 4. in the description of Turris ambulatoria maketh mention of Pons [2] *cap.* 17. *in hæc verba. Turres sunt machinamenta ad ædificiorum speciem ex trabibus tabulisque compacta, tanta proceritate, vt non solùm muros, sed etiam turres altitudine superent. his plures rotæ mechanica arte subduntur, quarum lapsu in quamlibet partem ampla mouetur. In inferioribus habet arietem, cuius impetu destruit muros. circa mediam partem accipit pontem sæpè dum de duabus trabibus, quem subito prolatum inter turrim murumque constituunt, & per eum egredientes de machina milites occupant muros & in ciuitatem transeunt. In superioribus partibus contati & sagittarij collocantur, qui propugnatores depellant, &c.* In this place Tacitus seemeth to take Pons for the whole engine of Turris ambulatoria, and not onely that speciall part which Vegetius calleth by that name.

X. *Hordeonius dispatching Vocula before remooueth from Magantiacum with his power to Bonna: and thence to Coleyn. where he resigneth the execution of his charge to Vocula; following notwithstanding the armie from thence to Nouesium, where, as it seemeth, he staied till his death. At Nouesium Gallus is ioyned in commission with Vocula: and so they remooued forward to Gelduba. where being encamped, Vocula wasteth the Gugerni, and Gallus is beaten by the Germans.*

IN [1] the meane time Flaccus, hauing vnderstood of the siege of Vetera, and sent into France to leuy aides, selected out of his Legions a company of chosen men, and committed them to the leading of Dillius Vocula, Lieutenant of the eighteenth Legion, willing him to hasten, and make all possible speede along the banck of the riuer; himselfe followed slowly, and drooping for feare, being mortally hated of his souldiers. For they openly charged him, that he had suffred wilfully to scape from Magontiacum the cohortes of the Batauians, or rather purposely sent them away: that Ciuilis rebellious attempts were by his conniuence fostered, and by his meane the Germans called to the party. that neither Antonius Primus, nor Mutianus, had so strengthened Vespasians side, as Flaccus by this kinde of dissembling dealing: for open enemies and armes might openly and with armes be repelled, but fraude and deceite were matters hardly espied, and therefore could not be auoided. that Ciuilis stoode in the fielde embattelled against them, but Hordeonius out of his bed chamber gaue order, and directed as was most for the enemies behoofe: and why then should so many armed companies of valiant souldiers bee gouerned by a sicke and silly old man? nay why should they not rather dispatch such a traitour, and free their fortune and vertue from the ill chance of so vnluckie a leader? As they were in these speeches one with another, letters came from Vespasian which incensed them more, the which Flaccus, because he could not conceal, caused openly to be read before the assemblie, and sent the bringers thereof bound to

[1] *cap.* 24.

cap. 25

Vitellius. By this meanes the souldiers mindes were somewhat appeased: and so they came to Bonna the standing campe of the first Legion: the souldiers whereof were more displeased with Flaccus than the other; laying the fault of their late ouerthrowe wholly vpon him: auerring that they at his commaundement marched forth against the Batauians, assuring themselues, vpon his promise, that his Legions from Magontiacum should assaile them behinde; and so no supply comming from thence they lost their liues through his treason: that these matters had neuer beene notified to the rest of the armie, nor to the Prince, or else by the helpe and assistance of so many countreyes this sodain rebellion might haue beene quenched in the beginning. Whereupon Hordeonius caused the copies of all the letters, which hee had sent into France, Britanny and Spaine, requesting their helpe, to be read to the armie, and began a very ill example, that all letters sent from abroade should be deliuered to the standerd-bearers of the Legions, who red them to the souldiers, before they came to the Generals hand. Then he commaunded one of the most factious to bee apprehended and bound, rather to put his right in vre, then because the fault was but of one man alone; & so he [a] remooued with his army from Bonna to Coleyn, where many Aides resorted vnto him of the French nation, which at the first with all their power assisted the Romans, till afterwards seeing the Germans preuaile, many of them tooke armes against vs in hope of freedome, and that point attained, for desire of soueraintie. But the wrath of the Legions still increased, neither could one souldiers imprisonment terrifie them: nay euen the party imprisoned impeached the Generall of treason; alleaging that he had been messenger between Ciuilis & him, and therefore a colour was sought to make him away, least he should declare and testifie the truth. Then Vocula, with maruellous stoutnesse ascending into the Tribunall, commanded the souldier, as he exclamed and cried, to be apprehended, and caried away to execution: which thing so terrified the bad and seditious, that the sounder sort without impeachment fulfilled his commandement, and anon by common consent they demanded Vocula to be their Generall: which place Flaccus willingly resigned vnto him. But their minds were already mutinously affected, and many new occasions of more rage were presented; as want of pay, and prouision of corne; [b] France refusing to yeeld souldiers and tributes; the Rhene also by reason of drought vnusuall in that countrey hardly able to beare any vessell; scarcitie of vittailes; garrisons of men placed along the bancke to keepe the Germans from passing the riuer; and so lesse corne, and more men to consume it. Among the ignorant and simpler sort the loweneſse of the water was held for a prodigious matter, as if the riuers also, and the ancient defences of the Empire had now forsaken vs, and that which in peaceable times would haue beene counted chance, or proceeding of naturall causes, at that time was called a fatall matter, and Gods indignation and wrath. At Nouesium they assumed the sixteenth Legion; and Herennius Gallus Lieutenant of the first Legion was ioined with Vocula in part of the charge: yet durst they not go to finde the enemie, but encamped themselues at a place called Gelduba. There they trained, and practised their souldiers in ordering of battels, in fortifying, entrenching, and other militare exercises. And to the end that they might by booties and spoiles take courage and hart, Vocula led foorth part of his army into the countrey of the Gugerni adioyning, who had allied themselues with Ciuilis: part remained behinde with Herennius Gallus. And as by chance, not farre from the campe, a barge loaden with corne, was runne vpon a shelfe, the Germans espying it laboured to draw it to their side of the water; which Gallus would not endure, but sent a cohort to the reskew: the Germans also increa-

[a] Taking along with him the first Legion, or a great part thereof, as it doth appeare elsewhere.

[b] And yet not ten lines before he writeth, *affluente omnia auxilio Galliarum, quæ proximi Rheno manebant.*

cap. 26.

cap. 27.

sed

sed their number, and so by little and little, supply resorting on both sides, a battaile was fought: wherein the Germans, after the slaughter of many of our men, by force haled the boate away. Our souldiers, being thus put to the worse, according to their custome there, blamed not their owne cowardlinesse, but the treason of the Lieutenant, whom they drew out of his tent, tare his clothes, & bet his bodie, commanding him to tel vpon what price, and with what complices he had thus betraied the armie. But [c] Hordeonius was charged with the whole enuie of the fact; him they termed the contriuer of the mischiefe, Gallus only the instrument, til at length Gallus, being terrified with their threatnings of his destruction, to saue his owne life, was content to charge Hordeonius also with treason. Then was hee put in bands, and afterward, at the returne of Vocula loosed, who the next day following put to death the autors of the sturre. So strange diuersitie there was in that armie, both licentiously to commit all enormities, and patiently to abide all corrections. The common souldier was firme to Virellius; the principall men more enclined to Vespasian. Hence came it, that successiuely, and by course as it were, they offended, and suffered for their offences; that furie and rage were interlaced with obedience, and they easily punished, which could not be gouerned.

[c] Who, as it seemeth, stayed behind at Nouesium.

[1] In the meane time Flaccus] Hordeonius Flaccus remaining at [a] Mentz, where the standing campe was of quarta & octauadecima aliàs duodetuicesima, vnderstanding of the siege of Vetera, sendeth Didius Vocula Lieutenant of the octauadecima aliàs duodetuicesima before with the choise men picked out of the two Legions, whom Hordeonius, leauing sufficient power to garde the campe at Mentz, seemeth immediately to haue followed and ouertaken at Bonna, a towne likewise vpon the riuer, eleuen miles aboue Coleyn, and threescore aboue Vetera, according to Antonius in Itinerario, and Tac. 1. Ann. and so ioyntly to haue remoued to Coleyne: where at the instance of his mutinous army, and vpon infirmitie of body, he resigned his Generallshippe, at least the execution to Didius Vocula: and yet notwithstanding remooued with them to Nouesium, now called Nuiss, a towne sixteene miles below Coleyn, according to Antonius. At Nouesium Flaccus as it seemeth stayed, and there was, as appeareth anon, slaine by a mutinee of drunken souldiers. But Vocula with a great part of the armie marched further downe, and nearer to Vetera, encamping himselfe at Gelduba, a castell likewise vpon the Rhene, *vbi ciuium generosissimas præsidia*, saith Pliny. And thus much for the declaration of some circumstances, in my opinion, not so plainely and particularly set downe, as they ought, by our Autour.

[a] *Magontiacum.*

XI. *Ciuilis combineth himselfe with the Germans, wasteth the French side, vrgeth the siege of Vetera, and giueth diuerse assaults in vaine.*

CONTRARILY all the Germans extolled Ciuilis exceedingly, and combined themselues with him in league, yeelding of their nobleſt men for pledges. Whereupon he gaue commaundement to them which lay neereſt, to waste the Vbij and Treueri, and with another companie to passe the riuer of Mosa, and forrey the Menapij and Morini, and frontiers of France. In both places a spoile was made, and with greater rage amongst the [a] Vbij, because being originally descended from the Germans, renouncing their countrey, they called themselues Agrippinenses after a Roman denomination: whose cohorts through negligence and careleſnesse, as being farre from the bancke of the Rhene, were slaine in the village of Marcodurum. In reuenge whereof the Vbij fetched continuall booties out of Germanie; which they perfourmed at the first without losse, afterward they were ouertaken and slaine, in all that warre more faithfull to vs, then fortunate for themselues. The Vbij being thus beaten, Ciuilis growing more hard to be delt with, and hautilie minded, by reason of the prosperous successe of his actions earnestly vrged the siege of the Legions setting straite watch, least any secret messenger might happely enter in, to bring them word of the succour comming. The engins and making of the works he assigned to the Batauians, appointing the inhabitants be-

Cap. 28

[a] *Agrippina (vxor Claudij) quorum suarum sociis quod, nationibus ostentaret, in oppidum Vbiorum, in quo genita erat, veteranos coloniam, imò deduci imperat, cui nomen ex vocabulo ipsius. Tac. 12. Ann.*

yond the Rhene, who were desirous of battaile, to go and breake vp the trenches, and being beaten backe, eftsoones to giue a fresh assault, nor caring to leese many of those, whereof he had so many to spare. Neither did the night bring an end to their trauaile: but heaping vp woode round about and setting it on fire, they fell to feasting together, and as they were heated with wine, ran rashly and desperately to the assault: which attempt of theirs was altogether without effect. For their darts, as being throwen into the darke, fell voide without any doing of hurt. The Romans with great dexteritie leuelled at the Barbarians standing in the light, and especially at such as were boldest to presse forwarde, or glistered most in their furniture: which thing Ciuilis perceiuing commanded the fire to be put out, and to fight pell mell in the darke. Then there arose confused clamours, and noises, variable chances, and vncertaine aduentures: no foresight in striking or warding; on what side soeuer the cry arose, thither they would turne their bodies, and direct their arrowes: valour profited nothing, chance ruled all; and the most valiant men oftentimes were slaine by the most cowards. The Germans ranne with vnaduised rage: but the Roman souldiers acquainted with dangers, hurled their clubs headed with iron, and heauy stones, not at a venture: where they heard any labouring to break in, or setting vp ladders within their reach, they thrust them backe with the pikes of their bucklers, and followed them with darts, and many which had got on the wals they stabbed with daggers. The night being thus spent, the next day discouered a new kind of assault. The Batauians had builded & brought forward a tower "of two heights, which as it approched neere to the Prætorian gate (for that part of the campe was of easiest accesse) our souldiers brake it in peeces with mighty plankes runne against it, and logges cast vpon it, with great dammage and slaughter of them that stoode thereupon. At which accident the enemies being dismaied, our souldiers sodainly issued out, and cut off many of their men, with all the Legionarie souldiers, being expert and skilfull that way, deuised, many warlicke engins; but that which was the most dreadfull, was a *mooueable and wagging engin, in maner of a crane, which being sodainly let downe snatched vp one or more of the enemies, and hoised them aloft in the sight of the rest, and so the beame turning about let them fall into our campe. Ciuilis laying aside all hope of winning by force determined to change that course, and by tract of time to effect the same purpose, seeking in the meane season by messages and promises to corrupt the faith of the Legions.

" Or double boorded.

* Machinam & vectes machinamentum.

XII. *Montanus a Captaine of Vitellius side, and borne at Triers, bringeth word to Noniesium of the euent of the battell at Cremona: whereupon they there and the rest at Gelduba sware to Vespasian: and sent Montanus to declare the same to Ciuilis, willing him to desist from hostilitie: but contrarily Ciuilis wrought Montanus to his purpose, and layed the plot of the rebellion of France, which shortly after ensued.*

THis was the effect of that which passed in Germany before the [a] battell of Cremona: the euent whereof Antonius Primus signified by letters directed vnto them, sending withall [b] Cæcinaes edict: and [c] Alpinus Montanus Captain of one of the vanquished cohorts, by word of mouth, confessed the ouerthrow of the side. Hereupon ensued diuersitie of affections. The Auxiliarie souldiers of France, which serued without all partialitie, and neither hated nor loued the one faction nor the other, at the perswasions of their Captaines, were content foorthwith

[a] Which was fought about the latter end of October, as it is declared elsewhere. [b] Who as Consul published before some edict in fauour of the Flauian side. [c] Sent by the Flauians. 3. Hist.

with to forsake Vitellius: but the old souldier stucke at it, till vpon Hordeonius tendering, and the Tribunes vrging they tooke the oath; albeit neither in countenance, nor mind seeming to be fully resolued, but pronouncing roundly the rest of their oath, and at the name of Vespasian either stopping, or tripping it lightly ouer, or skipping it quite. Then were the letters of Antonius to Ciuilis read in open assembly, which raised many suspicions in the souldiers heads, because they seemed to be written as to one of the same faction, and spake hardly of the German armie. Anon word was caried to the campe at Gelduba, where the like was both spoken and done; And thereupon Montanus sent with charge to Ciuilis, to warne him to desist from making of warre; and that he should not cloke any longer open rebellion with the colour of following sides. if he sought to helpe Vespasian, his desire now was accomplished, and his purpose perfourmed: To these allegations Ciuilis replied, first in suttle and craftie tearmes: afterward perceiuig Montanus to bee of a hoat and fierce disposition, and ready to accept any new impression, he beginneth with a complaint of the manifold perils, which for twenty fiue yeares space he had endured in the Roman seruice: A woorthy, and iust reward (quoth he) haue I had of my trauailes, the death of my brother, mine owne imprisonment, and the bloudy words of this army, of whom being demanded to the slaughter, by the law of nations I do, and may iustly seeke my reuenge. But as for you [d] Treueri, & the rest of seruile soules, what reward expect you of your bloud so often shed for their sakes, but fruitlesse seruice, continuall Tributes, whips, gibbets, and slauerie vnder proud insolent masters? Behold I a Captaine of one cohort; and the Caninefates and Batauians, a small portion of [e] France, haue [f] destroyed and ouerthrowen those vast and vaine camps of theirs, and doe [g] besiege them with famine and sword, to conclude, if we venture, we shall either recouer our libertie, or if we leese, be in the same state we were in before. Ciuilis hauing thus incensed Montanus, dismissed him away, howbeit willed him to make a more fauourable report, who accordingly at his returne onely signified, that he had not sped in his embassage, dissembling the rest which straight after brake out.

cap. 32.

[d] For *Alpinus* was borne at *Triers* 3. *Hist.*
[e] *Tacitus* in some other places, seemeth to cõprize them vnder the name the *Germans.*
[f] Those in *Holland*
[g] Ment of *Vetera.*

XIII. *Vocula ouerthroweth two Captaines of Ciuilis, sent against him as he lay at Gelduba.*

CIVILIS retayning part of his host, sent the olde cohorts, and the forwardest of the Germans against Vocula and his armie, vnder the leading of Iulius Maximus, and Claudius Victor his sisters sonne. In the way they tooke vp and spoiled the standing campe of a wing sited at Asciburg, and so sodainly assaulted the enemies campe at Gelduba, that Vocula had no leysure to speake to the soldiers or to display the rankes. thus much onely as in a tumult, he warned to strengthen the middle battell with Legionary souldiers, and the Auxiliaries to cast themselues about on euery side. Then our horsemen brake foorth, and seeing the enemie in good order and array to receiue them, they turned their backes, and fled toward their footemen: whereupon a slaughter ensued and no fighting. The cohorts also of the Nemij through feare or falsehood fled, and barred the sides of our men & so way was made to our Legionary souldiers, who began now to be ouerthrowen within the trenches, and to lose their enseignes, when as sodainely with a new supplie the fortune of the battaile was changed. For certaine cohorts of Vascones leuied by Galba, and then [a] sent for, comming neare the campe, and hearing the noise as they fought, assailed the enemies backes being intentiue another way, & caused

cap. 33.

[a] From whence? *Nouesium, Bonna, Magontiacum*, or from what coast of the world?

a greater terrour then so small a number could otherwise haue done, had not the enemie beleeued, some of them, that the rest from Noueſium, and some, that the whole power from Magontiacum was come. That errour also increased the Romans courage: and whileſt they presumed vpon other mens strength they recouered their owne. The most valiant of the Batauian footmen were slaine, the horsemen escaped with the enseignes and captiues that were taken in the first conflict: on our side that day were slaine mo in number, but men of small seruice; the Germans
cap. 34 lost the very flower, and strength of their armie. Both the Generals by like default deserued the ouerthrow in reason alike: and winning were negligent both alike to follow their fortune. For if Ciuilis had furnished his side with greater forces, they could neuer haue beene by so few cohorts enclosed about: and the campe of the Romans being, as it was, by force broken vp, had doubtles beene vtterly razed. Vocula likewise lacking scowts abroad to signifie the enemies approch was sodainly surprised; and so in one moment went out to fight, and was ouercome: afterward winning more by lucke then desert, and not trusting his owne victory nor vsing the benefit thereof, he vainely trifled out many daies before he would march towarde the enemy; whom if he had presently followed and pursued the course of his victorie effectually, he might at that blowe haue raised the siege of the Legions at Vetera

XIIII. *Vocula putteth Ciuilis to flight, and entreth Vetera.*

CIVILIS in the meane time had assayed to induce the Legions to surrender, as though the Romans had beene quite ouerthrowen, and his men obtained an entier victorie. For proofe whereof he commanded the Roman enseignes, and banners to be caried about, & the prisoners produced in sight, whereof one ventured worthily, and declared aloude how the whole matter had passed, and was killed in the place by the Germans, which thing caused them within to beleeue his relation the better, and withall by wasting and burning of the villages they might discerne that their owne victorious armie was comming. When Vocula came neare vnto Vetera he commanded the enseignes to be pitched in the sight of the campe, and a ditch and trench to be cast round about: that laying aside their baggage and needleesse furniture in place of safetie, they might fight more lightly and lesse encombred. Whereupon the souldiers began to exclaime, crying to goe to the battaile, and now they were growen to that custome to threaten their Leader. So without taking so much time as onely to set the battaile in array, disordered, and tired, they began the fight; for Ciuilis was readie to present them the battaile, reposing no lesse affiance in the follies and faults of his enemies, then in the vertue and valour of his owne people. Of the Roman side the matter went doubtfull and hard, and the most mutinous prooued the most dastards: some there were which mindeful of the victory lately obtained kept their standing, galled the enemie, and animated themselues and their fellowes. The battaile being thus brought backe againe, which erewhile in a maner was lost, they held vp their hands to them in the campe, that they should not neglect to vse the opportunitie, who beholding al things from the wals issued forth at all the gate, and by chance Ciuilis being by the fall of his horse ouerthrowen, of both sides was thought to bee wounded or slaine; which greatly dismayed his men and caused them to breake, and contrarily put courage in
cap. 35 ours. But Vocula pursued not the chace, but entring Vetera onely augmented the rampiers, and towers of the campe, as against a newe siege, being had in a iealousie,

by

by this kinde of cold dealing, to desire the continuance of the warre: and not without cause, hauing so often marred the victorie for want of good following.

XV. *Vocula vittaileth Vetera, and returneth to Gelduba, and thence to Nouesium, vvhere Hordeonius in a mutinee is slaine. Vocula with his power goeth to relieue Magontiacum besieged by the Germans. The faithfulnesse of the Treueri to the Romans at the beginning of these troubles.*

NOTHING distressed our souldiers so much, as lacke of prouision and foode. Whereupon the cariages of the Legions, with a weake and vnseruiceable companie, were sent to Nouesium, that from thence by land they might furnish the armie with vittailes; for the enemies were masters of the riuer. The first conuoy passed peaceably without molestation, Ciuilis being not yet recouered of his hurt: but anon vnderstanding another company was sent to Nouesium, and certaine cohorts assigned to conduct them, marching as in time of great quiet carelessely, not keeping themselues to their ensignes, but casting their armour and weapons into the wagons, and rouing about licentiously, he sent before to take vp the bridges and straites, and then in good order charged vpon them. The * battaile was fought with troupes displaied out thinnely in length, and continued doubtfull, vntill the night tooke vp the quarrell. The cohorts proceeded forwarde to Gelduba, the campe standing there as it was, garded by the souldiers which Vocula had left. There was no question what perill there would be in the returne, the forragers being but fewe, and heauily loaden: whereupon Vocula determining to go out and relieue them, increased his armie with a thousand men chosen out of the two Legions, which were besieged at Vetera, the first and fifteenth, a stubborne and head strong souldier, and hating his captaines. More went then were commanded, at their going openly murmuring, that they would no longer endure famine, nor be obnoxious to the secret practises of the Lieutenants: but those which remained behinde complained, that they, by carying away so many men, were forsaken, and left as a pray to the enimie. Whereupon a double mutinee grew, the one part recalling Vocula seditiously, and the other in like sort refusing to returne againe to the campe. In the meane season Ciuilis besieged Vetera. Vocula marcheth to Gelduba, and leauing Gelduba (which Ciuilis straightway tooke vp) from thence to Nouesium, not farre from whence, shortly after, his horsemen skirmished with the enemie prosperously. But prosperitie and aduersitie inflamed alike the souldiers to seeke their captaines destruction: and the Legions being augmented, by that increase out of the fift and fifteenth Legion, more insolently required their donatiue, vnderstanding that money was sent from Vitellius. Whereupon Hordeonius, without further delay deuided the money amongst them in Vespasians name, which was the principall thing that ministred matter, and fed the mutinee which followed. For the souldiers, hauing idle spending money, gaue themselues to ryot and banquetting, and assemblies by night, and by that meanes renewed their former wrath and displeasure against Hordeonius, whom they haled out of his chamber and slew, none of the Lieutenants or Tribunes daring to gainsay, or withstand them being hardened, by reason of the night season, against all modestie and shame. The like was intended against Vocula, if he had not in a bondmans attire escaped vnknowen in the darke. Assoone as the heate of their furie was past they fell to consider the danger wherin they did stand, and sent by and by Centurions with letters to the cities of France,

* Pugnatum haud aspere.

cap. 36.

desiring

Cap. 37 desiring supply of money and men, themselues when Ciuilis approched, as the common sort without head is headlong, fearefull and sluggish, rashly tooke vp their weapons, and soone laying them downe ranne away. Aduersitie bred discord, those of the vpper armie dissioyning their cause from the others. Notwithstanding the images of Vitellius were set vp againe in the campe, and in the cities of Belgium adioyning, whenas Vitellius himselfe was now downe. Then the souldiers of the first Legion and the fourth and eighteenth vpon repentance came in, and submitted themselues vnto Vocula, at whose hands receiuing againe the oath to Vespasian, they were led foorth to raise the siege at Magontiacum. The army which besieged it (consisting of Catti, Vsipij and Matiaci) was alreadie departed away loaden with spoiles, and being by our men met with on the way scattered and at vnawares, was in part put to the sword. Moreouer the Treueri along their confines cast a trench with a *parapet, and with great slaughter on ech side skirmished against the Germans, vntill shortly after reuolting, by that odious fact, they defaced all their good seruice done heretofore to the Romans.

*Tericamen, a bulwarke.

XVI. *The disposition of the common people of the Citie, at the beginning of the yeare. The ordinarie Senate vpon the first day of Ianuarie. Mutianus supplanteth Antonius Primus.*

Cap. 38 The yeare of the citie 823. An. C. 818.

IN the meane season Vespasianus second time Consull and Titus in absence entered their office, the citie being in great anguish and diuersly perplexed, besides the miseries which presently they felt, vpon a false alarme of the reuolt of Africke, and the rebellion of Piso proconsull there, a man of milde and quiet disposition: but because through the tempestuousnes of the winter the ships came not home, the poore people which day by day were accustomed to buy bread, and cared for nothing els of common affaires but corne, feared that all the ships of that coast were purposely staied, and the corne detained, and fearing quickly beleeued it. In which imaginary conceit the Vitellianists also confirmed them, who had not as yet wholly left of their former affections and humours. Neither was the rumour displeasing vnto the winners, as hoping to make their profit thereby, whose insatiable lust and desires no forraine warre, much lesse any ciuill victorie could euer fill or content. The first of Ianuarie the Senate was assembled by Iulius Frontinus the [a] Citty-pretor, and solemne thankes with praise concluded vpon to the Lieutenants and armies, and kings which friended the cause. The Pretorship also was taken from Tertius Iulianus, because he had forsaken his Legion applying it selfe to Vespasians side, and bestowed vpon Plotius [b] Griphus. Hormus was made a Gentleman of Rome, and straightwaies Frontinus resigning Domitianus Cæsar tooke the place. In his name all letrers were written and edicts published, but the power and direction of affaires rested in Mutianus, saue that Domitian either pricked forward by his friends, or vpon his owne pleasure, & lust presumed to do many things of himselfe. But Mutianus principall feare was of Antonius Primus and Arius Varus, whom, beside that they were greately renowned for their late famous exploits, & in great credit with the souldiers the common people also loued wel because they had slaine none but in the field. Moreouer it was giuen out by some, that Antonius had solicited Scribonianus Crassus, a man of great honour, both in respect of his worthey ancestours, and of his late *brothers high place, to take vpon him the state, assuring him of a sufficient number of complices to vphold and maintaine it, had not

Cap. 39. [a] To whom it belonged in the absence of the Consuls, to assemble the Senate. [b] One of Mutianus Eunuchs. Tacit.

*Piso, whom Galba adopted.

Scribonianus

Scribonianus refuſed the offer: a man ſo greatly fearing vncertainties, that euen an aſſured certaintie could not eaſily haue ſturred him. Therefore Mutianus, becauſe Antonius openly could not be put downe, ſpent vpon him many good wordes, and great commendation in the Senate houſe, and ſecretly laded him with promiſes, putting him in hope of nearer Spaine, which by the departure of Cluuius Rufus lay voide, and beſtowed vpon his friends Tribuneſhips, Captainſhips liberally. And when Mutianus had filled with theſe windes of hope and deſire his emptie vainglorious minde, he proceeded ſuttelly to infringe his power, and vtterly put him out of his ſtrength, by diſmiſing vnto their wintering place the [c] ſeuenth Legion, which did moſt earneſtly affect Antonius. The third Legion alſo that depended vpon Arius Varus was ſent away backe into Syria: another [d] part of the army was caried into Germanie. So the cittie being diſburdened of thoſe which were prone to breed trouble, recouered her former eſtate, the lawes tooke their due courſe, and the magiſtrates reſumed their charge.

[c] *Septima Galbiana.*

[d] *Sixta & octaua de victricibus. Tac.*

XVII. *Certaine matters which paſſed in the Senate.*

THE day that Domitian, after his newe honour came into the Senate, he made a briefe and curteous ſpeech concerning his fathers, and brothers abſence, and of his owne greene yeeres and lacke of experience, with a comely grace and decent behauiour: his often bluſhing and being out of countenance, his qualities being not yet knowen abroad, was reputed modeſtie and baſhfulnes. When as he propoſed that Galba ſhould be reſtored to his honour and dignitie, Curtius Montanus was of opinion, that the memorie of Piſo ſhould be ſolemnized, the Senators allowed of both: howbeit concerning Piſo it tooke none effect. After this, certaine were alotted to ſee reſtitution made of thoſe things, which had beene by force taken away in the warre, and ſome others, to view and ſet vp the braſen tables of the lawes, which by [a] tract of time were decaied; & others to reforme & purge the publike records, & regiſters, which by flatterie of times were corrupted, & to moderate and ſtint the publicke expenſes. Tertius Iulianus was reſtored to his Pretorſhip, after it was knowen that he fled to Veſpaſian: notwithſtanding Griphus kept his roome too. Then the Senate awarded, that the cauſe betweene Muſonius Rufus, and publius Celer ſhould be reuiued and determined: and ſo Publius was condemned, and ſatisfaction made to the ſoule of Soranus. In this daies worke as the publicke ſeuerity of the Senate was notable, ſo priuately Muſonius wanted not his due commendation, for hauing iudicially proſecuted ſo iuſt a reuenge: as contrarilie [b] Demetrius the Cynicke was generally blamed, for that ambitiouſly, and without regard of his credit, he had lent his hand to protect a manifeſt offender: for Publius himſelfe had neither ſpirite nor tongue to pleade his owne cauſe. When the ſigne was giuen, and flagge of reuenge, as it were, ſet out againſt the accuſers, Iunius Mauricus requeſted Domitian, that it would pleaſe him to communicate a coppie to the Senate of the Princes recordes & papers, whereby they might be certified particularly, who had required to haue the accuſing of whom. Anſwere was made, that the Princes aduiſe was to be asked in a caſe of that waight: whereupon the Senate, the principall perſonages, beginning the example, conceiued a forme of oath, which all the magiſtrates ſware, contending who ſhould be foremoſt, and the reſt, as their voices were ſeuerally asked, ſolemnely proteſting, and calling the gods to witneſſe, that they had neuer attempted nor done any act againſt the life of anie, nor reaped commoditie or honour by the calamities of others, they which were

cap. 40.

[a] By the burning of the Capitoll melted ſaieth *Suetonius Veſpaſiano. c. 8.*

[b] *Annal. 16. Sueton. Veſpaſ. 13. Xiphil.*

cap. 41

guiltie

guiltie that way pronouncing it faintly, and mincing the oath, but diuerſly wreſting and changing the words. The Senatours allowed of them which ſware truely, and openly reproued the others periurie: which reproofe lay moſt heauily vpon Sarioienus Vocula, and Nonius Actianus, and Ceſtius Seuerus, perſons infamous for their often accuſings vnder Nero: and beſide, which aggrauated his caſe, Sarioienus had lately attempted the like with Vitellius: ſo that they bent their fiſts againſt him, and ceaſed not to offer violence, vntill he departed the houſe. From him they went to Pactius Africanus, ſeeking to throw him out likewiſe, becauſe he had giuen information againſt the Scribonian [c] brethren, renowned both for their wealth and mutuall agreeing together, and procured their deſtruction with Nero. Africanus neither durſt confeſſe the matter obiected, nor could well deny it: but turning himſelfe to Vibius Criſpus who preſſed him neereſt with his interrogatories, he on the otherſide challenged him of the like, ſeeking to ſhift off the odiouſneſſe of that, which he could not directly defend, by ioyning the plantiffe in the ſame crime. That day Viplanius Meſſalla wanne himſelfe great credit, both for eloquence and good nature, vndertaking, being vnder Senatours age, to make interceſſion for his brother [d] Aquilius Regulus. Regulus was extremly hated, becauſe he had wrought the ouerthrowe of the noble houſes of the Craſſi, and of Orphitus. he was at his owne ſuite appointed by the Senate to be their accuſer, and vndertooke that odious charge voluntarily being very yoong, & not, as ſome others, to auoid danger that in refuſing might grow to himſelfe, but in hope of riſing higher thereby. And Sulpitia Praetextata wife of Craſſus, with fower of his children preſented themſelues in a readineſſe to proſecute the matter, if it would pleaſe the Senate to take knowledge thereof. Meſſalla, neither iuſtifying the cauſe nor the man, but oppoſing himſelfe againſt the perils of his brother, had mooued ſome to compaſſion. Then Curtius Montanus replyed with a bitter oration, proceeding ſo farre, that he charged Regulus with giuing of money after Galbaes death to him that ſlew [e] Piſo, with biting of Piſoes head being dead. theſe things (quoth he) I trow Nero neuer conſtrained you to doe: neither ſaued you either your life, or your honour by ſuch ſauage crueltie. Let vs graunt their defence to be tollerable, which choſe rather to bring others into ruine, then themſelues into perill, for your part you had nothing to leeſe: your father going into baniſhment left you voide of all danger that way; his goods were parted amongſt his creditours and your age as yet not capable of honour: you had nothing that Nero ſhould either deſire from you, or feare in you. Nay it was your owne bloudthirſtie humour, and gaping for gaine, which cauſed you to employe your gifts, being as yet not knowen nor tried in defendig any mans cauſe, to the deſtruction of the nobilitie: when at one blow you ruined and ouerthrew innocent children, & reuerend old men, honorable women, & by this good ſeruice in deſtroying the common wealth merited Conſulare ſpoiles, [f] ſeuen thouſand thouſand ſeſterces, and an honourable Prieſthoode: when you blamed Neroes ſlacke and remiſſe kind of proceeding, that he went houſe by houſe and tired out both himſelfe and the whole company of the accuſers, whereas he might with like facilitie and ſpeaking of a word ſubuert the whole Senate. Keepe I pray you (my Lords) and make ſtore of a counſeller of ſo good a diſpatch, that euery age may be furniſhed: and as our old men imitate Marcellus and Criſpus, ſo our young may doe Regulus. Diſhoneſtie euen when it thriueth not, findeth followers, what will it do then when it doth proſper and flouriſh? and whom we dare not offend hauing beene but Queſtor, what ſhall we doe when he ſhall haue paſſed the higher offices of Pretor and Conſul? or doe ye thinke that Nero ſhall be the laſt tyranne? indeed ſo they alſo beleeued

[c] Tacitus. Nero ne collidi ſe ſi [illegible] cap. 42

[e] And yet he got a legacie at Veſpaſians hand, Suetonius in Veſpaſian. lib. 2. cap. 19. [illegible]

[f] That is, 546 87. lib. 10 ſterling.

beleeued, which ouerliued Tiberius and Caius when in the meane time arose another more cruell and detestable then either. We feare not Vespasian; his age warranteth vs, and his moderate disposition: but precedents dure longer the dispositions. We are waxen cold (my Lordes) neither are we now the same men, that assoone as Nero was slaine required these promooters, and all other instruments of tyrannie to be punished *more maiorum*. After the decease of an ill Prince the first day is alwaies the best. With so great applause and liking of the Senate Montanus was heard, that Heluidius conceiued hope of the possibility of ouerthrowing Marcellus also. Therefore beginning his speech with the commendation of Cluuius Rufus, who being as rich, & as famous for eloquence, had notwithstanding in Neroes time neuer procured any mans danger, he pressed Marcellus both with his owne fact, & with the others example, and the Senatours fingers euen tickled against him. Which when Marcellus perceiued, making semblance of departing the house, We are gone Heluidius (quoth he) and leaue to you a Senate of your owne: take your pleasure, and "exercise your kingdome in the presence of the young Prince. After him followeth Vibius Crispus both well warmed and netled: Marcellus with a threatening countenance, Crispus halfe smiling, but at the entreatie of friendes they came againe to their place. And so the contention growing hoater, and of the one side many & good, on the other few and mighty banding together, & inueighing despitefully one against the other, that day was consumed in brawlings. The next meeting Domitian beginning to perswade, that old griefes & grudges should not be reuiued, but buried together with the memory of the late times, wherin men were forced to do many things against their owne minds, Mutianus continuing the speech opened at large in fauour of the accusers, gently admonishing withal, and as it were entreting them, who seemed to resume their actions which they had discontinued. The Senatours, when they saw they were crossed in following their liberty, medled no further, and Mutianus, lest the iudgement of the Senate should seeme to be little regarded, & a generall pardon as it were proclaimed of all crimes committed vnder Nero, commanded Octauius Sagitta & Antistius Sosianus, Senatours by calling, which were without leaue returned from exile, to be reduced into the same Ilands again. [8] Octauius had frequented with Pontia Posthumia another mans wife adulterously, & because she refused after to mary him, he slew hir vpon extreme passion of loue: Sosianus by his leud qualities had bin the ruin of many: both of thē had bin cōdemned & banished by a heauy sentence of the Senat, & others being restored they were left still in the same penalty. But Mutianus could not with all this wipe the ill opinion away of his former dealing: For Sosianus & Sagitta were men vile & of no account, neither mattered it where they liued: but the accusers great gifts, great wealth and great power, being men so well seene in all lewde practises, were feared not without cause. The Senatours minds were anon in part reconciled by meanes of a certaine cause heard in the house, and decided according to ancient custome. Manlius Patricius a Senatour made complaint, that in the colonie of Siena he was beaten of the multitude at the magistrates commandement, & not contented with this outrage they *mourned and wailed, and made shew of celebrating his funerals in his owne sight, with many skornefull and reprochfull speeches redounding vpon the whole Senate. The parties accused were called, & vpon due examination conuicted and executed, and an act made to admonish the people of Siena to behaue themselues in modester maner heereafter. At the same time Antonius Flamma was condemned of extortion, at the suite of the Cyrenenses, and exiled for his cruell behauiour, and shedding of innocent bloud.

cap. 43

" Or, exercise your kingdome when the Prince is remooued, regnd præsente Cæsare.

cap. 44

8 Tac. 13 Ann.

cap. 45.

* Nec finem in-turiæ hic fecisse: planctum & lamenta & imperatorum imagines præsentibus circumdatas.

XVIII. *A view taken of the Pretorian souldiers. A loane motioned in the Senate. The funerals of Flauius Sabinus.*

cap. 46.

AMIDST these things there had welny broken out a sedition of the souldiers. The Gard-souldiers dismissed by Vitellius,& assembled in fauor of Vespasians cause, required their former place: likewise the [a] souldiers, which vpon hope of the same roome were chosen out of the Legions, demanded performance of promise. Neither could Vitellius gard well be remooued without much bloudshed. So Mutianus, comming to the campe to the end he might better view their yeeres of seruice, appointed the winners seuerally to stand, with their ensignes and weapons, a little distance asunder. Then he willed the Vitellian gard, as well those which yeelded themselues at Bouillæ,as others sought out within the city & about, to be produced in a maner vnarmed,then to be diuided,and those which were chosen out of the German and Brittish armies, and so of the rest, if any were, to stand each by themselues. The first sight heereof did straight amaze them,to see the contrarie side as in a pitched field flourishing with their weapons and darts, and themselues without armour, deformed, and in poore miserable state closed about. But when they began to be drawen,and distracted hither and thither,they trembled al, especially the German souldiers,as if the separation tended only to sort them out to the slaughter; whereupon they fell to embrace their companions, to hang on their neckes, to kisse them as for their last farwell, beseeching not to leaue them alone, and that in the like cause they might not abide harder fortune than others; with obsecrations sometimes to Mutianus, sometimes to the Prince that was absent, sometimes to the gods and the heauens to releeue their distressed estate; till such time as Mutianus calling them all liege men of one soueraigne, and souldiers of the same Prince, eased them of this vaine feare; the rest of the souldiers present with a showt furthering their teares, and declaring themselues to fauour their cause: and so for that day the matter was shut vp. Some few daies after Domitian in an oration made offer vnto them of land and possessions,who being now assured and out of all feare, did boldly refuse it, praying to haue their former seruice and wages againe. It was but a praier,mary such as could not be denied: and so they were receiued into the Gard. Afterward they which had serued their yeeres, and accomplished their iust number of stipends,were honourably dismissed: some others criminally, and for their misdemeanour singled out one by one: the safest remedy to weaken and dissolue the consent of a multitude. Then a motion was made in the Senate, whether vpon necessitie indeed,or because they would [b] haue it to seeme so, that a loane should be made,by priuate men to the publike of [c] sixty millions of sesterces, and the charge thereof committed to Poppæus Siluanus: but shortly after the necessitie ceased, or the false semblant. Then by a law proposed by Domitian the Consulships conferred by Vitellius were disanulled: and Flauius Sabinus [d] funerals were celebrated with Censoriall pompe: great demonstrations of fortunes fickleneſſe, turning vpside downe whatsoeuer seemeth high in the world.

[a] Of the *Flauian* side,as it is not vnlike that many Legionaries were the more easily induced to enter into the cause, vpon hope of that preferment.

cap. 47.

[b] *Initio statim principatus professus est Vespasianus quadringentiens mallies H.S. opus esse, vt rest stare posset,* saith *Suetonius cap.* 16. one of the greatest summes I remember any where named, amounting to aboue three hundred millions of pounds.

[c] That is,468750 pound ster.

[d] Funerals were celebrated with Censoriall pompe] Censorium funus the most honourable, and solemne manner of buriall: as the Censorship was the most honourable office, and accomplishment, as it were of all other. Polybius *lib.* 6. saith, that in the buriall of a Consull, or Prætor, certaine chosen out for the likest to the dead person accompanied the corse ἐν ἐσθῆτι πορφυρᾷ onely, that is, *in veste prætexta purpura*: in the buriall of a Censor ἐν πορφυρᾷ, *in purpura*.

XIX. *The*

XIX. *The death of Lucius Piso Proconsull of Africke.*

ABOVT the same time Lucius Piso Proconsull of Africke was slaine: the truth of which murther I will briefly set downe, resuming first certaine former matters, which may seeme to haue ministred chiefly occasion, and cause to such like inconueniences. The Legion in Africke, and the Aides assigned to garde the frontiers of the Empire that way, in the time of Augustus, and Tiberius, were vnder the gouerment of the Proconsull, till Caius a Prince of a troubled braine, and hauing in iealousie M. Silanus, who then was Proconsull of Africke, remooued the Legion from the Proconsull, deliuering it to a Lieutenant sent for that Purpose. The parting of an office thus betweene two without subordination and their charge and points of commission lying intermingled, and running ioindly together, bred and nourished, as was intended, discord and quarrels: and so through sinister emulation the Lieutenants office incroched and grew, either because they continued longer in charge, or because inferiour persons commonly take more paine, and delight in contending with their superiours, the greatest men of the Proconsuls seeking rather safetie then might. Now at this time Valerius Festus was Lieutenant of the Legion there, a riotous yong man, and one that gaped after great matters, but much perplexed in minde, by reason he was so nearely allyed to Vitellius. This Valerius in his often conferences which he had with Piso, whether he perswaded him to take vpon him the estate, or opposed himselfe against Pisoes soliciting it is vncertain (for at their secret communication none was present beside: and when Piso was slaine most men inclined to fauour the slayer) certaine it is, that the prouince and souldiers were ill affected toward Vespasian. And some of the Vitellianists escaping out of the citie, layed downe before Piso the great possibilitie of effectuating that purpose: that France was in termes of reuolting, Germanie readie to side themselues with him, adioyning the danger wherein he stoode for his owne person, and that in a suspected peace open warre was the onely safe course. As these things were in dooing, Claudius Sagitta captaine of the Petrin wing came thither, hauing outsayled Papirius a Centurion sent by Mutianus, and auowched that the sayd Centurion had commission to dispatch Piso: that his kinsman and sonne in law Galerianus was already dispatched in Rome; so that the onely hope of safetie consisted in venturing boldly: and of venturing there were but two waies, either straight to take armes, or sayling into France to offer himselfe there for a head to the Vitellian armies. Notwithstanding all which allegations Piso persisted vnmooueable: and anon the Centurion sent by Mutianus came; who, assoone as he arriued at the port of Carthage proclaimed Piso Emperour, wishing to him as Prince all successe and prosperitie, and requiring all that he met, being amazed at the woonder, to ioine in the same crye. The credulous common people flocked in the market place and demanded the presence of Piso, filling the citie with showts and acclamations of ioy, partly vpon negligence to search out the truth, and partly vpon a pleasure in flatterie. But Piso, whether vpon the intimation of Sagitta, or of his owne modestie, refrained from going abroad and committing himselfe to the peoples discretion; and examining the Centurion, perceiuing it was but a snare to entrap him, and so to make him away, he commanded him to be slaine, not so much for hope of escaping himselfe by so dooing, as vpon iust indignation against the Centurion, because the same man had beene one of the murtherers of Clodius Macer, and ment to bring

cap. 48.

cap. 49.

his hands lately embrued with the bloud of a Lieutenant now to the slaughter of a Proconsull. Then he checked the Carthaginians with a sharpe and seuere edict, and ceased to execute euen the vsuall points of his office, keeping still within doores, cap. 50. lest any occasion of new commotion by mischance might arise. Festus vnderstanding how the people was daunted and dashed, the Centurion slaine, and other occurrencies part true, part false, or enlarged and amplyfied, as fame feedeth in going, sendeth certaine horsemen to murther Piso; who making all haste in the dawning of the day brake into the house of the Proconsull with drawen swordes the most part not knowing Piso by sight, being Auxiliaries of the cuntrey, and Moores picked out for the purpose. Whereupon meeting one of his seruants, not farre from his bedchamber, they asked him who he was, and where Piso was to be found: the seruant perceiuing his masters danger, notably and resolutely answered, that he was Piso, and so was presently slaine in the place: by and by after Piso himselfe was massacred. For there was in the company Bebius Massa, one of the Procurators of Africk, that knew him; euen then a worker of good mens destruction, and one that often will fall in the course of this storie, as an instrument of the mischiefes, and a cause of the miseries that we sustained [a] afterward. Festus in the meane time stayed at Adrumetum to watch how the matter succeeded, and from thence went to the Legion, where he commanded Cetronius Pisanus the campe-master to be committed to ward, vpon priuate displeasures, betweene them, pretending that he was an abettour, and complice of Piso. Some souldiers also and Centurions he punished, and some he rewarded: neither of them for any desert, but because he would seeme to haue ended a warre. Then hee tooke vp the debates betweene the [c] Ophenses and Leptitani, which of small beginnings, as robbing of cattel and corne from the countrymen, were now by force of armes maintained in the field. For the Ophenses being the weaker side had called the Garamantes to aide them, a sauage people & altogither giuen to robbing and stealing vpon their neighbours: whereupon the Leptitani were hardly bested, and their fields being round about wasted, trembled for feare within the walled townes, till such time as the cohorts and wings came, who put the Garamantes to flight, and recouered all the spoile, saue onely that which certaine out-riders had carried further into the cuntrey, and sold there among their wilde inaccessible cottages.

[a] In Domitians time, Tac. in vita Agricolæ. Plinius in epistolis.

[c] Or, Oeenses.

XX. *Vespasian at Alexandria receiueth aduertisement of the death of Vitellius. The embassage of Vologesus king of the Parthians to him. Titus speech with his father. Cerneis sent to Rome. The foundation of the Capitoll is laied.*

cap. 51. AFTER the battell at Cremona, and good newes from all quarters, many of all sorts hazarded to put themselues vpon the rough winter seas, and sailed with safety to carie Vespasian the newes that Vitellius was slaine: and king Vologesus embassadours were there offering fortie thousand Parthian [a] horsemen to aid him. It was a glorious and ioifull thing, to be sought vnto with offers of so great assistance, and yet not to neede them. So thankes were giuen to Vologesus, and he willed to sende an embassage to the Senate, and assure himselfe of peace with the Romans. Vespasian conuerting his cares vpon Italie, and the affaires of the cittie, was aduertised somewhat hardly concerning Domitians dealings, as if he had [b] passed the bounds of his age, & caried himselfe aboue his compasse rather like an Emperour then an Emperours sonne. Therefore the most seruiceable part of his army he

[a] 40 millia sagittariorum scribit Suetonius. Vespas. c. 4. Tacitus obscurius, sine Tertullus, sine Parthinis. Fine de Cerc. Sueton. Domitiano c. 1. super quinquennium officia ... alia peregrina desiderant, metuant se Parthorum defectione quod successor non habet.

he deliuereth ouer to Titus willing him to prosecute and finish the Iewish warre. It is reported that Titus before his [c] departure vsed long speech and intreatie with his father, desiring him not to beleeue lightly, or enter in choler at the tale of euery backbiter, but rather to reserue himselfe free for an indifferent audience, and cary a placable minde towards his owne sonne. For neither were Legions nor nauies so strong defences and rampiers of a Princes estate, as the multitude of children. Friends with time and fortune, sometimes by vnaduised desires, or ouersights, decrease, fall from vs and fade, whereas a mans owne bloud cleaueth fast, and cannot be disioyned: especially in Princes, whose prosperitie as well may others enioy, but their aduersitie toucheth none neere, but their neereſt in bloud: and how should they two being brethren agree, if the father gaue not first an example. Vespasian not so much pacified toward Domitian, as delighted with the good nature of Titus bad him be of good comfort, and looke to his charge in aduancing the weale publicke with armes in the field; himselfe would take order with matters of peace, and domesticall affaires. Then he committed to sea, which as yet was tempestuous, his best ships of saile fraught with corne: for the cittie was in such distresse, and stood in those termes of famishing, that when the corne came from Vespasian, they had not at all in their storehouses aboue ten daies prouision. As concerning the setting vp of the Capitoll againe, he [d] committed the charge thereof to Lucius Vestinus a Gentleman of Rome, but for authoritie and countenance one of the principall men of the cittie; by whom the soothsaiers being called together expresly charged, that the reliques of the former temple should be conueied and caried away into the marishes, and the new erected vpon the selfe same foundation: for it was not the pleasure of the gods the old forme should be altered. The one and twentieth of Iune being a goodly faire day the whole plot of the temple was bound, and tied about with fillets and garlands. The souldiers, whose [b] names had lucky significations entred in with fortunate boughes. Afterward the Vestall Virgines, with boies & girles which had both father and mother aliue, washed it with water fetched from riuers, and springs, and running streames. Then Heluidius Priscus the Pretor, Plautus Elianus one of the chiefe Priests going before him, hallowed the floore with a solemne sacrifice of a swine, a sheepe and a bullocke, and laying the entrailes vpon a greene turfe, calling first vpon Iupiter, Iuno, Minerua, and the rest of the Gods protectours of the Empire, that they would prosper the worke, exalt and aduance this their own habitation, begun by the deuotion of men, with their diuine and celestiall power, he put his hand to the fillets and ropes, wherein a huge mightie stone was fast tied, and withall the rest of the magistrates and priests, the Senate and Gentlemen, and a great part of the people preasing with great desire and ioy, drewe the stone to the foundations, throwing in withall ingots of gold and siluer, and oare neuer tried in the furnace, but rawe as it grewe: for the soothsaiers forewarned that the worke should not be defiled with stone, or gold which had beene destinated to any other vse: only the roofe was made hyer: that alteration alone was not disallowed by the gods, and the former temple, for want of proportion that way, was thought to lacke statelinesse, and maiestie conuenient for a building, wherein such a masse of men should be holden.

cap. 52.

[c] From his father at Alexandria, for thither he accompanied him after he from thence returned backe to Caesarea: which voiage is particularly described by Iosephus in the last words of his fourth booke de bel. Iud.

cap. 53

[b] Cic. de diuinatione, cum imperator exercitū conscribit populum lustraret bonis nominibus qui hostias ducerent eligebantur: quoddam in delectu consules obseruant, vt primus miles fiat bono nomine.

[d] He committed the charge thereof] Most of the other writers affirme contrary to Tacitus, and to the truth as I thinke, that Vespasian was present at the laying of the first foundation of the Capitoll. Sueton. Vesp. Vespasianus restitutionem capitolij aggressus ruderibus purgandis manus admouit, ac sua colla quædam extulit. Xiphilin τὸν νεὼν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπετωλίου εὐθὺς οἰκοδομεῖν ἤρξατο, αὐτός τι τῶν χωμάτων ἐκφορήσας. That is, he foorthwith began to build the temple in the Capitoll, himselfe first carrying out some part of the rubbish. And yet by Tacitus the greatest man present in this action was Heluidius Priscus Prætor vrbanus, the chiefest office in the absence of the Consuls. And surely

[a] Cap. 8.

surely beside the credit of Tacitus, who may ouerwaigh twenty such writers at randon, I cannot see how in possibility Vespasian could well be in Rome before the one and twentieth of June: for at Alexandria he attended certaine moneths, saieth our autour, *certa maris opperiens.* Now from the eleuenth day of November to the tenth of March, saieth Vegetius, *lib.* [b] *4. maria clauduntur*: from the tenth of March to the fifteenth of May *periculose maria tentantur*, and not lightly ventured vpon but by merchants: so that before the middle of May or thereabout it is not likely he set out of Alexandria. Zonaras seemeth to say, that he stayed a great while longer in Egipt, then otherwise he would haue done, vpon hope that Hierusalem might haue beene won before his departure, & so Titus should haue accompanied him also to Rome. Again the voyage of Vespasian to Rome was long, and much of it performed by lande, and many great businesses dispatched in the way Iosephus ἀλώσ. 7. cap 5. and 10. Suetonius and others. So that in all reason his entrie into Rome was toward the latter ende of the sommer, and so he was not present at the foundation of the Capitoll.

[b] Cap. 39.

XXI. *The Treueri and Lingones, at the instigation of Classicus, Tutor, and Sabinus, assembling secretly in councell at Coleyn determine to reuolt from the Romans. Vocula remoueth from Magontiacum to Coleyn. Claudius Labeo maketh a roade against the Caninefates without great effect.*

Cap. 54

WHEN the death of Vitellius was heard of in France and Germanie, it doubled the warre. For Ciuilis now laying aside dissimulation declared himselfe, and made open war against the Roman Empire. The legions which had serued Vitellius wished rather forraine bondage, then to haue Vespasian their Prince. The Frenchmen conceiued courage, and hope of freeing themselues from the yoke supposing that the same fortune was befallen to our armies in all places alike: and indeede a rumour was noised that our standing campes in Pannonia and Mœsia were straitly besieged by the Samaritans and Dacians: the like was reported of Britannie. But nothing perswaded them so much to beleeue, that the Roman Empire was come to an end, as the burning of the Capitoll. For the cittie had beene once before taken by the French, but the seate of Iupiter then being vntaken the Empire stoode and remained: wheras now by this fatall fire a manifest signe of the gods heauie wrath, and displeasure was giuen. And the Druides out of their vaine superstitious learning did propheſie that the Empire of the world was to passe, and be seated beyond the mountaines. Moreouer a common fame went, that the [a] noblemen of France, when they were sent by Otho against Vitellius, did couenant together before their departure, that in case the Roman Common-wealth ceased not thus to be torne by multiplying of ciuill warres, and domesticall troubles one straight succeeding another, they would iointly attempt to recouer their ancient libertie againe. But before the murther of Hordeonius Flaccus nothing brake out whereby the conspiracie might be perceiued: after his death there passed messages, betweene Ciuilis and Classicus captaine of the wing of the Treueri, Classicus in birth and wealth far exceeded the rest of that quarter. He was extract from the line of their ancient kings, his aunceſtours renowned in war and in peace, and himselfe boasted to be descended of enemies to the people of Rome, rather then friends. Vnto him in this action adioined themselues Iulius Tutor, and Iulius Sabinus, the one of Triers, the other a Lingon. Tutor was appointed by Vitellius ouerseer of the bancke of Rhene. Sabinus besides a naturall vanitie was pricked forward with the vain-glorie of a supposed kinred; that his great grandmother for hir beautie had pleased Iulius Cæsar, when he warred in France, and was by him carnallie knowne. These three by secret conferences searched the mindes and inclinations of the rest: & when they had made acquainted, and associated to them such as they supposed fit for the purpose, they appointed a meeting in Coleyn, in a priuate house: for the publike state of the cittie vtterly abhorred all such attempts. Notwithstanding

[a] Primores Galliarum ab Othone missos Vitellio missos. Who these Primores Galliarum were and when and where and to what purpose sent by Otho against Vitellius, I confesse not yet well to be vnderstood of me. Tacitus (whose words these are) speaketh not of more men French by birth, whom Otho allured to his party against Vitellius: but men of that qualitie me thinke should haue had more great cause to take Otho great in aduancement.

withstanding certaine of the Vbij and Tungri were present at the consultation: but the strongest part and that which carried the matter was of the Treueri and Lingones. Neither made they any long deliberation, but all with one voice cried amaine, that the Romans did nothing [b] but rage in ciuill dissensions, that the Legions were slaine, Italie wasted, and the cittie of Rome euen taken; that all the armies were holde occupied enery one with their seuerall wars: and if the Alpes were fortified with good and sufficient garrison, and so their libertie won and assured, then might France determine at leisure what course to take of further proceeding, and how farre they list to enlarge. This was no sooner said then allowed: a scruple remained concerning the remnant of the Roman souldiers. Many were of mind that they were to be put to the sword, as mutinous, and faithlesse persons, and polluted with the bloud of their leaders: but the opinion of sparing them preuailed, least hope of pardon being taken away they would become desperate. So it was thought more conuenient by faire meanes to allure them to the partie, and that the Lieutenants alone being made away, the common souldiers would easily be wonne to the side vpon guiltinesse of their owne misdeedes, and hope of impunitie. This was the forme of their first consultation, and some were sent abroad into France to kindle and stirre vp the warre; they themselues pretended all subiection and obedience to Vocula, that they might oppresse him at the more vnawares. Vocula had secret intelligence hereof, but he had not forces to punish it, his Legions being both thinne, and vnstedfast. So betweene vnsure souldiers, and secret enimies, supposing it the best way that now he could take to vse their own artes against them, he dissembled the matter and went downe to Coleyn. Thither Claudius Labeo was escaped, hauing corrupted his keepers; who as before we haue said was taken, and confined out of the way into Frisia, and promising that if he might haue men he would go into Batauia, and reunite the greatest part of the cuntrey againe to the Roman Empire: hauing a pretie companie of horsemen and footemen assigned, he durst not enterprise any thing amongst the Batauians, but drew certaine of the Neruij and Bethasij after him into the field, and rather by stealth, then by way of open inuasion, made some incursions vpon the Caninefates and Marsaci.

[b] *Ioseph. lib. 7. Bell. c. 2.*

cap. 56

XXII. *Classicus and Tutor corrupt Voculaes souldiers. Vocula at Noueſium is forsaken by his souldiers, and slaine, who immediately sweare fidelitie to the Empire of France.*

VOCVLA allured by the fraude of the Frenchmen remooueth towardes the enimie. When they approched to Vetera, Classicus and Tutor pricking before vnder colour of discouering met with the German Captaines, and concluded the bargaine, and thereupon encamped their companies with a seuerall trench from the Legionarie souldiers. At which signe of manifest contempt and reuolt Vocula conceiuing great indignation cried aloud, that the Roman state was not by ciuill warres brought yet to so low an ebbe, as that the Treueri also and Lingones neede to despise it: so many countries continuing faithfull, our armies being victorious, the fortune of the Empire standing entier, and the gods ready to reuenge this perfidious part: so [a] long ago Sacrouir and the Aedui, so of late Vindex and France were ouethrowen, ech at one blowe, and now also the perfidious breakers of treaties so solemnly sworne were to looke for againe the same gods and the same fall. Iulius and Augustus knew better their crooked inclinations: [b] Galba, and the abatement of their tributes hath made them our enimies. Now they are foes because

[a] In the fourth veere of *Tiberius Cæsar. Tac. 3. An.* 57.

[b] A plaine *μικρολογία* vsed in *Tacitus* for *Galba did not diminish but rather increase the tributes of the Lingones and Treueri, and diuerslie afflict them, to some other cities of France* time *is, that he abated a fourth part of their ordinary tribute, but that was nothing to this audience.*

cause their yoke is too gentle, but when they shall be ransackt and stript of their wealth, they will be our friends and subiects againe. When Vocula had thus spoken with great spirit and courage, seeing Classicus and Tutor notwithstanding to continue in their traiterous purpose, he retired backe to Nouesium. The Frenchmen sate downe two miles from the towne in the fieldes, to which place the Centurions and souldiers resorting from Nouesium were bought, and corrupted to a villanie neuer heard of before, that a Roman armie should sweare allegeance to strangers, and for a pledge of so wicked a part, either kill their Lieutenants, or deliuer them prisoners. Vocula, albeit many counsailed him to withdraw, chusing rather to sticke to it manfully, then cowardly to flee, called an assembly, and spake to them in this maner.

cap. 58. "I neuer at any time spake vnto you, either more carefull for you, or carelesse "for my selfe. That my destruction is purposed I am well contented to heare, and "accept death in these troubles as an end of my miseries. Of you I am ashamed, and "you do I pittie, not because any martiall exploit, or matter of armes is intended "against you; for that were agreeing to a souldiers profession, and according to the "law of the field at an enimies hand: but because Classicus with your hands hopeth "to fight with the Romans, and abuseth your simplicitie with the goodly oath and imaginary Empire of France. * Are we so farre now fallen, not onely from our fortune and courage, but euen from our ancient precedents too? For how oft did the Roman Legions chuse rather to die then to yeelde one inch of ground to the enimie? Our allies haue many time suffered their cities to be razed, themselues, their "wiues & their children to be consumed to ashes, without gaining other reward, saue "only to keep their faith and their fame. The Legions at Vetera support with all patience hunger & siege, and yeeld neither for fear nor faire words. We, besids men and "armour, and a campe strongly fortified, haue prouision and vittels sufficient for a "long warre, if neede were. Mony lately we had, not onely for pay, but also to serue "for donatiue too: which whether you list to accept as comming from Vespasian, or "from Vitellius, sure both waies it came from a Roman Emperour. If you doe it for "feare of the battell (albeit it be no admittable reason in you who haue foiled so often at Gelduba, at Vetera, and so many times ouerthrowne the enimie) we haue "trenches, and walles, and waies to prolong till more strength and supplie come "from the countries about vs. If it be for displeasure at me, you haue other Lieutenants and Tribunes, nay Centurion or common souldier, make your choise of any "so he be a Roman to leade you. Let neuer for shame so prodigious a thing be bruted throughout the whole world, that Ciuilis and Classicus should inuade Italie, "hauing a gard of Romans attendant. What if the Germans and Frenchmen should "leade toward the wals of the cittie? will you fight against your owne native soile "and sharpen your speares against the wombe of your mother? The onely conceite "of so great an impietie striketh an horror into my mind. Shall Tutor of Triers haue "watch and ward as a Prince? shall a Batauian giue you the signe of the battell? will "you be caried about for supplements to the German regiments? and what end will "you finde of your treason? when the Roman Legions shall march out against you "what shall become of you then, but of fugitiues to be fugitiues againe, and traitors "of traitors, betweene your old oath and your new an abomination to the Gods and "to men? O thou most mighty and mercifull Iupiter, whom with so many triumphes "these eight hundreth and twenty yeeres we haue adored and worshipped: and thou "Romulus the founder and father of the cittie, I pray and most humblie beseech you, "that if it be not your heauenly pleasures, that vnder my hand and gouerment this

* *Adò nos, si fortuna præsens virtusq; defuit, etiam veterum exempla deficiunt?*

campe

campe should be kept vncorrupted and cleane, yet at least you will not permit it to be polluted, and stained by Tutor and Classicus: and that it would please you to inspire to the Roman souldier, either a minde to follow honorable courses, or els a speedie and harmelesse repentance. The oration was diuersely taken, as of men diuersely affected betweene feare, hope, and shame. After the speech Vocula withdrew himselfe, and consulting vpon his end, was by his freedmen & bondmen stayed from voluntary preuenting of a most shamefull death: for Classicus sent by and by Æmilius Longinus a fugitiue of the first Legion to dispatch that piece of seruice. As for the Lieutenants, [c] Herennius, and [c] Numisius, it seemed sufficient to put them in prison. Then Classicus assuming the markes and ornaments of the Roman gouernors, came into the camp: and albeit he were hardened to all kinde of desperate mischiefe, yet would not his vtterance then serue him any further, but barely to recite the words of the oath. All that were present sware fidelity to the Empire of France. Then he aduanced the murtherer of Vocula to a higher place, and the rest he rewarded, ech according to the lewde seruice they did.

cap. 59.

[c] *Herennius* Lieutenant of the first Legion, whose standing campe was at *Borma* and *Nouesium* of the fourteenth at *Nouesium*.

XXIII. *Tutor bringeth Coleyn and all vpper Germanie to the oath of France. The Legions of Vetera surrender the place to Ciuilis with condition only of saueing their liues: which notwithstanding is not performed.*

After these things Classicus and Tutor diuided charges. Tutor with a strong power lay about Coleyn, and brought both them, and all the souldiers which lay vpon the vpper bancke of the Rhene, to the same oath, slaying the Tribunes at Magontiacum, & driuing away the Camp-master which refused to swear. Classicus suborned certaine of the lewdest companions of those which had yeelded themselues, commanding them to goe to Vetera, and there to proclaime pardon to all those, that would submit themselues to follow the present course: otherwise to looke for no hope but sword, and famine and all extremities. They which were sent vsed also their owne example as a motiue vnto them. On the one side the respect of their loyaltie, on the other their present necessitie, distracted the persons besieged, betweene the two courses of honour and shame. While they delayed to resolue, their foode failed them both vsuall and vnusuall: they had eaten their mules and horses, and other creatures, which being otherwise abhorred and loathed, hunger had made sauourie and sweete: and lastly feeding of branches, and sprigs, and pulling of grasse which grew in the wals, they were a patterne of miserie and patience, till such time as sending Embassadors to Ciuilis for life, they stained their honorable actions with a shamefull and dishonorable end. Neither was their petition admitted, before they sware fidelitie to France. Then he graunted them life, reserning the spoile of the campe to himselfe, and appointed keepers to stay the money, the seruants, and stuffe, and others to conduct the souldiers emptie away. About fiue miles off the Germans lying in ambush, rose sodainely and set vpon them vnawares such as were most valiant and made resistance were slaine where they stood: many were cut off in the flight, the rest recouered the camp. Whereupon Ciuilis made complaint and rebuked the Germans as hauing wickedly broken their faith; whether it was but a countenance of his, or else hee could not bridle them in their fury it is not assuredly knowen. When the campe was ransacked they set it on fire, and all the men that escaped in the field, were burned therin.

cap. 60.

XXIIII. *Ciuilis*

XXIIII. *Ciuilis vpon performance of his vowe cutteth his beard. Of Velleda queene of the Bructerians. Two Legions of them which forsooke Vocula and yeelded themselues to Classicus, namely the sixteenth and the first, the one from Noueſium, the other from Bonna their ſtanding campes, are by commandement tranſported to Triers.*

Cap. 61.

[a] Tac. de morib. Germ. Alijs Germanorum populis uſitatum rarâ & priuatâ ciuiſq; audentiâ apud Cattos in conſenſum uerſis, ut primum adoleuerint crinem barbamq; ſummittere, nec niſi hoſte cæſo exuere uotiuum obligatumq; uirtuti eru habitum.

CIVILIS vpon a barbarous vow when firſt he entred warre with the Romans, ſuffred his yellow haire to grow long without barbing, and now, as vpon [a] accompliſhment thereof cauſed it to be cut, when the ſlaughter of the Legions was perfourmed: and it was reported, that hee ſet vp as markes certaine of the captiues, for his little ſonne to ſhoote and dart at in ſport. Neuertheleſſe neither did he ſweare, nor cauſed any Batauian to take the oath of Fraunce, truſting in the ſtrength and aſſiſtance of the Germans, and if there ſhould happen hereafter contention to grow with the French about the Empire, accounting himſelfe both of more name and abilitie. Mummius Lupercus the Lieutenant of a Legion among other preſents was ſent to Velleda, a virgin of the Bructerian nation, and queene ouer many cuntreyes: for ſo the olde maner of the Germans is, to beleeue many of their women to be propheteſſes, and ſo, ſuperſtition increaſing, goddeſſes. And at that time the authoritie of Velleda was growne in more reputation, by reaſon that ſhee had tolde before hand the Germans ſhould proſper, and the Roman Legions ſhould be deſtroyed. But Lupercus was ſlaine in the way: a few Centurions and Tribunes French borne were reſerued as a pledge of alliance & amitie. The ſtanding campes of the cohorts, wings and Legions, were ouerthrowen and burned, Cap. 62. thoſe onely excepted which were at Magontiacum and Vindoniſſa. The fixteenth Legion with the Auxiliaries, which at the ſame time yeelded themſelues, was commanded to depart from Noueſium to Triers, and a day ſet down, before which they ſhould auoide the campe. The meane time was ſpent in ſundrie cares. Some of the cowardlieſt were terrified with the late example of them which were ſlaine at Vetera, in their iſſuing out; the better ſort bluſhed for ſhame, to think of the infamous and diſhonorable iourney, whom they muſt follow for guides, aud how all things ſhould be at the ſimple pleaſure & diſcretion of thoſe, whom they had made Lords ouer their life and death: others without reſpect of diſhonour packed about them money & ſuch things as were of moſt price: others made readie their harneſſe & buckled themſelues to their weapons as though they were going to field. While they were thus muſing, and caſting their cards, the houre of remooue was come, more grieuous and dolefull then was imagined. For within the trench the deformitie of the ſpectacle was not ſo apparent: the field and the day diſcouered the ſhame, the images of the Emperours being plucked out of their places, the enſeignes tyed vp; whereas contrarily the French banners gliſtered and plaied on euerie hand; in ſumme a ſilent and ſorrowfull troupe, and as it were a long funerall pompe. The conductor Claudius Sanctus augmented the indignitie, one eied, ill fauoured in countenance, and weaker in wit. The diſhonour was doubled, when as the firſt Legion relinquiſhing their campe at Bonna, vpon the like commandement adioined themſelues to the other: and the cuntrimen, that a little before quaked for feare at the very name of a Roman, when the fame of the Legions captiuity was noiſed, ran out of the houſes, and fields from all quarters, to gaze and feede their eies with

ſo

so strange a sight. The Picentine wing could not endure the ioy, and insulting of the people, but neglecting as well the threats as the promises of Sanctus, turned to Magontiacum; and meeting by chance in the way Longinus the murtherer of Vocula with their darts slew him for a beginning of future amends. The Legions went forward in their purposed iourney, and sate downe before the wals of Triers.

XXV. *An embassage of the Tencterians to them of Coleyn. Coleyn yeeldeth to Ciuilis and Velleda upon reasonable composition.*

CIVILIS and Classicus puffed vp with prosperous successe made a question, whether they should permit the cittie of Coleyn to bee sacked by their souldiers. Their naturall inclination to crueltie and couetousnes drew them that way, but the policie of warre was against it, and especiallie the opinion of clemencie needfull in those which are to found a new Empire: the remembrance also of a priuate benefite made Ciuilis more tractable toward them, because in the very beginning of the troubles taking his sonne in their towne they committed him to honourable custodie. Notwithstanding the nations beyond the Rhene enuied the riches, & growing of the citty, and iudged there could be no end of war, vnlesse that towne were either made a common habitation for all Germans indifferently, or else razed to the ground, & so the Vbij also dispersed. Wherefore the Tencteri, a people onely serued from them by the riuer, sent an embassage, with instruction to declare their charge in the common councell of Coleyn, which one of the most imperious among the embassadours vttered in this peremptorie maner. We thanke „ our Gods & yours, and Mars chiefe of all Gods, that you are returned into the corps „ and communitie, and name of Germanie; and we reioice for your sakes, that you „ shall at length liue as freemen among freemen. For hitherto the Romans haue shut „ both water and lande, and in a maner the very heauen it selfe betweene you and vs „ to hinder our conferring and meeting, or else which is more contumelious to mar-„ tiall men, that we should neuer haue accesse to your cittie but vnarmed, and naked „ almost and that garded and paying a toll. But now, to the end that this mutuall „ league of alliance and friendship may stand & continue for euer, we require of you „ to pull downe the walles of your towne, the bulwarkes of your bondage, for euen „ wilde beasts shut vp forget there accustomed valour and vertue. Next we require „ you to kill all the Romans within your territorie: libertie and Lords cannot dwell „ togither. Then to bring out all their gods and diuide them in common, that no „ man should hide any thing, or seeke to seuer his cause from the rest. Moreouer that „ it may be indifferent both for vs and you, as it was in times past to our fathers, to „ conuerse and inhabite vpon both sides of the riuer. As nature hath communicated „ the day and the night to all men, so she hath laied open all lands of the world to va-„ liant minds. Resume your ancient customes and lawes, laying aside all your effe-„ minate pleasures, by which meanes, more then with armes the Romans subdue na-„ tions and countries. So shall you be a people vncorrupt, without admixtion of for-„ reine maners or bloud: so shall you forget seruitude, and either liue in libertie, or be „ lords ouer others. The Agrippinenses taking a time to deliberate: seeing nei-„ ther future feares would permit them to yeeld to the conditions, nor their present „ estate plainely to refuse them, made answere in this maner. We haue taken, you „ see, the first opportunitie of recouering our libertie, perchance with more haste then „ good speede, that we might be ioyned with you, and the rest of the Germans our „ kinsmen:

"kinsmen: but seeing the Roman armies do gather of all sides against vs, is is meeter "and safer to strengthen, then to pull downe the wals of our cittie. As for strangers, "Italians or other, which liued amongst vs, either they are slaine in the warres, or fled "home to their countries. To them which be ancient inhabitants amongst vs, and "are linckedwith vs in mariage, and to their ofspring, this countrey is their owne na-"tiue soile: neither do we thinke you so vnreasonable as to wish vs to kill our parents, "our brethren, or children. For taxe and tallages we acquite and discharge you for "euer: you shall passe and repasse without all impeachment, but onely in the daie "time, and vnarmed, till our rawe and new amitie be ioyned, and confirmed by con-"tinuance and custome. Ciuilis and Velleda shall be arbiters: to their knowledge we "referre the cause, and the conclusion of the whole treatie. The Teucteri being thus in part pacified, embassadours were sent to Ciuilis and Velleda with presents who obteyned all things as they of Coleyn desired: onely they were not admitted to haue accesse of speech with Velleda, nor suffered to see hir, for more keeping of state, and to maintaine a more reuerend conceit in the harts of the people. She was lodged in a high tower, and one of hir kinred appointed to carie as from a goddesse hir oracles and answers.

XXVI. *The Bethasii, Tungri and Neruij yeeld to Ciuilis.*

cap. 66. CIVILIS thus strengthened with new increase of confederats, resolued to associate the cities adioining, or to warre against them if they resisted. So he tooke in the Sunici, and composed their able men into cohorts: but as hee purposed to haue passed further, Claudius Labeo with a raw companie of Bethasij, Tungri, and Neruij, hauing seised vpon the bridge of the Mose, and trusting to the aduantage of the place opposed himselfe and stopped his passage. The euent of the skirmish was doubtfull in the straites; till the Germans swimming ouer the riuer came vpon Labeoes backe: and withall Ciuilis, whether vpon a bold venture, or vpon a set match, rushed into the middest of the Tungri, and with a loud voice protested, that the war was not vndertaken to that end, that the Batauians and Treueri should be souerain lords ouer all other nations: Far be all such arrogancy (quoth he) from our thought: only receiue vs as your good friends and allies. Lo heere for my part I commit my selfe to your hands, employ me as you list, either for a captain or a common souldier. The common people was much mooued at these words, and put vp their swords, and Campanus and Iuuenalis chiefe men of the Tungrians yeelded the whole nation vnto him; Labeo before he was compassed in, fled away. The Bethasij also and Neruij yeelded themselues: whom Ciuilis adioyning to his power became verie puissant and strong, all the cities either fearing, or fauouring him voluntarily.

XXVII. *Iulius Sabinus with his Lingones giueth battaile to the Sequani, and is ouerthrowen.*

cap. 67. IN the meane season Iulius Sabinus, breaking downe the monuments and records of the Roman alliance, tooke vpon him the stile and title of Cæsar, and led after him a huge and rude companie of his countrey folkes, the Lingones, against the Sequani, a state bordering vpon them, and faithfull to vs. Neither did the Sequani refuse to wage battaile; wherein fortune fauoured the better side, and the Lingones were

were discomfited. Sabinus as rashly he enterprised to giue battaile without due circumspection, so without feare of shame he ranne cowardly away: and to raise a rumour that he was dead, he set on fire the house into which he was knowne to haue fled, and there was supposed voluntarily to haue ended his life. But hereafter in conuenient place we will shew by what meanes, and secret [a] shifts he prolonged it, for the space of nine yeeres, and withall the rare faithfulnesse of his friends, and the memorable example of his wife Epponina.

[a] Iosephus shall, [illegible] discouer from Tacitus in some little circumstances, and no doubt truest in that Cornelius, hauing for [illegible] ment Lucceius into Germanie, (as [illegible] and in his way hindring the Germans and Frenche resistance) compassed the matter.

XXVIII. *A Diete of the cities of France summoned at Rheyms. The preparations at Rome for the warre against the Batauians, Treueri, and Lingones. The Diete at Rheyms resolueth vpon peace, notwithstanding the embassage of the Treueri and Lingones, and the allegations of Tullius Valentinus to the contrarie.*

THis successe of the Sequani rebated & staied the violent course of the warre. The cities began to consider better of matters, and to remember their couenants and leagues with the Romans, at the motion principally of the Remi, who sending messengers throughout France summoned a Diete, to deliberate what course they should take, keepe peace, or seeke libertie. All these things reported at Rome to the worse, troubled Mutianus, least the captaines whom he had chosen, Annius Gallus and Petilius [a] Cerealis, albeit excellent men, should hardly be able to wade thorowe so mightie a warre. Neither was it expedient to leaue the cittie without a gouernour and head, and yet not in Domitians hande whose wilde and vnbrideled affections were greatly feared: especially Antonius Primus, and Arrius Varus, as before we haue shewed, being suspected not fully to fauour the state. Moreouer Varus was captaine of the Gard and strong, as hauing so many souldiers at commandement. Therefore Mutianus before his departure displaced him from the roome, and least he should be discontent altogither, made him chiefe officer for the prouision of corne: and to pacifie the minde of Domitian, that bare some good will vnto Varus, he set in his place ouer the Garde Aretinus Clemens, one neerely allied to the house of Vespasian, and dearely beloued of Domitian: alleaging that his father had worthily performed the same place vnder Caius the Emperour. The name was acceptable to the souldiers, and the man, though a Senatour by calling, was thought sufficient to discharge both the roomes. The greatest men of the cittie were willed to prouide for the voiage of France: some others were taken in by especiall suite. [b] Domitian and Mutianus both of them prepared for the iourney, but not both minded alike; Domitian hastening forward vpon hope, and yoong bloud: Mutianus seeking delaies to retaine the fiercenesse of Domitian, least if he put himselfe in possession of an armie, through the heate of youth and ill counsellers, he should disturbe both the peace and the warre. The sixth and [c] eighth of the victorious Legions, of the Vitellianists the one and twentieth, the second of the lately enrolled, were [d] conducted part ouer the Penin and Cottian Alpes, part ouer the Graian: and moreouer the fourteenth Legion was sent for out of Britannie, the sixth and tenth out of Spaine. Now the cities of France partly vpon the fame of the host approching, and partly of their owne disposition inclining to the milder course, met in counsell at Rheyms, where an embassage of the Treueri attended, whereof Tullius Valentinus was the chiefe man, a principall firebrand of the warre: who with a premeditate oration applied to the Romans all those obiections, where-

[a] Iosephus shall, [illegible] discouer from Tacitus in some little circumstances, and no doubt truest in that Cornelius, hauing for [illegible] ment Lucceius into Germanie, (as [illegible] and in his way hindring the Germans and Frenche resistance) compassed the matter.

[b] Sueton. Domit. cap. 2. expedit omnia yong in Gallias Germaniasq; missum, & disciplinam patrui armis, exercitibusq; [illegible] Domitianum [illegible] & operibus, & dignitatem adiunxit.

[c] Plin. annal. p. 128. 147.

[d] Some before Cerealis & Gerne alled him, as it appeareth in this booke and the next.

with

with mighty monarchies are vsually charged, sparing no spite of words, nor arte to aggrauate matters against them; a factious person and apt to stirre troubles, and
cap 69. willingly heard of the multitude, by reason of his eloquence such as it was. But Iulius Auspex, one of the noblemen of Rheims, discoursing of the puissance of the Roman power, and the great commodities of peace, and affirming that warre might be commenced by cowards, but must be fought with the hazard of the most valiant men; and that euen now the Roman legions were vpon their backes, by this graue speech stayed them all: the wiser sort with respect of duety and faith, the younger of danger and feare. And so they commended the courage of Valentinus, but followed the counsaile of Auspex. It is certaine that the Treueri and Lingones had the worse audience in France, because in the cõmotion of Vindex they had sided themselues with Verginius. Many were discouraged by reason of the emulation that would ensue betweene the prouinces; what should be the head of the warre, from
*Vid. in antiquitatem. * whence should lawe and souerainty be deriued; and if they did conquere which should be the seate-towne of the Empire. They were not yet conquerours, and yet were they at discord brawling about the preseance; some alleaging their treaties & ancient leagues, some their riches and present strength, and some their antiquitie. Whereupon the whole councell detesting the future confusion, affirmed and ratified the present estate. Letters also were written vnto the Treueri in the name of the common counsell of France to desist from armes, whilest pardon might be easily obtayned, and many would become suters in their behalfe if they repented. But Valentinus refused the curtesie, and at his returne stopped the eares of his city against this good motion, being a man rather plentifull in orations and speeches, then carefull for other prouision of war.

XXIX *The one and twentieth Legion surnamed Rapax commeth into Germanie. Sextilius Felix with his cohorts ouerthroweth Tutor and the Treueri. Valentinus returning from the Diete stirreth vp the war againe. The two Legions transported from Nouesium and Bonna to Triers depart to the Mediomatrici.*

cap. 70. IN like maner neither did the Treueri, nor Lingones, nor the rest of the states that reuolted, carry themselues as the weight of the cause and the danger required: euen the captaines themselues conferred not counsailes together. But Ciuilis wandred about the wildes of Belgium to catch Claudius Labeo, or els to chase him out of the cuntrey: Classicus lay for the most part idle and lazie, and as it were took the fruition of his supposedly gotten kingdome. Tutor also slacked to make himselfe strong vpon the vpper bancke of the riuer, and with garrison to possesse the passages and heights of the Alpes, whilest in the meane time the one and twentieth Legion brake in from Vindonissa, and Sextilius Felix, with the Auxiliarie cohorts by the way of Rhœtia; vnto whom a wing of horsemen called Singulares (who marching at the first by Vitellius appointment toward Italie reuolted afterward to Vespasian) adioyned themselues. Their captaine was Iulius Briganticus Ciuilis sisters sonne, mortally hating his vncle, and hated againe: as commonly the enmities of neerest kinsfolkes, if once they fall out, are most despitefull and deadly. Tutor increased his power consisting of Treueri with a fresh supply of Vangiones, Caracates, and Triboci, and that which added most strength with olde experienced Legionarie

narie ſouldiers, both footemen and horſe, ſome corrupted with hope, and others awed with feare: who at the firſt killed a cohort ſent before by Sextilius Felix, and anon when the Roman captaines and armies approched, redeeming their former fault fled ouer to them, and were followed by the Triboci, Vangiones and Caracates. So Tutor being left alone with his Treueri eſchewing Magontiacum fled to Bingium, truſting vpon the ſtrength of the place, becauſe he had broken downe the bridge of the riuer Naua: but Sextilius with his cohortes following his fooot eſteps, and finding a forde diſcried his power, and ouerthrew it. This diſcomfiture vtterly diſcouraged the Treueri: and the common people caſting their weapons away returned to their husbandry. And certaine of the nobilitie that they might ſeeme to be foremoſt in laying hoſtilitie aſide, fled to thoſe citties for refuge which had not broken with the Romans. The Legions, which, as before we declared, went by commaundement from Noueſium and Bonna to Triers, voluntarily reſumed the oath to Veſpaſian. Theſe things were done in the abſence of Valentinus: who at his returne, in a deſperate furie and rage ſtirred the coales, & kindled the fire a new. Wherupon the Legions got them away to the Mediomatrici, a ſtate in league with the Romans: and Valentinus & Tutor perſwaded the Treueri to take vp their weapons againe, and goe to the fielde, hauing firſt killed Herenius and Numiſius the Lieutenants, to the intent that being without all hope of pardon, they might bee more faſtly vnited together in their wicked conſpiracie.

XXX. *Petilius Cerealis ouerthroweth the Treueri, taketh Valentinus aliue. adioyneth the two Legions from the Mediomatrici, and maketh an oration to the Treueri.*

THis was the ſtate of the war, when Petilius Cerealis came to Magontiacum, and by his preſence rayſed great expectation, and hope of our ſide. Cerealis himſelfe was deſirous of the battaile, and hauing a better grace ſometime to contemne the enemies, then alwaies to beware them, with luſty couragious wordes he inflamed his ſouldier, as purpoſing, ſo ſoone as he could ouertake the enemies without delay to ioine iſſue in fielde. A ſupply of ſouldiers ſent out of Fraunce hee turned home againe, willing them to ſignifie ſo much to the reſt in his name, that the Roman Legions ſufficed for the defence of the Roman Empire: and that all our good friends and allies ſhould returne to their peaceable buſineſſe, without further care, aſſuring themſelues; that the warre, now that the Romans perſonally vndertooke it, was as good as already diſpatched. That increaſed the obedience of the French: for hauing receiued their men backe againe, they ſupported more eaſily all taxes and tributes, and were the more ready to performe all points of their duety, becauſe they ſaw their helpe was not needed. But Ciuilis and Claſſicus, whenas they heard of the ouerhrow of Tutor, the ſlaughter of the Treueri, and the good ſucceſſe euery where of their enemies, all in a fright and haſte ſeek to vnite their diſperſed powers. ſending meſſengers in the meane time to Valentinus one after another warning him to take heed to the maine chance, and not raſhly to venture and hazard the battel. Which ſo much the more expedition Cerealis diſpatched to the Mediomatrici, lying nearer vpon the enemy. certaine to leade the two Legions thence to aſſaile them on that ſide: and aſſembling all the ſouldiers at Magontiacum, and the power which he had brought with him ouer the mountaines, himſelfe marched farward, and at the third remoove came to Rigodulum, a place naturally ſtrong by reaſon of the high ſituation, and the riuer Moſella cloſing it in: where Va-

lentinus with a great power of Treueri was encamped; and had made it stronger by arte, casting trneches and ditches about it, and mightie huge stones to hinder the passage. But these fortifications terrified the Roman captaine nothing at all, but boldly he bad the footmen breake thorow, and appointed his battell of horsemen to clime vp the mountaine, despising the enemie, whom he knew to be raw, and vnskilful in seruice, & not to haue that aduantage by the difference of place, that himselfe had by the difference of men. At the going vp of the hill some little stay was made, vntill the enemies had spent their arrowes & dartes: then comming to handy strokes, they were driuen downe headlong, and tumbled one ouer another, as it were stones at the fall of a building: and part of the horsemen fetching about by easier ascents tooke many of the chiefe nobilitie of Belgium prisoners and amongst others Valentinus General that day of the field. The next day Cerealis entred the town of Triers. cap. 72 The souldiers were extreamely desirous to raze the city alleging that here Classicus, here Tutor was born: here were the men through whose wicked conspiracy the Legions were besieged & slain. what had poore Cremona deserued so greatly, as to be rooted out of the body of Italy because it differred the victory onely one night? here in the confines of Germanie stood the seat-towne of rebellion entire, & triumphing with the spoiles, & slaughter of our armies & generals. As for the spoile he might at his pleasure dispose of to the Princes behoofe they could be contented with the burning and ruines of that rebellious colony, to requite therby in some part the destruction of so many camps. Cerealis for feare of infamy, if he should be thought to noosel his souldiers in licentiousnes & crueltie repressed their anger and they obeyed being become, now they had left off ciuil warre, of more modest behauiour also in forreine. Then the miserable and pitifull spectacle of the Legions, which came from the Mediomatrici, drew mens minds to the consideration thereof. Vpon the guilt of their offence they stood with a sad and sorrowfull countenance, casting their eies downe to the ground no ioyful greeting when the armies met nor answering ought to those that sought to encourage and comfort them, but hiding themselues in their tents, not abiding to looke on the light: not so much amazed with danger or feare, as with the shame and discredit. And euen the conquerours were astonished at the sight, who not daring to speake begged their pardon with silence and teares, til such time as Cerealis with comfortable words reuiued their spirits; affirming that those things, which in deed came to passe through the mutinousnesse of the souldiers, or the dissention of the leaders, or the malice of the enemies, were but fatall mischances, which could not be escaped: and therfore that day they should account the first both of their seruice, and oath: their former facts neither the Prince, nor he would remember. Then were they receiued into the same camp and a proclamation made throughout all the bands, that no man in contention or anger should obiect to any cap. 73 of them their misdeeds or mishaps. Then calling the Treueri and Lingones to an

" assembly, he spake vnto them in this wise. I was neuer practised in the arte of
" speaking: my profession is armes, and with armes I haue made good proofe of the
" vertue of the Romans. But because words preuaile so much with you, and I see you
" esteeme good and evill, not by their owne natures, but by the speeches of factious
" persons, I thought it expedient to say some thing, which now that the warre in a
" manner is finished may be more behouefull for you to heare, then for vs to speake.
1 Caesar lib. 1. de bello Gallico. " The * Romans, their Captaines and Leaders, entred your countrey and the rest of
" France, not pricked by any desire of theirs, but requested thereto by your predeces-
" sors at what time ciuill dissensions had tired and ruined them and the Germans cal-
" led in by one side brought both into thraldome. How many battailes wee haue

fought

fought againſt the Cimbri and Teutones, what paines our armies haue taken, and with what ſucceſſe we haue handled our ſelues in the German warres for your ſakes, it is notoriouſly knowen; neither doe we therefore with ſo much expence of money and men garde the Rhene for the ſafety of Italie, but leſt ſome other Arioviſtus ſhould paſſe and conquere the kingdome of Fraunce. Or do you thinke your ſelues better beloued of Ciuilis and the Batauians, and the Germans ouer the Rhene, then your fathers and grandfathers were of their predeceſſours? the ſame cauſes ſtill are remayning, and ſo wil be for euer, to mooue the Germans to paſſe into France; to wit, ſatisfying of their pleaſures and luſts, auarice, and deſire of changing ſeate, that leauing their mires and deſerts, they may take poſſeſſion of this fruitfull countrey, and you the inhabitants thereof. yea but libertie and glorious ſhewes are pretended. Where was euer any, I pray you, that ſought to enthrall or vſurp ouer other, but he cloaked his purpoſes with ſuch goodly titles? France neuer was without petie tyrans and wars, till yee came vnder our iuriſdiction. We, albeit we haue beene often prouoked, haue put that onely as conquerours vpon you, wherby peace might be maintained. For neither peace can bee maintained without armes, nor armes without wages, nor wages without tribute: all other things are alike to vs both. you commonly gouerne our Legions, you are the Preſidents of theſe and other prouinces, no prerogatiue is kept from you, or reſerued for vs. Againe, they which dwell farre off, feele the commoditie alike of a good Prince, whereas tyrannes oppreſſe moſt the neareſt. As you endure and ſupport with patience a barren yeere, if it happen, and vnſeaſoable weather, and ſuch other defects of nature; euen ſo tolerate a little and beare with the riotous life or auarice of gouernours. Faultes will be ſo long as there be men: but neither are they continuall, and amends is commonly made by better which follow. Vnleſſe peraduenture you hope for a more moderate, or eaſier gouerment vnder the raigne of Tutor and Claſſicus, or that with leſſe tribute, then now is paied, armies can be maintained to hold out the Germans and Britans. For if the Romans, which the gods defend, ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed, what els can enſue but wars of nation againſt nations, and the confuſion of the whole world. This frame is the workmanſhip of eight hundreth yeares, good fortune and diſcipline, which cannot be diſſolued without the deſtruction of the diſſoluers; but your danger, which haue gold and riches the chiefeſt cauſes of warre, of all is the greateſt. Therefore embrace your peace, and loue that cittie whereof both you and we are members alike. You haue prooued both fortunes: let them be a warning vnto you to chuſe rather ſubiection with ſafety then rebellion with ruine. With this ſpeech he ſetled their minds and lightened their harts who feared a heauier doome.

cap. 34

XXXI. *Ciuilis and Claſsicus write to Cerealis.*

cap. 35.

AT the time that the Roman army was within Triers, Ciuilis and Claſſicus ſent letters to Cerealis, The contents were, that Veſpaſian was dead, although the Poſtes concealed the matter: that Rome and Italie were conſumed and waſted with inward warre. As for Mutianus and Domitian they were nothing elſe, but vaine names without forces: if Cerealis liſt vndertake the Empire of France, it were his beſt courſe, and they would not be againſt it, contenting themſelues with their owne citties and confines, or if battaile pleaſed him better, euen that they would not refuſe. To theſe points Cerealis anſwered nothing to them, but ſent the meſſenger, that brought the letters, away to Domitian.

XXXII. *Ciuilis with his confederates ouerthrowen by Cerealis at Triers.*

IN the meane seaſon the enemies began to march, and approched on euery ſide in ſeuerall companies: whom Cerealis permitting to ioine, was blamed by many for ſuffering them to vnite, with whom he might haue fought ſingle, and defeated them eaſily being diuided. The Roman army caſt a ditch and trench about their campe, in the which they were before vnaduiſedly lodged with out any defence. Among the captaines of the other ſide there was diuerſitie of opinions, and the cap. 76. matter debated both waies. Ciuilis thought it expedient to ſtay for the Germans comming which dwelt ouer the Rhene, the terrour of which nations would treade vnder foote the Roman powers: as for the Frenchmen it mattered not much what way they went, being nought elſe but a prey to the conquerors; and yet the ſtrength of France, the Belgians, had either openly declared for them, or at leaſt ſecretly wiſhed them well. Contrarily Tutor affirmed, that by delay the Romans would growe and increaſe, ſo many whole hoſtes comming in from euery ſide, one Legion being already tranſported out of Britannie, others ſent for out of Spaine, and many Legions at hand out of Italie, not of rawe ſouldiers, but olde and well expert in warre: as for the Germans they looked for, what were they elſe but a kinde of vnprofitable troubles of a campe, out of al awe and obedience to ſuperiors, that would not be commanded nor ruled, but doe all as they liſted themſelues? Now for money and gifts, the onely meanes to corrupt the Germans, the Romans had more abundance, and no man was ſo haſty to fight, but would rather chuſe quietneſſe then danger with the ſame hire. Whereas if they would preſently fight, Cerealis had no other Legions as yet, but onely the remnants of the German army entangled with an oath to the Empire of France. And moreouer this their late vnlooked for ſucceſſe againſt Valentinus, and his rude vntrained company, would be a baite vnto them and their Generall to further raſhneſſe, and therefore they would without doubt venture againe, and ſo fall into the handes not of an vnskilfull youth, better ſeene in words and babble, then armes and militare feates, but of Ciuilis and Claſſicus; at the very ſight of whom the enemies would tremble, calling to remembrance their former feares, and flightes, and famines, and how oft they had beene taken & pardoned their liues. Neither doe the Treueri and Lingones keepe in with the Romans now vpon loue and goodwill, but for feare: which take ye away and they will reſume their weapons againe. Claſſicus approuing the opinion of Tutor decided cap. 77. the controuerſie, and forthwith they proceede to execution. The middle battell was aſſigned to the Vbij and Lingones, on the right ſide ſtood the Batauian cohorts, on the left the Bructeri and Tencteri: in this array partly from the mountaines and part betweene the way and the riuer Moſella they aſſailed our army ſo ſodainly, that Cerealis, lying abroad that night out of the campe, had word brought to his chamber and bed all at one inſtant, that the battell was begun, and his men ouerthrowen rating at the firſt their daſtardlineſſe that brought in the newes, vntil with his owne eies he ſawe the whole meſſage clearely confirmed, the campe of the Legions broken vp and entred into, the horſemen defeated, the bridge ouer Moſella in the midſt of the towne poſſeſſed by the enemie. In which confuſion Cerealis behauiug himſelfe without all feare, with his owne handes drew backe them which fled away, and manfully, albeit vnarmed among ſo many weapons, with his fortunate raſhneſſe, and aſſiſtance of ſome valiant ſouldiers comming in, recouered the bridge, and

leſt

left a chosen company of men to gard it. Then returning to the campe he found the bandes of the Legions, which were taken at Bonna and Noueſium, disbanded and ſcattered, few ſouldiers at their enſignes, and the ſtanderds almoſt circumuented. Whereupon being full of indignation and wrath, You forſake not (quoth he) » Hordeonius or Vocula, you can alleadge no falſehood or treaſon in me: neither » euer did I commit any act that needed excuſe, ſaue onely in affirming you had for- » gotten your oath to France & remembred your allegeance to the Roman Empire, » I ſhall, and ſo am contented to be numbred with Numiſius and Herennius, that all » your Lieutenauts may be ſaid to haue died either by the handes of their owne ſoul- » diers or elſe of the enemy. Go tell Veſpaſian, or which is nearer Ciuilis and Claſſi- » cus, that you haue left your Generall in the field: Legions ſhortly will come, doubt » ye not, which ſhal neither ſuffer me to be long vnreuenged, nor you vnpunished. » The accuſation was true, and the Captaines and Tribunes ſpake, and vrged to the cap. 78
ſame purpoſe. So they rallied and made head by cohorts and bandes, for the whole battell could not be diſplaied, partly becauſe the enemy was vpon them, and partly by reaſon of their tents and ſtuffe, which hindred them greatly fighting within the trenches. Tutor and Claſſicus and Ciuilis each in their ſeuerall quarters animated their men to fight, the Frenchmen for libertie, the Batauians for glorie, and the Germans for ſpoile: and all went with the enemie till the one and twentieth Legion knitting together in a more open place then the reſt, valiantly receiued the aduerſaries charge; and recharging by and by draue them from their ground. It was not without the ſpeciall helpe of the gods, that our enemies being victorious ſo ſodainly altered their mindes, and turned their backes. They affirmed afterward the ſight of the cohorts terrified them, which at the firſt ioining being defeated, vnited again in the hill tops, and ſeemed a new ſupply in their ſight. But indeed the chiefe impediment of their victory was, that they left of to deale with the enemie, and quarrelled fooliſhly among themſelues for the ſpoile. Cerealis as he had almoſt vndone all by negligence, ſo by diligence and conſtancie he recouered it againe, and following his fortune tooke the ſame day, and razed the enemies campe.

1 Betweene the way and the riuer] Tacitus, might wel in this place, after the example of the moſt approued ſtory writers haue ſet vs down a more plaine and particular chorography of the place wherein this battaile was fought, of whether ſide of the riuer the Roman campe ſtoode, and how in reſpect of the towne: for as it is written it is, in my fancie hard to conceiue, not onely to vs now but euen to them for whoſe vſe he wrote it: vnleſſe we will ſuppoſe that euery common man that liued in Rome in thoſe times knew this *via*, which he telleth vs of here, and ſuch other petty matters in the ſite of Triers neceſſarie for the full conceiuing of the place. beſide that perchance, alter the ſite as you liſt, ſome obiections may be picked out of the text here hardly anſwerable.

XXXIII. *They of Coleyn kill the Germans which they finde in their towne: and cut a cohort of Ciuilis lying at Tolbiacum in pieces. The Caninefates fight proſperouſly againſt the fleete of Britanny, and Ciuilis againſt ſome of Cerealis horſemen*

THE ſouldier without any long intermiſſion was ſtraight waies called to a new ſeruice. They of Coleyn requeſted their helpe, and offred to ſurrender the wife and ſiſter of Ciuilis, and the daughter of Claſſicus, which were left with them as pledges of mutuall amitie, and in the meane ſeaſon ſlew the Germans which lay diſperſed in their towne: wherupon growing into extreme feare they had iuſt cauſe to crie for aide before the enemies gathering new ſtrength ſhould reſume courage, or proſecute the reuenge. For Ciuilis alſo purpoſed thitherwarde, beſide other cap. 79

competent forces, vpon confidence principally of his most couragious cohort composed of Chauci and Frisij, which was not present in the ouerthrowe, and laie at Tolbiacum in the territorie of Coleyn, but he was deuerted from that determination by a sorrowfull message, that the cohort was massacred by the fraud of the Agrippinenses, who when the Germans had filled themselues with wine and good cheere, and so were laied to sleepe, shut vp the doores, put fire to their lodging, and burned them aliue: and withall Cerealis was come himselfe with speede to relieue them. Moreouer another feare troubled Ciuilis mind not a little, least the fourteenth Legion together with the nauie of Britannie should waste and spoile the Batauian border that lyeth vpon the Ocean. But Fabius Priscus the Lieutenant, hauing crossed the seas at the shortest cut, led forth the Legion by land into the coasts of the Neruij and Tungri; and those countries yeelded themselues to the Romans. As for the nauie, the Caninefates venturously made out against it, and tooke or suncke the greater part of the ships: and the same Caninefates defeated a multitude of Neruij, voluntarily gathered together to fight in fauour of the Romans. Classicus also against certaine horsemen, which Cerealis sent before to Nouesium, skirmished prosperously. Which small but often losses did dimme and diminish the glory of the victorie lately obtained.

XXXIIII. *The sonne of Vitellius is slaine. Antonius Primus discontented from Rome to Vespasian saileth lying at Alexandria.*

Cap. 80

ABOVT the same time Mutianus commaunded the sonne of Vitellius to bee slaine, pretending that a perfect vnion could not grow, vnlesse all seedes of warre were vtterly rooted out. Moreouer he would not permit that Antonius Primus should be assumed into Domitians traine in the voiage of France, hauing him in iealousie, by reason of the soldiers loue towards him, and because of the mans hauty proud nature, who could not abide any equall, much lesse a superior. So Antonius mal-content went to Vespasian, who receiued & entertained him in good sort, albeit not according to is expectation. The merits of the man, by whose conduct doubtlesse the war was consummate & ended, distracted him one way, & Mutianus letters another: and withall the rest put forward, inueying against him as an insolent and intolerable person, ioyning thereto the faults of his former life. And he for his part by his arrogant behauiour ceased not to prouoke displeasure, odiously inculcating at euery worde, what things he had done, and how greatly he had deserued of the cause, despising the rest as men of no seruice in warre, and Cæcina as a dishonoured captiue, and yeelded person. Whereupon by little and little he began to be in lesse credit, and lightlier esteemed of the Prince, notwithstanding outwardly he countenanced him as before.

XXXV. *Certaine miracles which happened whilest Vespasian staied at Alexandria attending for a good winde, and a seasonable time of the yeere.*

[a] Suet. Vespas. 4. Tacitus et quasi mandata quædam, vel fictæ speciei ad addita suæ prouidentiæ dicens, hæc quæcunque accidissent diuinitus euenisse. Sed ipsum tamen hæc arbitratum, cum alias deos tum præcipue Serapim.

cap. 81.

IN those monethes which Vespasian staied at Alexandria, attending [1] the ordinarie sommer winds, and a sure season by sea, many miracles happened, whereby the speciall fauour [a] of the gods and their good will towards Vespasian was euidently signified. A certaine poore blind man of Alexandria, knowen in all the towne

towne by reason of his infirmitie, warned by the god Serapis, whom that superstitious nation adoreth aboue other gods, fell downe at the feete of Vespasian, and humblie beſought him with teares to remedy his blindneſſe, praying him to vouchſafe with the ſpittle of his mouth to wet his eies round about. An other lame of a hand, by the commandement of the ſame god, praied Veſpaſian that it would pleaſe him to treade vpon him with his foote. Veſpaſian at the firſt skorned and reiected their ſuites. But when they perſiſted ſtill inſtant vpon him, he began to doubt with himſelfe, fearing one the on ſide diſcredit, and opinion of vanitie, on the other vpon the importunateneſſe of the diſeaſed, and ſpeeches of flatterers, entring into ſome hope, at the laſt he willed the Phyſicians to conſider, whether ſuch blindneſſe and lameneſſe were poſſible by humane helpe to be cured. The Phyſicians according to their cuſtome diſputed the point diuerſly; diſcourſing out of their learning, that it might be, the blinde mans eies were not periſhed, but onely ouergrowen with ſome skin, which being remooued, the ſight would returne: likewiſe the other mans limmes were diſlocated, and might with force conueniently vſed be ſet right againe; and perchance it is the pleaſure of the gods to reſtore them to health, and to chuſe the Prince for the meanes of performing the ſame. Finally if the remedie had good ſucceſſe, the glorie would redound to the Prince that did it: if not, the skorne ſhould light vpon the poore patients that importuned him. Whereupon Veſpaſian ſuppoſing all things teaſeable to his good fortune, and nothing now incredible, ſtepped foorth with a merie countenance, and in the preſence of a great multitude, that ſtood by attending the euent, did as they had deſired him to doe, and preſently the lame recoured the vſe of his limmes, and the blinde of his eies. They which were preſent at both affirme both to be true, euen nowe at this time when nothing is gotten by lying. Then Veſpaſian became more deſirous to viſite the ſacred ſeate of the god, and there to aske counſaile concerning the affaires of the Empire; aud commaunding all to voide, he entred into the temple, and as he was buſie about his deuotion ſodainly he ſawe behind his backe, as he thought, one of the noble men of Egypt named [b] Baſilides, whom he knew to be ſicke in his bed many daies iourney from Alexandria. Then he enquired of the prieſts whether Baſilides that day had entered the church and of others whom he met whether he had beene ſeene in the citie or no: at the laſt ſending horſemen of purpoſe to ſee, hee found at the ſame moment Baſilides was no leſſe then foure ſcore miles off: then he perceiued it was a diuine viſion, and out of the name of [c] Baſilides deriued an anſwere. The [d] originall of this god hath not hitherto beene declared by any of our writers. The Egyptian prieſts do report the hiſtorie thus: that Ptoleme the king; he which firſt of the Macedonians ordered the kingdome of Egypt, when he had walled the lately built cittie of Alexandria, erected temples, and inſtituted religious rites, ſawe in his ſleepe a faire goodlie yoong man much taller then the ordinarie ſtature, who warned him to ſend into Pontus of his moſt truſtie friends, and fetch thence his image; that it would bring great proſperity to the whole kingdom, and that place would eſpecially flouriſh where the image ſhould be receiued: and ſtraightwaies the yoong man ſeemed to be caried vp into heauen out of his ſight in a great flame of fire. Ptoleme mooued with ſo great and prodigious a miracle, declared his viſion to the Egyptian prieſts, who are wont to interprete ſuch things. But when he ſawe them vtterly ignorant of Pontus and forraine matters, he asked Timotheus an Athenian one of the Eumolpidæ, whom he had ſent for from Eleuſis to haue the chiefe gouernment of matters of religion, what deuotion or what god that might be? Timotheus, conferring with ſome which had trauelled in Pontus,

cap. 82

[b] Some thinke it to be the Prieſt in mount Carmel mentioned 2. Kings. but the circumſtances do hardly agree.

[c] Deduced of βασιλεὺς.

cap. 83.

[d] The ſame ſtory is recorded by Plut. lib. de Iſide & Oſiride, with ſome difference in circumſtances: and by Euſtathius in his comment vpon Dionyſius more agreeably to the tradition here.

tus, vnderstood that there was a cittie called Sinope, & neere vnto it a temple of ancient name among the inhabitants dedicated to Pluto: for there stoode by it the image of a woman commonly named Proserpina. But Ptoleme, as the vsuall manner of kings is at the first prone to feare, and quickly returning to former securitie, as being more addict to pleasures then to deuotions, neglected the matter and cast his cares otherwhere, vntill the same vision appeared in more terrible & vehement manner, denouncing destruction peremptorily to him & his kingdom, if he performed not his commandements. Then Ptoleme sent an embassage with presents to Scydrothemis the King of Sinope, willing them at their departure to go by Delphos and aske counsaile of Apollo. Their iourney by sea was prosperous, & Apolloes answer without ambiguitie; namely that they should goe forward, and bring with them away his fathers image, but leaue his sisters. When they came to Sinope, after they had presented their gift to Scydrothemis, they declared at large their cõmission, & what the king their master requested at his hands. Scydrothemis was doubtful in minde: somtimes he feared the wrathful displeasure of the god, sõtimes the threats of his subiects, who were vtterly against the granting of it, and somtimes he had a fauorable respect to the presents and promises of the Embassadors. And so three yeers being spent in this negotiation, Ptoleme notwithstanding continued an earnest suiter sending more honorable embassadors mo ships, & more store of gold. At the last a fearfull & threatning vision appeared to Scydrothemis, charging him no longer to hinder that, which the god had determined: & as notwithstanding he protracted, many mischiefes befell him, and diuerse diseases, and the manifest wrath of the gods vexed him daily more and more. Then calling an assembly of all the people he declareth vnto them the will of the god, his owne and Ptolemes visions, and also the mischiefes which otherwise hung ouer their heads. The common people withstood the motion, enuying at Egypt, and fearing their owne state, and so beset the temple about: whereupon a strong report goeth, that the god without handes conueyed himselfe into the ships, which lay there at ancker: and, which is maruellous to be reported, sayling from thence thorow so vast seas, they arriued the third day at Alexandria. So a [b] temple was built answerable to the magnificence of the cittie, in a place called Rhacotis, where had beene a chappell of ancient time consecrated to [c] Sarapis and Isis. And this is the most famous opinion concerning the originall of the god and his transportation. I know that some hold he was brought from Seleucia a cittie of Syria, in the raigne of Ptoleme the [f] thirde: others that the same Ptoleme was the transporter, but it was from Memphis a famous cittie, in auncient times the glorie and strength of olde Egypt. The god himselfe many suppose to be [g] Æsculapius because hee cureth diseases; some Osiris the oldest god knowen of those nations; many Iupiter, as soueraine lord ouer all; most Pluto, by notes that manifestly appeare in him, or otherwise by collection gathering arguments of their coniecture.

cap. 84

[b] Tacitus, lib. 4. Hist. Templum apud Alexandriam Serapidi dicatum.

[c] Sarapis and Isis.

[f] Plutarch. in Isid. & Osir. Strabo lib. 17. Diod. lib. 1. Pausan. in Corinthiacis. Tacitus, lib. 4. Hist. Iuuenal. Satyr. 6.

[g] Æsculapius.

[5] Cap. 20.

2 The ordinary sommer windes. *Statos æstiuus flatibus dies & certa maris apperiens.*] *Certa maris* are from the fifteenth or seauen and twentieth of May (for Vegetius *lib. 4. cap. 39.* nameth both) to the fourteenth of September: from the fourteenth of September to the eleuenth of Nouember *nauigatio, sed incerta*: from the eleuenth of Nouember to the tenth of March *maria clausa*: and from thence to the fifteenth of May *nauigatio periculosa*. So that Vespasian, as it may seeme, set not out before the later end of May. Ioseph 4 ἀλώσ. *cap.* 42. αὐτὸς μέντοι (Οὐεσπασιανὸς) εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὥρμησε τολμήσαντες τὰ χειμῶνος & ἀδήλου. That is, *Vespasian set forward for Rome at the end of winter.* Now whereas some learned men for *statos æstiuus flatibus dies*, reade *statos Etesiarum flatibus dies* it is an ouersight. *Etesiæ* are contrary windes to the course. Tac. 2. Hist. and Cæsar. 3. *de bello ciuili*: *Ipse necessariò Etesiis remanebat, qui Alexandriã nauigant illis sunt aduersissimi venti* and to stay till they were past, that is till the later ende of August, were to stay very neare the termes of *incert nauigatio*, and be sure of *incertissima* before he could come home.

XXXVI. *The voiage of Domitian and Mutianus with their traine to Lions.*

BVT Domitian and Mutianus before they came to the Alpes receiued the newes of the prosperous battaile against the Treueri: and for a sure proofe of the victorie Valentinus the Generall of the enemies was withall deliuered into their hands, who in his aduersitie retained his former courage, declaring in countenance what stomacke once he had borne. He was permitted to speake for himselfe, onely that his nature and gifts might be seene, and so adiudged to die. At his execution one vpbraided vnto him that his countrey was taken, then shall I die, quoth he, with greater contentment. Then Mutianus cunningly induced speech as proceeding from the present occasion, being indeed that which long time he had projected before: that seeing through the great[a] fauour and goodnesse of the gods the forces of the enemies were broken it were vnseemly for Domitian now that the war was almost at an end, to intercept the glorie of another mans trauailes: if the case stoode so that the state of the Empire or safetie of Fraunce were in danger, it were requisite that the Princes sonne should stand in the fielde: but to fight against the Caninefates and Batauians would be committed to commanders of lower degree; he himselfe should stay at Lions & from thence in a reasonable distance make shew of the Princely puissance and state, neither venturing his person in matters of small moment, and if any greater should happen ready at hand. The arte was vnderstood, but seeming not to vnderstand it was a point of obedience. And so they came to Lions; from whence it is thought that Domitian sent a secret message to Cerealis, to prooue his loyaltie, whether if he came thither in person hee would deliuer him his army and gouernment: what he intended thereby, to make war with his father, or to strengthen and fortifie himselfe against his brother when the time should serue, it is not certainely knowen: for Cerealis with good and discreete answere shifted off this fond and childish request. Domitian perceiuing his [b] youth contemned of the elder men, ceased from medling any more in affaires of estate, euen of the meaner sort, and such as before vsually passed thorow his handes: withall, vnder colour of simplicity and modestie, sequestring himselfe to a close and solitarie kind of life, pretending desire of learning and loue of poetrie, thereby to couer his dispositon, and auoide all emulation and cause of vnkindnesse with his brother, whose vnlike and far more curteous nature he construed contrarily.

cap. 85.

[a] *Iosephus. lib. 6. 11.* falsely and flattering he ascribeth the glory of finishing this war to *Domitian.*

cap. 86.

[b] Being about seuenteene or eighteene yeeres old at that time.

THE

THE LIFE OF IVLIVS AGRICOLA WRITTEN BY CORNELIVS TACITVS.

cap. 1

TO report and deliuer to posterity the doings and demeanours of excellent personages, a thing vsuall in ancient times, euen our age, though careleſſe otherwiſe of her owne, hath not omitted then and ſo oft whenas any great and eminent vertue hath ouergrowne two vices, to little and great common wealths common alike, [1] ignorance of that which is good, and enuying at it. But in the daies of our anceſtours as it was farre more eaſie and open to atchieue actions worthy of writing, ſo likewiſe their fineſt wits, without fauour or flattery, vpon an vpright conſcience, without other reward, were led to record and chronicle the ſame: yea diuerſe vpon confidence of their owne proceedings haue thought it no preſumption to ſet downe in writing themſelues their owne liues. Neither were Rutilius and Scaurus a white more miſliked, or leſſe beleeued for that: ſo certaine it is, that vertues are then valewed moſt rightly, whenas they doe growe in moſt plenty. But now it fareth with me farre otherwiſe: who hauing here to deſcribe the life of a man already deceaſed, [2] am firſt of force to beg pardon; a thing which indeede I would haue forborne, were I not to meete and fall in with a time ſo terrible, ſo capitall an enemy to vertue and honour. We reade that Arulenus Ruſticus for praiſing Pætus [3] Thraſea, and Herennius Senecio for commending Heluidius Priſcus were both put to death: and beſide the writers [4] againſt the bookes alſo ſeuerity was vſed, charge being giuen from authority to the Triumuiri, that the workes of thoſe noble wits ſhould be in the market place ſolemnely burned. Belike they ſuppoſed they could with that fire quench the ſpeech of the people of Rome, aboliſh the liberty of the Senate, and ſuppreſſe the common knowledge of whole mankinde; expelling withall the [5] profeſſours of wiſedome, and baniſhing all good learning and artes, leſt any ſparkle of honeſty ſhould by miſchance remaine within view. For certaine we gaue great proofe of our patience, and as our anceſtours attained and ſawe the higheſt pitch and perfection of liberty, ſo we of ſeruility, being depriued by intelligencers and ſpies of the commerce of hearing and ſpeaking together: yea memory alſo, as well as tongue we had loſt, had it lyen in our power as well to forget as it did to keepe ſilence. Now at the length our former ſpirits begin to reuiue: howbeit although Prince Nerua, ſtraight at the firſt entry of this moſt happy age, hath wiſely matched and mixed together two things heretofore inſociable, the ſouereignty of one with the liberty of all; and Traian his ſonne, proceeding in the ſame traine, maketh the Empire dayly more ſupportable and eaſie: ſo that not onely we may hope and conceiue prayers for the publicke ſecurity, but ſee and touch the effect of our praiers aſſured and confirmed vnto vs: yet notwithſtanding by proofe it is found (ſuch is the nature of mans imbecility) the remedies to be of ſlower operation, then were the diſeaſes. And as our bodies waxe and gather ſtrength by leyſure, periſh in a moment; ſo good wits and good learning are ſooner cut downe then raiſed againe. For the ſweetneſſe and pleaſing of idleneſſe, and of doing nothing, creepeth into our ſenſes: and ſloathfulneſſe which at the firſt we deteſt, by cuſtome obtaineth our fauour and loue: to

cap. 2

cap. 3

omit

omit that in [a] fifteene yeeres a great part of mans age, many haue beene wasted by casuall chances, the most sufficient and forward by the crueltie of the Prince, a few of vs onely remaining that haue ouerliued, as I may say, not onely others, but also our selues, hauing so many yeeres subducted out of the midst of our life, in which we proceeded in silence from yoong men to aged, from aged almost to the graue. And yet peraduenture it shall not repent me to compose, though in rude and vnframed speech, a [b] memorie of our late thraldome, and a testimony of our present felicities. In the meane while this treatise I haue specially vowed to the honour of Agricola my father in lawe; and therefore as being in discharge of dutie, and carying profession of kindnes, it shall either abroade purchase praise, or be couered at least with some curteous excuse.

[a] For so long Domitian was Emperour.

[b] I find memorie of their thraldome, he meaneth as I suppose, his bookes of hist. by a testimony of their present felicitie, a volume intituled by him of Nerua and Traiana there is it appeares in the Preface of the fifteenth booke of Annals, I will be performed.

1 Ignorance of that which is good, and enuying at it] As small obiects of weake eies, so small vertues are not conceiued of common capacities: but as there, a certaine quantity and bignesse is requisite, before the dull sense can be pearced; so heere, before the vulgar conceit. Now assoone as vertue is growen out of ignorance, she entreth by and by into enuy, till mounting aloft, as the sunne being verticall abateth all shadowes, so she in the top and height of perfection, all enuy.

2 Am first of force to beg pardon] Belike then he stood in some feare. And for what? of falling in with those *saeua* and *infesta virtutibus tempora*, [a] vnder Domitian. but he wrote this treatise in Traians time, *in beatissimi saeculi luce*, as he termeth it; and I see no sufficient cause, the times being safe wherein he wrote, to feare the times wherof he wrote: nor of that which followeth; We read that Arulenus Rusticus &c. being things so lately done, and all in his memory, and, as it may seeme, in his sight. for so he saieth himselfe in the end of this booke. *Q. Aruleno Rustico, Rustiquè visum, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit.*

[a] Or peraduenture it was some yeares after. still a course practised in domitians time to haue written the liues of Thrasea and Helui. albeit they were both put to death by other princes, so it might be Tacitus were some priuy-mate to Nerua, written his life, who also vnder Domitian was suppressed by poison.

3 Thrasea] Put to death by Nero *virtutem ipsam exscindere concupiente*, saith [b] Tacitus: Heluidius Priscus by Vespasian for obeying no better the good counsaile was giuen him by Eprius Marcellus in the Senate some yeares before, and recorded by [c] Tacitus in these wordes. *Suadere etiam Prisco, ne supra principem scanderet, ne Vespasianum senem triumphalem, iuuenum liberorum patrem praeceptis coerceret. Quomodo possimus imperatoribus sine fine dominationem, ita quamuis egregijs modum libertatis placere.*

[b] *Annal.* 16.

4 Against the bookes also] [d] Clisthenes king of the Sicyonians purposing to make warre against the Argiui, forbade the verses of Homer to be reade or sung in his citty, because they conteyned almost euery where commendation of Argos & the Argiui; wisely forseeing what great alteration a poem so sweetly endited might worke in the mindes of his subiects, euen against the good of the state and the Romans likewise among all instruments of innouation seeing none fitter to worke trouble in a settled state, then by way of libels & bookes to sowe seedes of sedition and nouelty, appointed the Aediles and Triumuiri capitales to foresee that no preiudice should grow to the common wealth by that meanes. In the second punicke warre, new religions being brought in by meanes of certaine lewde bookes of prophesies, saith [e] Liuie, *Incusati graniter ab senatu Aediles, Triumuiriquè capitales, quòd non prohiberent.* and as in this place of Tacitus the Triumuiri had the charge, so in another of the same Tacitus we read the Ædiles. [f] *Libros Cremutij Cordi per Aediles cremandos censuere patres.* The vsuall and solemne place of this execution was in Comitio, a part of *Forum Romanum*, *Liu. lib* 40. *Libri Numae de iure Pontificio in comitio, igne a victimarijs facto, in Conspectu populi cremati sunt*

[d] *Herodot. Terpsich* 196.

[e] *Lib.* 25.

[f] *Tacit. 4. Ann.*

5 The professours of wisedome] *Suetonius* [g] *Domitiano.* [h] *Iunium Rusticum (interemit Domitianus) quòd Paeti Thraseae. &* [i] *Heluidij Prisci laudes edidisset, appellaretque eos sanctissimos viros, cuius criminis occasione philosophos omnes vrbe Italiâquè summouit.* Sulpitia a poetesse of that time:

Nunc igitur qui res Romanas imperat inter
Et studia, & sapiens hominum nomenq; genusq;,
Omnia abire foras atq; vrbe excedere iussit.

[g] *Cap.* 10.

[h] *Arulenus Rusticus in Tac.*

[i] According to Tacitus not of Heluidius Priscus but of Thrasea alone.

Xiphilinus: Ῥούστικον Ἀρουλῆνον ἀπέκτεινεν ὅτι ἐφιλοσόφει, καὶ ὅτι τὸν Θρασέαν ἱερὸν ἀνόμαζε, καὶ Ἐρέννιον Σενεκίωνα ὅτι τὸν Πρίσκον τὸν Ἑλουίδιον τὸν βίον συνέγραψεν. ἄλλοι τε ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν αἰτίᾳ συχνοὶ ἀπέθανον, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐξηλάθησαν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ρωμῆς. *That is, Nero put Arulenus Rusticus to death because he studied Philosophy, and because he termed Thrasea* Virum sanctum. *he put also Herennius Senecio to death, because he had written the life of Heluidius Priscus. and many other beside for this crime of philosophy lost their liues. and all of the profession were banished out of the city.*

[a] *Seneca de benefic. lib.* 2. *Sic exemplo magni animi opus est, vtemur Graecini Iulij viri egregij, quem C. Caesar occidit; ob hoc vnum quòd melior vir esset quam esse quemquam tyranno expediret.*

CNEVS IVLIVS AGRICOLA was borne in the ancient and noble colonie of [c] Forum Iulium: both his grandfathers had beene the Princes Procuratours, an honorable gentlemans place. His father [a] Iulius [c] Græcinus was by calling a Senatour, for eloquence and wisdome famous: by reason of which qualities he incurred the displeasure of Caius the Emperour, being willed by him to proferre accusation against Marcellus Silanus; which because he refused he was put to death. His mother Iulia Procilla, a mirrour of rare chastitie: vnder whose wing and motherly care Agricola being brought vp, passed ouer his infancy and youth in the exercise

[c] The same man, as I suppose, whose authoritie is so much alledged by Columella in matter of husbandrie.

exercise of all good qualities and artes. And beside his owne disposition clearly and wholly giuen to good, it was a good meanes to withhold him from the allurements of vice, that he hapned to haue the town of [b] Massilia for the place of his first aboad and studie in youth, a citty compounded of Greeke ciuility and prouinciall frugalitie well sorted together. I haue heard him say, I remember, that being yoong he had addicted himselfe to the study of Philosophie in earnester sort, and beyond the measure of a Roman and Senator, had not the wisedome of his mother corrected and cooled the heat of that humour. That noble and hawtie minde of his was caried to embrace with more feruencie then discretion, the beautie and gaie shew of that high and glorious profession: but reason anon and riper yeeres reformed his iudgement: and so he retained, a point most hard to be kept, of wisedome a meane.

[b] *Strabo. lib. 4. ετσὶ σπουδὴ καὶ τοῦ γυμνασιακοῦ τύπου Ρωμαίων πάσχουσι καὶ Μασσαλία, εἰς ἣν τις εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδημήσας ἐκεῖσε φοιτᾷ φιλομαθὴς ὤν;* and in another place he attributeth to the *Massilians* the commendation *τῆς λιτότητος τῆς βίου, καὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης.*

His first seruice in war was in Britannie vnder Suetonius Paullinus; into whose traine being assumed he was of that diligent and discreet leader well liked: not spending the time in riot after the maner of youthes, which conuert warfare into wantonnesse; nor accepting the title of tribuneship without skill in the seruice, as a calling of ease for pleasure and gadding abroade; but wholly directing his minde to know the prouince, to be knowen of the armie, to learne of the skilfull, to follow the best, to desire no employment vpon vainglorie, to refuse none for feare, iointly to shew himselfe both carefull and earnest in action. Neither did our affaires in Britannie stande at any time in the like termes of doubt and distresse: our old souldiers were slaine, our colonies burned, our armies entrapped, then we fought for to liue, afterward for to winne. All which exploits, though perfourmed by the counsaile and conduct of another, and consequently the credit of the cause, and glory of recouering the countrey appertaining to the Lieutenant, yet were they occasions to increase in the yoong man skill, experience, & desire of militare renowne, a quality not so acceptable in those seasons, wherein great vertues were greatly suspected, and a great fame endangered more then a bad.

[a] *Camalodunum* and *Verulamium*: but his lattdr was *municipium*, and not *colonia* in the straiteneſſe of termes.

From Britannie departing to Rome to beare offices he ioyned himselfe in matrimonie with Domitia Decidiana, a woman of honorable birth: which mariage was a countenance, and a strength to his further purposes: and they liued together in marueilous vnitie with mutuall loue, and [c] yeelding preeminence the one to the other; a point otherwise not greatly materiall, sauing that a good wife is a great commendation, aswel as an ill a reproch. Being Questor his lot fel in Asia with Saluius Titianus the Proconsull. Neither was he withdrawen by that meanes from his wonted integritie, although both the prouince was rich and readily ministred matter to offend, and his Procousull a man of insatiable greedinesse would with any remisnesse willingly haue redeemed at his hand mutuall conniuence and couering of faults. There his wife bare him a daughter both to his stay & his comfort, for the son she brought him before was already deceased hauing liued but a little. After his Questorship till he was created Tribune of the people, and the yeare also of his Tribuneship he passed ouer in rest & quietnesse, well weying the nature of Neroes time [d] wherin sloth was a vertue, and to do nothing the greatest wisedome of al. His Pretorship also he passed ouer in the same sort, with the like silence: for [2] none of the iudiciall places happened vnto him. The [3] plaies and vanities of the office he gouerned and executed by the rule of reason and measure of wealth: farre from excesse, and yet not without magnificence and honour. Anon afterward being elected by Galba to view and surney the iewels and gifts belonging to the temples, by most diligent and straite search he procured full restitution of all saue onely of those which Nero had taken.

[c] *Or, following another sense of the Latine words which may seeme doubtfull; and each preferring the other both vertuous alike, saying that the commendation is so much the greater in a good wife, as the reproch is the more in a bad.*

[d] *Tacit. 1. hist. speaking of Galba, and the same times, claritas natalium & meritorum temporum obstitit, vt quod segnitia erat sapientia vocaretur.*

The

The yeere following wounded his mind, & plunged his house in a heavy mischiefe. For Othos fleete rouing at large intentiously, inwaiting to the Ligurian shore, slew the mother of Agricola in her own grounds, spoiled the grounds, and carried away most part of the wealth which was the cause of the murder. As Agricola went to solemnize the funerals he received aduise, that Vespasian was in armes for the Empire, and with no more aduise to himselfe to the gaine. Domitianus as yet was but young, and challenged not, as an Emperors son, any thing else saue only licentious life. The affaires of the Empire & state of the city were gouerned at the beginning, & wholly directed by Mutianus alone. By commission from whom Agricola being sent to take muster, and behauing himselfe in that charge with great integrity and courage, he was by the same Mutianus, vpon message receiued of the seditious demeanor of Trosius Caelius made in his place Lieutenant of the two and twentith Legion, a Legion which slowly had sworne to Vespasian, and was out of awe, or awed much rather euen the Lieutenants grandsire; but chiefly was the Legions Lieutenant of power to refraine them, whether through the weakenes of his owne authority, or hard mouth of his souldiers, it is not assured. Thus being elected both to succeede and reuenge, he shewed an example of most rare moderation, in chusing to seeme rather to haue found, then to haue made, them dutiful souldiers. At that time Vestius Bolanus was Lieutenant of Britanny, gouerning in a gentler & milder maner, then was fit for so fierce a countrey. Vnder him Agricola cunningly conforming himselfe to that humour, & not vnlearned to ioine profitable counsailes with honest, tempered the heat of his nature, & refrained from growing his hawty desires. Soone after Petilius Cerealis was appointed Lieutenant Generall there vnder whom the vertues of Agricola had a large field and free scope to shew themselues in. For Cerealis communicated and imparted vnto him, first himselfe & his counsailes, then actions of labour & danger, and lastly glory also; committing oftentimes for a proofe to his leading some portion of the army, sometimes many more, according to the successe. Neither did Agricola at any time brag of his doings as seeking to win fame for himselfe, but humbly alwaies as a minister referred to his superior, & General, the good fortune & honor of all his exploits. So by his vertue in valiantly doing his charge, & his modesty in sparingly speaking therof he was without enuy, but not without glory.

cap. 7.

* Of these three we read in Plutarch.

cap. 8.

Vpon his returne from the Lieutenantship of the Legion, Vespasian of sacred memory elected him into the company of the † Patritians, and afterward sent him Lieutenant Generall into Aquitania, an honourable roome, both in respect of the office it selfe, and as being away to the consulship by the Prince purposed vnto him. The receiued opinion is, that militare wits are not refined to that sharpenesse and subtilty, that is practised in pleas and courts of iustice, because the martiall law is but grosse and blunt, executing most by the hand: notwithstanding Agricola, though brought vp in the field, vpon a naturall wit and discourse of reason, among those ‡ peaceable men, caried himselfe easily with great vprightnes and iustice. Now the seasons of affaires and vacations he deuided discreetly and well: in times of audience and iudgementes graue, heedfull, austere, and yet mercifull too: that duty performed, no face any more nor shew of authoritie: sowre lookes and stately, strait and hard dealing were laid apart: in such sort, that neither his gentle and curteous behauiour weaked the reuerence due to his person, nor his seuerity the loue: a thing rarely so seene. To speake of integritie, and forbearing of briberie in so great a personage, were a wrong to his vertues: euen glory, vpon which good men also oftentimes doate, he neuer affected by ostentation of vertue, or by artificiall meanes: far from emulation with his colleagues, farre from contention with the Procurators;

cap. 9.

† For Aquitania was then a peaceable prouince, voide of wars and souldiers.

whom to ouercome he esteemed no honour, and to bee ouercome a foule shame. In that Lieutenantship hauing spent scarcely three yeeres, he was called home to be Consull, the opinion going also, that Britanny should be assigned him, without any speech giuen out by himselfe to that purpose, but because he seemed sufficient and meet: fame faileth not alwaies, sometime shee chuseth right. Being Consull hee assured to me his daughter, euen then of rare hope, and after his Consulship solemnized the mariage: and straight thereupon was made Gouernour of Britannie, hauing besides [5] a Pontificall dignitie annexed.

Cap. 10.

The site of Britannie and dwellers, described by sundrie writers, I purpose heere to declare, not to compare in fineneſſe or wit, but because it was then first thorowly subdued: so that such things, as our elders without perfect discouerie, haue polished with pen, shall now be set faithfully downe vpon knowledge. Britannie, of all Ilands knowen to the Romans the greatest, coasteth by East vpon Germanie, by West toward Spaine, and hath France on the South: Northward no land lying against it, but only a vast and broad sea beating about it. The figure and fashion of whole Britanny, by Liuy of the ancient, and Fabius Rusticus of the modern, the most eloquent authors, is likened to [6] a long dish or two edged axe, and so is the part shapen indeed of this side Caledonia, whereupon the fame went of the whole, as it seemeth: but there is beside a huge and enorme tract of ground, which runneth beyond vnto the furthermost point, growing narrow and sharpe like a wedge. This point of the vtmost sea the Roman fleet then first of all doubling discouered Britannie to bee [8] an Iland, and withall found out and subdued the Iles of [h] Orkney before that time neuer knowen. Thyle also was lookt at aloofe, which snow hitherto and winter had couered. The sea thereabout they affirme to bee dull and heauie for the oare and not to be raised as others with winds: belike because land and mountaines are rare, which minister cause and matter of tempests, and because a deepe masse of continuall sea is slower sturred to rage. To examine the nature of the Ocean, and tides pertaineth not to this worke, and many haue done it before: one thing I will adde, and may safely auouch, that the sea no where in the world rangeth and ruleth more freely, carying by violence so much riuer water hither & thither, and is not content to flow and to ebbe so far as the bancks, but inserteth & windeth it self into the land, shooting into the mountaines and cliffes as to his owne channell. Now what maner of men the first inhabitants of Britannie were, forraine brought in, or borne in the land, as among a barbarous people, it is not certainely knowen. Their complexions are different, and thence may some coniectures be taken: for the red haire of the dwellers in [i] Caledonia, and mighty limbs import a German descent: [k] The coloured countenances of the [l] Silures, and haire most commonly curled, and site against Spaine, seeme to induce, that the old Spaniards passed the sea and possessed those places. The neerest to France likewise resemble the French, either because they retaine of the race from which they descended, or that in countries butting together the same aspects of the heauens doe yeeld the same complexions of bodies. But generally it is most likely the French being neerest did people the land. In their ceremonies and superstitious perswasions, there is to be seene an apparent conformity: the language differeth not much: like boldnesse to challenge and set into dangers; when dangers are come, like feare in refusing: sauing the Britans make shew of more courage, as being not mollified yet by long peace; for the French also were once, as we read, redoubted in war, till such time as giuing themselues ouer to peace and idlenesse cowardise crept in, and shipwrack was made both of manhood and libertie together: and so it is also befallen to those of the Britans which were subdued

5 *Xiphil. Tito.* ἐφάπτεσθαι δὲ καὶ Βρεττανίας ἐπεθύμησε] caking of Agricola, ὅτιπερ καὶ ἐπὶ Βρεττανίαν ἀπέστειλε. and *Dio* more at large *lib. 39* ἐφίεσθαι τὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀγρικόλαν ἐπιστρατεύσαντα ἤδη ὄντα στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐπιτετελεκότα καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ἐκδεδωκότα.

6 *Oroſius lib. 7. c. 6* falsly attributeth the conquest of the *Orcades* to *Claudius. Orcades etiam insulas vltra Britanniam in Oceano positas Romano adiecit imperio.* matie knowen they were before, for *Mela* who wrote in *Claudius* time, setteth downe the number of them *lib. 3 trigin ta sunt Orcades angusta inter se diductæ spatijs.*

Cap. 11.

h The North part of Scotland, *nunc Albania.*

i Or swart and blacke: for I thinke he meaneth not that painting of their faces, whereof mention is made by *Cæsar. 5 com. omnes vero se Britanni lutro inficiunt quod cæruleum efficit colorem.* for that was common to all, this proper to the *Silures*, and I find not that the *Spaniards* had any such custome.

k Southwales, & Cornewall, as it should seeme by *Tacitus* description heere.

subdued of old; the rest remaine such as the French were before. Their strength in the field consisteth in footmen; some countries make warre in wagons also: the greater personage guideth the wagon, his waiters and followers fight out of the same. Heeretofore they were gouerned by kings, now they are drawen by pettie Princes into partialities and factions: and that is the greatest helpe we haue against those puissant nations, that they haue no common councell together: seldome it chanceth that two or three states meet and concurre to repulse the common danger: so whilest one by one fighteth, all are subdued. The skie very cloudy and much giuen to raine without extremitie of cold. The length of the daies much aboue the measure of our climate. The nights light, and in the furthermost part of the Iland so short, that betweene the going out and comming in of the day the space is hardly perceiued, and when clouds do not hinder they affirme that the sunshine is seene [l] in the night, and that it neither setteth nor riseth but passeth along: because belike the [7] extreme and plaine parts of the earth proiect a lowe shadow and raise not the darkenesse on height; so the night falleth vnder the skye and the stars. The soile, setting aside oliue and vine and the rest, which are proper to warmer countreyes, taketh all kinde of graine and beareth it in abundance: it shooteth vp quickly and ripeneth slowly; the cause of them both is the same, the ouermuch moisture of the soile and the ayre. Britanny beareth gold and siluer, and other mettals to enrich the conquerour. The Ocean bringeth foorth [8] pearle also, not orient, but duskish and wan, which proceedeth, as some doe suppose, of lacke of skill in the gatherers, for in the red sea they are pulled panting aliue from the rockes; in Britannie cast out by the sea, and so taken vp. For my part I doe rather beleeue the nature of the pearle not to yeeld it, than that our couetousnesse could not finde out the way to gather aright. The Britans endure leuies of men and money and all other burdens imposed by the Empire patiently and willingly if insolencies bee forborne, indignities they cannot abide, being already subdued as to be subiects, but not to be slaues. *cap. 12*

[l] It is marueil how it can be night when the sunne-shine is seene: but you must beare with a phrase not of skill but profession. So that which he a little before calleth *Cælum*, now he calleth *Tractus*, and transferreth the name to Somerset in the climate of Belgica, but no part of Britanny reacheth so far.

The first of the Romans which entred Britanny with an army was Iulius Cæsar, who although he terrified the inhabitants with a battell which went on his side, and gained the shoare, yet may seeme rather to haue shewed the place to posterity, than deliuered to them the possession thereof. *cap. 13*

Then ciuill warres ensued, and bandings of men of great quality against the free state, and long after that lay Britanny forgotten, euen in peaceable times. Augustus termed it [9] policie, and chiefly Tiberius.

That Caius had a meaning to inuade Britanny it is certainly knowen: but his rash running head and hastie repentance, and chiefly his great attempts against Germany turning to nothing, euerted that purpose.

Claudius [m] did first with effect prosecute the matter, transporting Legions and Aides, and assuming Vespasian into the action, which was the beginning of the greatnesse whereunto he after attained: some countries were subdued, some kings were taken, and Vespasian made knowen to the world.

The first Lieutenant Generall was Aulus Plautius, then Ostorius [n] Scapula, both excellent warriers: and so by little and little was the neerest part of the Iland reduced to the forme of a prouince; and besides a [o] colonie of olde soldiers established there. Certaine citties were also bestowed in pure gift vpon king Cogidunus (who remained most faithfull euen to our daies) according to an old [p] custome anciently receiued of the Romans to vse even kings themselues for instruments of bondage.

Then Didius [q] Gallus succeeded in place, who kept that which his predecessors had gotten, and builded some few castels further in the land, to win by that meanes

[m] Who being requested by one *Bericus* a fugitive of *Britannie*, sent *Plautius* before, of whom, and of the acts of *Claudius* in *Britannie* reade *Dio lib* 40. where mention is made also of *Vespasian*.

[n] *Tac.* 12. *Ann.*

[o] *Camalodunum.* 12. *Annal.*

[p] *Perseus* in his embassage to *Eumenes* complaineth, *Pop. Romanum regum viribus reges oppugnare. Attalo adiutore patrem suum oppressum: Eumenes adiuuante, & quadam ex parte Philippo patre suo, Antiochum oppugnatum. in se nunc Eumenem & Prusiam armatos esse. Liu. lib.* 44. *cap.* 24.

[q] *Tac* 12. *Annal.* where also he calleth him *A. Didius.*

a fame of augmenting the office.

[r] Tac. 14. Annal. [f] Of the successe of his affaires read Tac. 14. Annal. where they are more largely described.

After Didius succeeded [r] Verantius, who died within one yeare.

Then [f] Suetonius Paullinus for two yeares space behaued himselfe fortunately, subduing the nations and establishing garrisons. Vpon confidence whereof going to assaile the Ile of [5] Mona, which ministred supplie to the rebels, hee disfurnished the cuntry behind, and laied it open to all opportunities of the enemie. For through the absence of the Lieutenant, the Britans free of feare began to discourse the miseries of bondage, to lay their iniuries together, and aggrauate them by constructions. That their patience had profited them nothing, saue onely to drawe heauier burdens vpon them, as men that would gently beare. That whereas in former times they had onely one king, now were there two thrust vpon them, the Lieutenant to sucke their bloud, the Procuratour their substance: whose disagreeing was the torment of the subiects, their agreement their vndoing; the one vexing by souldiers and captaines, the other by wrongs and indignities. That now their couetousnesse and lust layed holde, without exception, of all: and whereas in field he that spoileth is commonly stronger, now were they by cowards and weaklings for the most part dispossest of their houses, bereft of their children, inioyned to yeelde souldiers for other mens behoose, as though they were men, that knew how to do any thing els, saue only to die for their owne cuntrey. For otherwise what a small handfull of souldiers were come ouer, if the Britans would fall to recken themselues! that [a] Germany so had shakt off the yoke, hauing no Ocean sea, but onely a riuer, for their defence. That their causes of taking armes were vrgent and iust, their wiues and children, their parents, and countrey, whereas the Romans had nothing to mooue them to warre, but their own couetousnesse and wanton lust: and that they would doubtlesse depart, as Cæsar Iulius had done, if the Britans would imitate the vertues of their progenitours, and not be dismaied with the doubtfull euent of one skirmish or two. That men in miserie had more courage and vehemency to attempt, more constancy to continue: and now euen the gods seemed to pitty the poore Britans estate, hauing sent the Roman captaine out of the way, and confined the army, as it were, into another Iland. That now being assembled to aduize and deliberate together, they had attained the hardest point, in an action of that nature, wherein without question it were more danger, to be taken, then consulting, doing. With these and the like speeches inciting one another, by common consent they resolue to take armes vnder the conduct of [x] Voadica a lady of the bloud of their Kings: for in matter of gouerning in chiefe they make no distinction of sexe. And first pursuing the souldiers which lay diuided in garrisons, and winning the fortes, they inuaded anon the colony it selfe, as being the seate of their slauerie: in sacking whereof no kinde of cruelrie was omitted, which either anger or the rage of victory might induce a barbarous people to practise. And vnlesse vpon knowledge had of the reuolt Paullinus had come to succour with speede, Britanny had then been lost, the which with one prosperous battaile he restored to her former obedience, and patient bearing the yoke, some few keeping out and remayning in armes, whom the guilt of the rebellion excluded from all hope of pardon, and some feare also of the Lieutenants priuate displeasure: who though otherwise a singular man, yet seemed to shew too much hauty & hard dealing toward those which yeelded themselues, & to reuenge in a sort his owne iniurie. Whereupon [y] Petronius Turpilianus was sent in his place as a more intreatable person, and a stranger to their faults, and therefore more ready to receiue their repentance: who hauing composed the former troubles, and daring no further, deliuered Trebellius Maximus the charge.

[5] Anglesey.

[a] In the battell against Quintilius Varus.

[x] 14. Annal. her name is written Boudicia, & Bunduica, in Xiphil. capit. Nerua.

[y] Tac. 14. Annal.

[x] Trebellius

[z] Trebellius a man vnfit for action, and altogether vnexpert in ſeruice, by a kind of courteous and mild regiment intertained the countrey in quiet. For now the Britans alſo had learned good maners, not rudely to repulſe the ſugred aſſaults and flatterings of vices; and the diſturbance of ciuill diſſenſions miniſtred a lawfull excuſe for his doing nothing. But the ſouldier accuſtomed to warfare, waxe wanton with eaſe, and grew to be mutinous. Trebellius by fleeing away & hiding himſelfe eſchewed their firſt indignation, and anon reſuming his place without maieſtie, without authority, he ruled by way of intreaty, and at his ſouldiers diſcretion: and ſo comming as it were to a capitulation, the armie for licence to do what them liſted, the captain for ſafetie of his owne life, the mutinee ended without any bloudſhed. [z] Tac. 1. Hiſt.

[a] Vectius Bolanus ſucceeded in place, and in the ſame looſeneſſe of diſcipline, the ciuill warres continuing ſtill; like default againſt the enemie, like licence in the campe, ſauing that Bolanus, a good honeſt man, not odious for any crime, in ſtead of obedience had gotten good will. [a] Tac. 1. Hiſt.

But when as Veſpaſian with the reſt of the world recouered Britannie alſo, great Captains, good ſouldiers were ſent, and the hope of the enemy was greatly abated. For ſtraightwaies Petilius Cerealis ſtrooke a terrour into them, by inuading vpon his firſt entry the Brigantes, the moſt populous ſtate of the whole prouince. Many battailes were fought, and ſome bloudy, and the greateſt part of the [b] Brigantes either conquered or waſted. cap. 17.

[b] Yorkeſhire, Lancaſhire, Weſtmerland, Cumberland, and the Biſhopricke of Durham.

And whereas Cerealis would doubtleſſe haue dimmed the diligence and fame of another ſucceſſour, Iulius Frontinus a great man, as hee might after that predeceſſour, ſuſtained the charge with reputation and credit, ſubduing the puiſſant and warlike people of the Silures: where hee had, beſide the vertue of the enemie, to ſtruggle with the ſtraits and difficult places.

In this eſtate Agricola found the prouince, and the warres thus farre proceeded in, when as about the middeſt of the ſummer [c] hee paſſed the ſeas: at what time the ſouldier, as if the ſeaſon were paſt, attended an end for that yeere of his trauell, and the enemie a beginning to hurt. The Ordouices a little before hee entred the land had cut a wing almoſt wholly in peeces, which lay in their borders. Vpon which beginning the countrey being awaked, as men deſirous of warre, allowed the example: ſome ſtaied to ſee how the new Lieutenant wold take it. Agricola although the ſommer was ſpent, and the bands lay diſperſed in the prouince, and his ſouldiers had fully preſumed of reſt for that yeare, which hindred much and croſſed directly the vndertaking of warre, diuerſe alſo being of opinion rather to keepe & aſſure the places ſuſpected, all this notwithſtanding he reſolued directly to encounter the danger: and gathering the enſignes of the Legions, and ſome few Auxiliares, becauſe the [d] Ordouices durſt not deſcend into indifferent ground, himſelfe firſt of all, to giue others like courage in the like danger, led vp to encounter the enemie. And hauing deſtroied almoſt the whole nation, knowing right well that fame muſt with inſtance be followed, and as the firſt ſhould fal out, ſo the reſt would ſucceed, he deliberated to conquere the Iland of Mona: from the poſſeſſion whereof, as before I haue rehearſed, Paullinus was reuoked by the generall rebellion of Britanny: but as in a purpoſe not purpoſed before, ſhips being wanting, the policie and reſoluteneſſe of the Captaine deuiſed a paſſage, commanding the moſt choiſe of the Ayds, to whom al the ſhallowes were knowen, and who after the vſe of their countrey were able in ſwimming to gouerne themſelus with armour and horſes, laying aſide their cariage, to put ouer at once and ſodainely inuade them. Which thing ſo amazed the enemie attending for ſhips and ſuch like prouiſion by ſea that cap. 18.

[c] *Agricola* went into *Britanny*, as it may be gathered by ſome circumſtances in this booke, in the very yeere before *Veſpaſian* died, & returned about the fifth or ſixt of *Domitian*: of whoſe geſts in *Britanny*, beſide *Tacitus*, *Xiphilin*. *Dio* maketh honorable mention, and other.

[d] Northwales.

surely beleeuing nothing could be harde or inuincible to men which came so minded to warre, they humbly intreated for peace and yeelded the iland. Thus Agricola at his first entrie into his prouince (which time others consume in vaine ostentation or ambitious seeking of ceremonies) entring withall into labours and dangers became famous indeed & of great reputation. Neither did he abuse the prosperous proceeding of his affaires to vanity or brauing in speeches. He termed it not an exploit or a conqueſt to haue kept in order persons subdued before: he [e] bedeckt not with lawrell his letters of aduertisement, but stopping and suppressing the fame he augmented the same, when men began to discourse vpon what great presumptions of future successe, he should make so light an accecount of such great actions already performed.

[e] A thing vsuall in those dispatches wherein any notable victorie was signified, as it appeareth by *Iuuenal* in the beginning and *Ammianus Marcellinus*. lib. 16. cap. 19.

Now as touching his ciuill gouernment, Agricola knowing right well the disposition and minde of the prouince, and taught also by experience of others, that armes auaile little to settle a new conquered state if iniuries and wrongs be permitted, determined to cut off all causes of warres and rebellions. And beginning at home, his house first of all he reformed and restrained, a point of more hardnesse to some than to gouerne a prouince. He committed no maner of publicke affaires to bondman or freed: he receiued no souldier neare to his person vpon priuate affections of partiall suiters, nor vpon commendation or intreatie of Centurions, but elected the best, presuming the same to be the most faithfull. He would see into all things, not exact all things to the rigour: light faults he would pardon, and the great seuerely correct: not alwaies proceeding to punish, but often content with repentance: chusing rather not to prefer to office and charge such as were like to offende, then after the offence to condemne them. The augmentation of tribute and corne he mollified with equall diuiding of burdens, cutting away those pettie extortions which grieued the subiect more than the tribute it selfe. For the poore people were constrained in a mockery to waite at the barnes which were locked against them, and first to buy [10] corne, then after to sell at a price. Seuerall waies were enioyned, and farre distant places by the purueyours commandements: that the countrey should carie from the neareſt standing campes to those which were far off and out of the way, till that which lay open to all and at hand was turned in fine to the gaine of a fewe. By repressing these abuses straight in his first yeere, a good opinion was conceiued of the peace, which either by the negligence or conniuence of former Lieutenants was now no lesse feared than war. But when the sommer was come, assembling his army together, those which in marching behaued themselues in modest sort he commended, & checked the loose & dissolute straglers: the places for pitching the camp he designed himselfe, the firths & the thickets he prooued the first in his [f] own person: not suffering in the meane season any corner in quiet in the enemies countrey, but wasting and spoiling with sodaine excursions and roades, and when he had throughly terrified them, then would he againe spare and forbeare, alluring thereby their mindes to friendship and peace. Vpon which kinde of proceeding many states, which before that day stoode vpon termes of equalitie, gaue hostages, and meekely submitted themselues, receiuing garrison and permitting to fortifie; which he so wisely with such great foresight and reason performed, that nothing was euer attempted against them, whereas no new fortified place in all Britannie escaped before vnassailed.

[10] cap. 20.

[f] An errour in *Agricola* being Generall to do it, and a double errour in Latin to set it downe for a point of commendation. Ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐποιεῖτο, οὐκ ἐπεμελεῖτο φρουρᾶς, οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἐφίστατο. Saieth *Polybius libro decimo* speaking of the like. cap. 21.

The winter ensuing was spent in a most profitable and politicke deuice. For whereas the Britans were rude and dispersed, and therefore prone vpon euery occasion to warre to induce them by pleasures to quietnesse and rest, he exhorted them

in

in priuate, and helpt them in common to builde temples and houſes, and places of publike reſort, commending the forward and checking the ſlow, impoſing thereby a kinde of neceſſitie vpon them, whileſt ech man contended to gaine the Lieutenants goodwill. Moreouer the noble mens ſonnes he tooke and inſtructed in the liberall ſciences, preferring the wits of the Britans before the ſtudents of France, as being now curious to attaine the eloquence of the Roman language, whereas they lately reiected the ſpeech. After that our attire grewe to be in account, and the Gowne much vſed among them: and ſo by little and little they proceeded to thoſe prouocations of vices, to lumptuous galleries, and bathes, and exquiſite banquettings; which things the ignorant termed ciuilitie, being indeede a point of their bondage. In the third yeere of his wars he diſcouered new countreies, wa- cap. 22.
ſting along, till he came to the firth of [g] Taus. Which thing ſo terrified the enemies, [g] Tweede, as it is thought by Camd.
that although the armie had beene toiled with cruell tempeſts, yet they durſt not aſſaile them, and the Romans moreouer had leyſure and ſpace to fortifie there. They which were skilfull that way obſerued, that neuer any captaine did more aduiſedly chuſe his places: no caſtell planted by Agricola euer was either forced by ſtrength, or vpon conditions ſurrendred, or, as not defenſible, forſaken. Many times they iſſued foorth: for againſt a long ſiege, they were ſtored with a whole yeeres prouiſion. So they wintered there without feare, euery garriſon garding it ſelfe, and needing no helpe of their neighbours; the enemies aſſaulting ſomtimes, but in vaine without any ſucceſſe, and driuen thereupon to deſpaire. For the loſſes of ſommer they were commonly woont to repaire with winter euents: now ſommer and winter alike they went to the worſe. And in all theſe actions Agricola neuer ſought to draw to himſelfe the glory of an exploite done by another, but were it Centurion or of other degree, he would faithfully witneſſe the fact, and yeelde him alwaies his due commendation. By ſome he is ſaied to haue beene ſomewhat bitter in rebuking: and indeede the man was, as toward the good of moſt ſweet diſpoſition, ſo to bad and lewde perſons vnpleaſant and ſower: but his choler paſſed away with his words: cloſeneſſe in him and ſilence you needed not feare: he eſteemed it more honeſt to offende, then to hate. The fourth ſommer was ſpent in peruſing cap. 23.
& ordering that, which he had ouerrun: and if the valiant minds of the armies, and glorie of the Roman name could haue permitted, or accepted it ſo, they needed not to haue ſought other limit of Britannie. For [h] Glota and [i] Bodotria, two armes of [h] The firth of Dunbreton.
two contrarie ſeas ſhooting mightilie into the lande, are onely diuided aſunder by a [i] Edenborow firth
narrow partition of ground, which paſſage was garded and fortified then with garriſon and caſtell: ſo that the Romans were abſolute lordes of all on this ſide, hauing caſt out the enemy, as it were, into another Iland. The fift yeere of the war cap. 24.
Agricola firſt taking ſea went ouer and ſubdued, with many and proſperous conflicts, nations before that time vnknowen, and furniſhed with forces that part of Britannie, which lieth againſt Irelande, more in hope then for feare. For Ireland if it might haue beene wonne, lying betweene Britannie and Spaine, and fitly alſo for the French ſea, would aptly haue vnited, to the great aduantage of the one and the other, theſe ſtrongeſt members of the Empire together. In bigneſſe it is inferiour to Britannie, howbeit bigger then the Ilands of [k] our ſea. The ſoile and temperature of the aire, the nature and faſhions [k] He meaneth the Mediterran, and the Ilands there, as Sicily &c.
of the people, differ not much from the Brittiſh. The ports and places of acceſſe are more knowen by reaſon of more frequenting of merchants. Agricola had receiued before a Prince of that countrey driuen out by ciuill diſſention, whom vnder colour of curteſie and friendſhip he retained till occaſion ſhould ſerue. I haue heard

him

him often times say, that with one Legion and some few Aydes, Ireland might be won and possessed, and that it were also a strength for our British affaires, if the Roman forces were planted else-where, and libertie, as it were, banisht out of sight.

cap. 25. Now in the sommer, which began the sixt yeere of his office, because a general rising in armes of all the further nations beyond Bodotria was feared, and passages were all beset with the power of the enemies, he manned a fleete to search the creeket and harboroughs of the ample region beyond it, backing then first of all with a nauy the rest of his strength, & with a goodly braue shew bringing war both by land aud by sea. And oft so it chanced, that the horseman and footeman and the sea souldier met and made merrie in the same campe extolling and magnifying ech their own prowesse and aduentures: making their vaunts and comparisons souldierlike, the one of the woods and high mountaines, the other of dangers of tempests and waues: the one of the land and the enemie, the other of the Ocean, subdued. The Britans, as by the prisoner it was vnderstood, were amazed also at the sight of the nauie, as though now the secrets of their sea were disclosed, and no refuge remained if they were ouercome. Whereupon the Caledonians arming with great preparatian and greater fame, as the maner is of matters vnknowen, assayled our castels as challengers, brauing and putting in feare: insomuch that some of our side, which would seeme to be wise being dastards indeed, counselled the Generall to retire on this side Bodottia, and rather to depart of hir owne accord, then to be repelled with shame. In the meane season Agricola hath knowledge, that the enemies ment to diuide themselues, and to giue the onset in seuerall companies. Whereupon lest he should be enclosed about, and intrapped by their multitude and skil in the

cap. 26. countrey, he marched also with his armie diuided in three. Which when it was knowen to the enemy, changing aduice on the sudden, and vniting their forces together, they iointly assaulted by night the ninth Legion, as being of weakest resistance: and hauing slaine the watch, partly asleepe and partly amazed with feare, brake into the campe. And now were they fighting within the trenches, when Agricola hauing vnderstood by spies what way the enemies had taken, and following their footsteps, commandeth the lightest horsemen and footmen to play on their backes and maintaine the skirmish, and anon the whole armie to showte. And when it drew neere to be day, the glittering of the ensignes was seene. So the Britans being quailed with a double danger, the Romans recouered courage againe, and being out of perill of their persons, fought now for their honour; freshly assailing their late assailers, and driuing them to the gates: where in the straits the conflict was sharpe and cruell, till in the end the enemies were forced to flee, whilest both our armies contended, the one to seeme to haue helped their fellowes, the other to haue needed none other to helpe them: and if the bogges and woods had

cap. 27. not couered their flight, that victorie had ended the warre. Vpon this battaile so manfully fought, so famously won, the armie presuming that to their prowesse all things were easie and open, cried to lead into Caledonia, and to finde out the limit of Britannie with a course of continuall conquests: and those which erewhile were so warie and wise, waxt forward enough after the euent, and grew to speake bigly: such is the hard condition of wars: if ought fall out well all challenge a part, misfortunes are onely imputed to one. Contrariwise the Britans presupposing that not valour, but the cunning of the Generall, by vsing the occasion, had caried it away, abated no whit of their stomacke, but armed their youth, transported their children and wiues into places of safetie, and sought by assemblies and religious rites to establish an association of the cities together. And so far that yeare both parties depar-

ted /

ted incenſed away.

The ſame ſommer a cohort of Vſipians, leuied in Germanie, and ſent ouer into Britannie, committed a haynous and memorable act. For hauing ſlaine a Centurion and certaine ſouldiers ſet ouer them for direction in diſcipline, they fled and embarked themſelues in three veſſels, compelling the Maſters by force to execute their charge: and onely one doing his office, the other two being ſuſpected and thereupon ſlaine, this ſtrange going out, the fact being yet not noyled abroad, was gazed and wondred at. Afterward being driuen vncertainely hither and thither, and aſſayling the Britans which ſtoode in defence of their owne, often preuayling and ſometime repulſed, they came at the laſt to that miſery, that they were inforced to eate one another, firſt of the weakeſt, then as the lot lighted. And thus floating about Britannie, and leeſing their veſſels for lacke of gouernment, they were intercepted firſt by the Sueuians, and then by the Fruſians, as pyrats and robbers, and ſome of them being bought by merchants as ſlaues, & by change of maſters brought to our ſide of the riuer, grew into a name by giuing firſt notice of ſo great & ſo rare an aduenture. cap. 28.

In the beginning of the ſommer Agricola was deepely touched with a grieuous miſchance which happened in his owne houſe: for he loſt his owne ſon being about a yeare old. Which infortunate happe he neither bare out, as ſome great men haue done in the like vainglorioully, nor tooke it againe ſo impatiently as women are wont: and amidſt his mourning and ſorrowes vſed the warre as one of his remedies. Therefore ſending his nauy before, which by ſpoyling in ſundry places ſhould induce a greater and vncertayner terrour vpon them, he made readie and followed himſelfe with his army, ioyning thereto ſome of the valianteſt Britans, whom by long experience in peace he had found moſt faithfull, and ſo arriued at the mount [1] Grampius, where the enemies were lodged before. For the Britans not daunted with the euent of the former battaile, and attending for nothing els but reuenge or ſeruitude, and being taught at the length that common danger muſt be repelled with concord, by leagues and embaſſages had aſſembled the power of all the cities togethere aboue thirty thouſand armed men, the view being taken, beſide an endleſſe number of youth, which dayly flocked to them, and luſtie old men, renowned in warre and bearing the badges due to their honour: at what time Galgacus, for vertue and birth of all the leaders, the principall man ſeeing the multitude hoatly demaunde the battaile, is fayed to haue vſed this ſpeech. cap. 29. [1] Now called Grantzbaine.

When I view and conſider the cauſe of this war, and our preſent neceſſity, I haue reaſon, me ſeemes, to preſume, that this day, and this your agreeing conſent, will " giue a happie beginning to the freedome of the whole Iland. For both haue we all " hitherto liued in libertie, and beſide no land remaineth beyond, no ſea for our ſafe- " ty, the Roman nauie thus, as you ſee, ſurueying our coaſts: ſo that combate and " armes, which men of vertue deſire for honor, the daſtard muſt alſo vſe for his ſecuri- " tie. The former battailes, which haue with diuerſe euent beene fought with the " Romans, had their refuge, and hope reſting in our hands. For we the flower of the " Brittiſh nobilitie, and ſeated therefore the furthermoſt in, ſawe neuer the coaſts of " the countreyes which ſerued in ſlauery, euen our eies are kept vnpolluted, and free " from all contagion of tyrannie. Beyonde vs is no lande, beſide vs none are free: " vs hitherto this corner and ſecret receſſe hath defended. Now the vttermoſt point " of the lande is laied open: and things the leſſe they haue beene within knowledge, " the greater the glory is to atchieue them. But what nation now is there beyond " vs? what els but water and rockes, and the Romans Lords of all within lande? whoſe " intollerable cap. 30.

" intollerable pride in vaine ſhall you ſeeke to auoide by ſeruice and humble behaui-
" our: robbers of the world, that hauing now left no lande to be ſpoiled, ſearch alſo
" the ſea. If the enemy be rich, they ſeeke to win wealth: if poore they are content to
" gaine glorie: whom not the eaſt, nor the weſt haue ſatisfied: the onely men of all
" memory that ſeeke out all place, be they wealthy or poore, with like ardent affe-
" ction. To take away by maine force, to kill and to ſpoile, falſely they terme Empire
cap. 31. " and gouernment: when all is waſte as a wilderneſſe, that they call peace. His chil-
" dren and bloud ech man by nature holdeth moſt deare: thoſe are preſſed for ſouldi-
" ers, and caried away to be ſlaues otherwhere. Our ſiſters and wiues, though they
" be not violently forced as in open hoſtilitie, are in the meane while vnder the color
" and title of friends and gueſts often abuſed. Our goods and ſubſtance they draw
" for tribute, our corne for prouiſion: our bodies and handes, they weare and con-
" ſume, in pauing of bogges and of woods, with a thouſand ſtripes and indignities.
" Slaues which are borne to bondage are ſolde, but once, and after are fed at their
" owners expences: but Britannie daily buieth, dayly feedeth, and is at charges with
" her owne bondage. And as in a priuate retinue the freſhman and laſt commer is
" laughed and ſcoffed at by his very fellow-ſeruants, ſo in this oldeſeruitude of the
" whole world our deſtruction onely is ſought, as being the lateſt and moſt vile in ac-
" count. We haue no fieldes to manure, no mines to be digged, no portes to trade
" in: and to what purpoſe then ſhould they reſerue vs aliue? Moreouer the manhood
" and fierce courage of the ſubiect pleaſeth not much the iealous Soueraine: and this
" corner being ſo ſecret & out of the way, the more ſecurity it yeeldeth to vs, in them
" it workes the greater ſuſpicion. So ſeeing all hope of pardon is paſt, at the length
[m] *Voadicia*, whō *Tacitus* himſelfe maketh wife to the king of *Iceni*, people of Norfolke, &c and not of the *Brigantes*. 14. *Ann.*
" take courage to defende and maintaine your ſafety as well as your honour. The
" Brigantines led by a [m] woman fired the colonie, forced the caſtles: and if ſuch a
" luckie beginning had not ended in ſloth and ſecuritie, they might haue with eaſe
" ſhakt off the yoke. We as yet neuer touched, neuer ſubdued, and borne to be free
" not to be ſlaues of the Romans, let vs ſhew ſtraight in the firſt ioyning what maner
cap. 32. " of men Caledonia reſerued in ſtore for hirſelfe. Or do you thinke the Romans to be
" as valiant in warre as they are wanton in peace? No, not by their vertue, but by our
" iarrings and diſcordes they are growen into fame: and the faults of their enemies
" they abuſe to the glory of their owne armie compoſed of moſt diuers nations, and
" therefore as by preſent proſperity holden together, ſo if fortune do frowne it doubt-
" leſſe diſſolueth: vnleſſe you ſuppoſe the Frenchmen and Germans, &, to our ſhame
" be it ſpoken, many of our owne nation, which now lend their liues to eſtabliſh a for-
" reine vſurper, and yet haue beene enemies longer then ſeruants, to be led and indu-
" ced with any true harted and faithfull affection. No, it is terrour and feare, weake
" workers of loue, which if you remooue, thoſe which ſhall haue ceaſed to feare will
" ſtraight begin for to hate. All things to incite to the victory are on our ſide. No wife
" to encourage the Romans: no parents to vpbraide them if they flee: moſt haue ei-
" ther no countrey at al, or ſome other: a few feareful perſons, trembling and gazing at
" the ſtrangneſſe of the heauen it ſelfe, the ſea and the woods: whom the gods haue
" deliuered mewed vp, as it were, and fettered into our handes. Let not the vaine
" ſhew and glittering of golde and ſiluer terrifie vs, which neither defends nor offen-
" deth. Among the enemies we ſhall finde of our ſide: the Britans will agnize their
" owne cauſe: the French will remember their freedome and former eſtate: the reſt
" of the Germans will leaue and forſake them, as of late the Vſipians did. And what
" elſe then haue we to feare? the caſtels are emptie, the colonies peopled with aged
" and impotent perſons; the free cities diſcontent and in factions, whileſt thoſe

which

which are vnder obey with ill will, and they which do gouerne rule against right. Here is the Generall and here the armie, there tributes and mines, and other miseries inseparably following them which liue vnder subiection of others: which whether we are to continue for euer, or straight to reuenge, it lieth this day in the field. Wherefore going to battell beare in your mindes, I beseech you, both your [n] auncestours and your posteritie. This speech was cherefully receiued, with a song after their barbarous fashion, with confused acclamations and noyses. And as the companies clustered together, and glistering of armour appeared, whilest some of the boldest auanced forwarde, and withall the rankes were putting themselues in array, Agricola albeit his souldier was glad of that day, and scarce could with words be withholden, supposing yet best to say somewhat, encouraged them in this wise.

[n] Your auncestours, which lined in the happie estate wherein ye are borne: and your posteritie, whiche vnlesse we vanquish your valor this day shall liue for euer in most miserable servitude.

Fellow souldiers and companions, in armes, your faithfull seruice and diligence, these [o] eight yeeres so painfully shewed, by the vertue and fortune of the Roman Empire hath conquered Britanny. In so many iourneyes, in so many battels we had of necessitie to shew our selues either valiant against the enimie, or patient and laborious aboue and against nature it selfe. In which exploites we haue borne vs both hitherto so, that neither did I desire better souldiers, nor you other captaine. We haue exceeded the limits, I of my predecessours, and you likewise of yours. The end of Britannie is found, not by fame and report, but we are with our armes and pauilions really inuested thereof: Britannie is found and subdued. In marching when the passing of bogges, or mountaines, and riuers, troubled and tired you out, how oft haue I heard the valiant souldier say, When will the enemie present himselfe? when shall we fight? loe they are now put vp out of their holes: and heere they are come: your wish loe heere, and place for your vertue, and all things to follow in an easie and expedite course, if you winne; if you leese all against you. For as to haue gone so much ground, escaped the woods, passed ouer the firthes, is honourable forward, so if we do flee, the vantages we haue this day will become our most disaduantage. For we are not skilled so well in the countreyes, we haue not the like store of prouision, but hands we haue and weapons, and therein all things included. For my part I am long since resolued, that to shew their backes is neither safetie for souldier nor General: and therfore a commendable death is better then life with reproch; and suretie and honour are commonly dwelling together: or if ought should mishappen, euen this will be a glorie, to haue died in the vttermost ende of the world and nature. If new nations, and souldiers vnknowen were in the field, I would by the example of other armies put you in courage: now recount you your owne victorious exploits, and aske your owne eies. These are the same men, which the last yeere assailed one Legion by stealth in the night, and were by a blast of your mouth ouerthrowen: these of all other Britans haue beene the most nimble in running away, and therefore haue escaped the longest aliue. For as in forests and woods the strongest beasts are chased away by maine force, the cowardly and fearefull are scared by the noise of the hunters, so the valiant of the British nation we haue already dispatched, the rascall heard of dastardly cowards only remaineth: whom at length you haue found, not as hauing intended to stay and make head, but as last ouertaken, and by extreme passion of feare standing as stockes, presenting occasion to vs in this place of a worthie and memorable victorie. Make an end therefore of your warfarre, and to [p] fiftie yeeres trauailes let this day impose a glorious conclusion. Approoue to your country, that the army could neuer iustly be charged either with protracting the warre, or pretences for not acomplishing the conquest. As Agricola, was yet speaking, the souldiers gaue great tokens of feruencie, and when

[o] And yet this was but the fourth yeere of his office, as appeareth before.

[p] From the first entry of Claudius in to Britannie seemeth not to haue been aboue seuen or eight and fortie yeeres.

when he had ended accompanied the speech with a ioiful applause, & ran straight-
waies to their weapons. Agricola seeing them sufficiently animated, and rushing
furiously forward, ordered his men in this manner. VVith the Auxiliarie footmen
being eight thousand, he fortified the middle battle: three hundred horsche pie
on both sides in the wings; commanding the Legions to stand behinde, before the
trench of the campe, to the greater glory of the victorie, if it were obtained with-
out Roman bloud, otherwise for assistance and succour, if the vantgard should bee
repelled. The Britans were marshalled in the higher ground, fitly both to the shew
and to terrifie, the first batalion standing on the plaine, the rest in the ascent of the
hil, knit and rising as it were one ouer another: the middle of the field was filled with
the clattering and running of * charets and horsemen. Then Agricola perceiuing
the enemie to exceed him in number, and fearing lest he should be assailed on the
front and flanckes both at one instant, displaied his army in length: and although
by that meanes the battell would become disproportionably long: and many adui-
sed him to take in the Legions, yet being more forward to hope, than yeelding to
feare, hee reiected the counsell, and leauing his horse, aduanced himselfe before the
ensignes on foot. In the first encounter, before the ioining, both sides discharg-
ged and threw: wherein the Britans employing both Art and valour, with their
great swords & little targets, auoided our throwes, or shooke them, darting withall
great store against vs of theirs: till at length Agricola spying his vantage exhorted
three Batauian cohorts, and two of the Tungrians to presse forward, and bring the
matter to handie strokes and dint of the sword; a thing which they in respect of long
seruice were able readily to performe, and contrarily to the enemies preiudicial, and
hurtfull by reason of their little bucklers, and huge swords: for the swords of the
Britans, being blunt pointed, were no way fit for the close or for open fight. Now
as the Batauians began to deale blowes, to strike with the pikes of their bucklers, to
mangle their faces, and hauing ouerborne in the plaine all that resisted, to march vp
the mountaines, the rest of the cohorts gathering courage vpon emulation violent-
lie beat down all about them, and many halfe dead, or wholly vntouched, were left
for haste of winning the field. In the meane time the charets mingled themselues
with the battell of the footmen, and the troupes of the horsemen beganne for to
flee: who albeit they had lately terrified others, were now distressed themselues by
the vneuennesse of the ground, and thicke rankes of their enemies. Neither was
the forme of the fight like a loose skirmish of horsemen to and fro, but standing still
and maintaining their places, they sought by maine weight of horses to breake and
beare downe one another. The wandring wagons also, and masterlesse horses af-
frighted, as it happened them by feare to be guided, ouer-bare many times of their
friends which met them, or thwarted their way. Now the Britans, which stood
aloofe from the battell on the height of the hils, and at their good leisure disdained
our fewnesse, began to come downe by little and little, and to compasse about the
backes of our men, which were now in traine of winning the field: but Agricola sus-
pecting as much, opposed against them foure wings of horsemen purposely retai-
ned about him for sudden dispatches, and chances of warre, and repulsed them back
as sharply, as fiercely they ranne to assaile. So the counsell of the Britans turned
vpon their owne heads: and the wings were commanded to forsake the battell and
follow the flight. Then might you haue seene in the open fields a grieuous and
pitifull spectacle, pursuing, wounding, taking, and killing of them which were taken
when others were offred. Now whole regiments of the enemies, according to their
seuerall dispositions, though armed and moe in number, turned their backes to the
fewer

* Cantharia. Mela lib. 3. cap. 6. Dimicant Britanni non equitatu modo aut pedite, uerum & bigis & curribus Gallici ut mos, celeres ad usum, fortes ad impetum, quorum latera cuspidibus uti-mur by Cæsar and Tacit they are called essedæ.

cap. 35.

fewer: others vnarmed sought their owne death, offering themselues voluntarily to the slaughter. Euery where weapons lay scattered and bodies, and mangled lims: the ground euery where imbrued with bloud: & sometimes euen in them which were ouercome, appeared now at their ende both anger and valour. When they approched the woods, vniting themselues, they intrapped vnawares some of the formost of our men, which vnaduisedly followed, not knowing the countrey: and vnlesse Agricola had with his presence euery where assisted at need, setting about them of his braueſt and most ready footemen, as it were in forme of a toyle, and commaunding some of his horsemen to leaue their horses where the passages were narrow, and others where the wood was thin to enter on horseback, no doubt we had taken some blow by our ouermuch boldnesse. But after they saw our men againe in strong array to follow the chase in good order, they fled, not in troups as before, and attending eech other, but vtterly disbanded and single, eschewing all company, toward the desert and farre distant places. The night and our fulnesse of bloud made an ende of the chace. Of the enemies side [q] ten thousand were slaine: three hundred and forty of ours; amongst whom was Aulns Atticus captaine of a cohort, vpon a youthfull heate, and through the fiercenesse of his horse, being carried into the middest of his enemies. That night the winners for their parts solaced themselues with the victory and spoyle: and the Britans being vtterly broken, crying and howling, men and women together, take and draw with them their hurt persons, call the not hurt, forsake their owne houses, and in despite also, set them on fire themselues, chuse out holes for to lurke in, and straightwaies forsake them, communicate some counsells together, and then haue some glimting of hope: sometimes at the sight of their dearelieſt beloued they are mooued to pitie, more often stirred to rage: and certaine it is, that some, as by way of compassion and mercy, slew their owne children and wiues. The day following discouered more plainelie the greatnesse of the victorie. Euerie where desolation and silence: no stirring in the mountaines: the houses fired and smoking farre off; no man to meet with our spies; who beeing sent abroad into all quarters found by their footsteps the flight was vncertaine, and that they were no where in companies together. Whereupon Agricola because the sommer was spent, and the warre conueniently could not be diuided, bringeth his army into the borders of the [r] Horrestians, where receiuing hostages he commanded the Admirall of the nauie to saile about Britannie, lending him souldiers and strength for that purpose, and the terror of the Roman name was gone already before. Himselfe with easie and gentle iourneys, to terrifie the new conquered nations with the very stay of his passage, disposed his footmen and horsemen in their wintering places, and withall the nauy with prosperous winde and successe arriued at the port [s] Trutulensis, from whence it "departed, and coasting along the neereſt side of Britannie returned thither againe.

This state of affaires in Britannie Agricola signified by letter, without any amplifying termes, to Domitian: who after his maner with a cheerefull countenance, and greeued heart receiued the newes, being inwardly pricked to thinke, that his late [t] counterfaite triumph of Germanie, wherein certaine slaues bought for money were attired, and their haire dressed as captiues of that countrey, was had in derision and iustly skorned abroad, whereas now a true and great victory, so many thousands of enemies being slaine, was current and famous in euery mans mouth: that it were indeed a most perillous point, if a priuate mans name should bee exalted aboue the name of the Prince. In vaine then had he suppressed the study of Oratory, and all other woorthy politicke artes, if hee should in military glory be disseised by another

[q] *Tacitus* seldom relieth the number, and beside, both lie and *Salust*, as Orosius witnesseth, forbid it in historie: but *profiteri pietatem* he must be rebuked, in transgressing his owne rule.

[r] Some called Angusi, as some suppose.

[s] Some read it, *Rhutupensis*, which is supposed to be *Richborow* neere *Sandwich*.

"Or, departed coasting along the neereſt side of *Britanny*, and so returned thither againe.

[t] *Xiphilinus Domitiano.* ἐπεστράτευσε δὲ καὶ ἐς Γερμανίαν, καὶ μάλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἐπὶ πολλοὺς ἐπαναστάντας. πρὸς δὲ καὶ λέγεται αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ὅτι ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔτους τοῖς ἐμοῖς αὐτοῦ αὐτοκράτορσιν ἐδόθη, ἵνα μὴ ὡς οὐ πεπολεμωμένοις τοῖς ὅλοις τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ τε ἐνιαυσίου καὶ τοῦ τριετοῦς ἐπὶ πολὺ χρήσωσι, καὶ ἀλαζονεύσωνται. The like *Suetonius* reporteth of *Caius* c. 47. *conuersus hinc ad ementiam triumphi, praeter captiuos & transfugas barbaros, Galliarum quoque proceriſſimum quemque, & vt ipse dicebat, ἀξιοθεάμονα, ac nonnullos ex principibus legit ac seposuit ad Pompam corporis non tantum rutilare, ac submittere comam, sed & sermonem Germanicum addiscere, & nomina barbarica ferre.*

for other matters might more easily be passed ouer, but to be a good commander of an army was to be aboue priuate estate, that being a vertue peculiar for a Prince. With these and the like cares being tormented, & musing much in his closet alone, which was a token and signe of some crueltie intended, he thought it yet best for the present to dissemble and put off his malice, vntill the heat of his glory and loue of his souldiers, were somewhat abated; for as yet Agricola remained in charge. Wherefore he commanded that all the honours of triumphall ornaments, * image triumphal, and what els vsually was conferred in liew of triumph, should be awarded vnto him in Senat in most ample & honorable termes: and sending a successour caused withall a bruit to be spread, that the prouince of Syria, which then lay voide, by the death of Atilius Rufus the Lieutenant, and was reserued for men of great qualitie, was purposed vnto him. And a common opinion went, that Domitian sending one of his most secret and trustie seruants to Agricola, sent withall the patent of Syria, with instruction, that if hee were in Britanny it should bee deliuered: and that the same man meeting Agricola as he crossed the seas, without speaking vnto him, or deliuering his message, returned againe to Domitian. Whether this were true or fayned and surmized propably, as correspondent to the princes disposition, I cannot affirme: but in the meane season Agricola had deliuered to his successour the prouince in good and peaceable state. And lest his arriual at Rome should be noted, by reason of the multitudes of people which would go out to see, and to meet him, cutting off that curtesie of his friends, he entred the city by night, and by night, as he was willed, came to the palace. Where being admitted to the princes presence, & receiued with a short salutation and no speech, he sorted himselfe with the rest of the waiters. Now to the end he might temper and qualifie with other good parts his militare renowne, a vertue vnpleasant to men of no action, he gaue himselfe wholly to quietnesse and medling with nothing; being in apparell moderate, affable in speech, accompanied vsually but by one or two of his friends: so that many, which commonly iudge of great men by outward appearance and pompe, seeing and marking Agricola, missed of that which by fame they conceiued, fewe aimed aright at the cause. Often was hee in those daies accused to Domitian in absence, and in absence acquitted. The cause was neither matter of crime, nor complaint of party aggreeued, but the renowne of the man, and the Princes disposition hating all vertue, and " the most capitall kinde of enemies commenders, procured the perill. And in truth those times ensued in the state, which would not suffer Agricolaes name to bee buried in silence: so many armies in Mœsia, Dacia, Germanie, Pannonia, either through the rashnesse or cowardlinesse of the Generals cast away: so many good souldiers, with so many cohorts defeated and taken. Neither was it the question then for the vttermost bounds of the Empire and bancke of the Riuer, but the standing campes of the Legions, and the prouinces themselues were in danger of leesing: so that losses being heapt vpon losses, and euery yeere becomming notorious for some calamity and ouerthrow, Agricola was required by the speech of the people for Generall, euery man comparing his quickenesse, resoluteness, and experience in warre, with their insufficient and dastardly dealings: with which kinde of talke, it is certainly knowen, Domitians eares were not vnacquainted: his faithfullest seruants vpon loue and alleageance, the rest vpon spite and enuie pricking him forward, being of himselfe prone to the worse. So Agricola partly through his owne vertues, and partly the vices of others, was drawne headlong perforce into glorie. Now the yeare was at hand, when as the Proconsulship of Asia, or Africke should be allotted vnto him, and vpon the late murdering of " Ciuica, neither

cap. 40. * *Statua triumphalis statua.*

cap. 41.

" *Suetonius Domitiano c. 10. complures senatores, in his aliquot consulares interemit, in quibus Ciuicam Cerealem, cui ipse Asiam proconsulatu.*

cap. 42.

ther could Domitian faile of example to follow, nor Agricola of direction what he should doe. Some also priuy to the Princes secret intents offered speech of themselues, and asked him whether he could be content to accept of the gouernment: commending at the first a farre off a quiet life and void of businesse, and proffering anon their mediation to the Prince to allow his excuse. At the last declaring their purpose in plaine termes, by perswasions and threats they induced him to become a direct suiter in that behalfe to Domitian: who setting a fained countenance vpon it, and composing himselfe to keepe maiesty and state, both heard his humble petion excusing himselfe from that charge, and when the excuse was admitted suffred himselfe to be solemnly thanked, and was not ashamed of so odious a benefit. Howbeit the pension, which was wont to be offered to men of that quality, and by him had beene granted to certaine, hee did not bestow vpon Agricola: either beeing offended it was not sued for, or vpon the guiltinesse of his owne conscience, lest thereby he should seeme to haue bought out [x] that thing, which he had forbidden. It is the property of mans nature to hate those whom he hath hurted: beside Domitian was prone and headlong to anger, and the more close the more irreuocable, yet was hee notwithstanding altered and mollified by Agricolaes discretion and warie behauiour: for he did not with obstinacie, nor vaine ostentation of libertie, neither hasten his fame nor his fall. Let them well know that are wont to admire those things alone, which are done against the streame of the time, that great men may be found euen vnder bad princes; that dutifull obedience and modestie, if industry and valour be ioyned, may attaine to that degree of praise and renowne, which some following dangerous courses haue aspired vnto by an [a] ambitious death, without any further profit at all.

[x] That is, his going into the prouince.

[a] Meant, as I take it principally by *Heluidius* & *Thraseas*, whom *Martial* also noteth in an Epigramme to *Decianus* much to this purpose. *Quod magni Thraseæ, consummatique Catonis Dogmata sic sequeris, salsum vt esse velis, Pectore nec nudo strictos incurris in ensis, Quod fecisse velim te Deciane facit. Nolo virum, facilis reddunt quæ sanguine famam: Hunc volo laudari qui sine morte potest.*

The end of his life brought mourning to vs, and griefe to his friends, and euen by strangers and persons vnknowne was lamented: the cõmon sort also, and this retchles people of ours, both came oft to his house, and in all publike places and meetings had it in speech, neither did any person, when he heard of his death, either reioice or sodainly forget it. And that which procured the greater compasion was a constant report, that he was made away by poyson. Of mine owne knowledge I dare assure nothing: this only, that during the time of his sickneese there came from Domitian, oftener then vsually are wont from Princes, who visit by others, both of his secretest seruants and neerest physitians to see him, whether as of carefulnesse, or only to spie I leaue it vncertaine: certaine it is, that the day of his death, euery degree of his going away was caried in post to the Prince; and few men beleeued the newes should be hastened so much, that hee would be sorie to heare. Notwithstanding he made shewe of sorrow in minde and in countenance, being now out of danger [y] of that which hee hated, and one that more easily could dissemble his ioy then his feare. When Agricolaes testament was read, wherein he made Domitian coheire with his most deare wife and most dutifull daughter, it was certaine he greatly reioyced thereat, as if it had beene a signe of honour, or proceeded of iudgement: so blinded he was, and so greatly corrupted by continuall custome of flatteries, that he could not perceiue, that no good father did euer appoint for his heire any Prince, but a tyranne. Agricola was borne the thirteenth day of Iune, Caius Cæsar being third time Consull, and died the [z] sixe and fiftieth yeere of his age, the fower and twentieth day of August, Collega and Priscus being Consuls. Of personage (if posteritie desire to be informed thereof) he was rather well proportioned then tall, with an assuredneese and great grace in his countenance: [aa] a good man you would easily thinke him, and willingly a great. And although he died in the middle course of

[y] That is, of the vertuous qualities of Agricola.

[z] Foure and fifteth, at the most: for from *Caius Cæsar* 3. consto *Collega & Priscus* Consuls were no more but fiftie three yeeres, but so is the fashion not onely of *Tacitus*, but of other History-writers, to misreckon in a maner alwaies to the more.

his ripe age, in respect of honour and glory hee liued with the longest : for of all the parts of true felicitie, which consisteth in vertue, he had fulfilled the measure : and hauing obtained beside Consulare and triumphall ornaments, what more could fortune annex to his estate ? Excesse of riches he delighted not in ; honourably hee had and according to his degree. Yea happie may hee be thought and happie indeed, that escaped those tempests which followed, leauing behinde him a daughter and wife, his honour not stained, his fame not touched, his friends and allies in flourishing state. For as in our hearing he wished and hoped to liue and last to the light of this most blessed age, and see [a] Traian established Prince, so his hastened death had this great comfort, that he liued not to see that last and most miserable time, in the which Domitian, not at seasons and by fits, but with a continuall course and at one blow, as it were, ruined the state. Agricola liued not to see the Senate-house beset, the Senate enuironed with souldiers, and all in one furie the death of so many Consulare personages, the banishments and flights of so many great women. Carus [b] Metius had obtained as yet but one conquest, and Messalinus bloudie sentences kept themselues within the manour of Alba, and Massa Bebius himselfe was then [c] called in question. Anon after our hands led Heluidius into prison ; the sight of [d] Mauricus and Rusticus pierced our hearts ; Senecio besprinkled vs with his guiltlesse blood. Yet Nero withdrew his presence, and commanded cruelties, looked not on : the principall part of our miserie vnder Domitian was to see and bee seene ; when our secret sighes were registred, when that cruell countenance and red visage, with which he armed himselfe against blushing and shame, could endure to note and marke the feares and paleness of so many persons. Thrice happie then maiest thou, Agricola, be counted, not onely for the renowne of thy life, but also for the opportunitie of thy decease. Thou diddest as they doe affirme, which were present at thy last speeches, accept thy death most patiently and willingly, as though for thy part thou wouldest haue cleered the Prince. But I and thy daughter, beside the losse of so deare a father, wee haue a further cause to be grieued, that it was not our chance to be by in thy sickness, to cherish thy weakness, to satisfie and content our selues with seeing and embracing thee. Some counsell no doubt, and some precepts wee should haue receiued in charge to print and engraue in our hearts : this is our griefe, this our speciall misfortune : to vs, in respect of our long absence foure yeeres before thou wast lost. And albeit thy most louing wife the best of all mothers sate by, and furnished no doubt all things in most honorable sort, yet wast thou laied vp with fewer teares, and at thy last houre thine eies missed somewhat. If there bee any place for the ghosts of good men, if, as wise men define, the soules of great persons die not with the bodie, in peace maiest thou rest, and recall vs thy posteritie from impatient and womanish walings to the contemplation of thy vertues, which are in no sort to bee sorrowed for, or bewailed, but rather admired. * * * * * * * * * This is true honour indeede, and this is the dutie of neerest kinsfolkes. So I would counsell thy daughter and wife to reuerence the memorie of their father and husband, with often remembring his doings and words, recognizing the glorie and image of his minde, rather than of his bodie : not that I dislike of images cut in marble or metall, but as mens faces, so the images of faces are mortall and fraile ; the shape of the minde is externall, which wee may represent and expresse, not by matter and Art borrowed abroad, but by our owne manners within. That of Agricola which we did loue, which we admired, remaineth, and so will remaine, in the mindes of men, in the continuall succession of ages, in fame and renowne. For many of the ancients shall lie buried in obscure and inglorious

[a] Then it must be by way of prophecie, not of discourse: for in *Domitians* time there was no likelihood at all of that succession. *Cap. 45.*

[b] *Carus & Messalinus* instruments of *Domitians* cruelties: and so was *Massa* afterward *Plin. l. 1 ep. 11 & 4. ep 22. Iuuenal*

[c] *De repetundis*; the prouince of *Betica* being plaintife, *Senecio & Pliny* accusers, as the same *Pliny* writeth, *l. 7 ep. 33*

[d] Exiled by *Domitian*, and restored vnder *Nerua*. *Plin. l. 4 ep. 22.*

Cap. 46.

oblivion

obliuion, but Agricola shall liue recommended to posteritie, and continue for euer.

Annotations vpon the life of Iulius Agricola.

[a] Forum Julium] A towne seated *in littore Narbonensi*, distant from Massilia 75 miles, as Strabo [a] reckeneth. Of the same name there were also in Italie, but none so famous as this. The present estate whereof is described very well (as all other things) by that excellent Chancellour of France, Michael [b] Hospitalis. [a] *Lib. 4.* [b] *Epist. lib. 5.*

Inde forum Iuli paruam non cernimus urbem:
Apparent veteris vestigia magna theatri,
Ingentes arcus, & thermæ, & ductus aquarum;
Apparet moles antiqui diruta portus,
Atque vbi portus erat, siccum nunc litus & herbi.

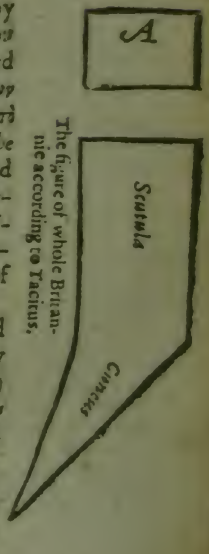
[b] None of the iudiciall places] That is, he was neither *Prætor vrbanus*, nor *peregrinus*, which were the two places of ciuill causes, properly called by the name of *Iurisdictio*. To the rest belonged cognition of criminall causes, as *de Ambitu, Repetundis, Falso, veneficijs, &c.* properly called by the name of *Quæstiones*, and vnder the Emperours handled before the Præfectus vrbis, rather than their owne Prætor, which at those times caried not much more then a bare name.

[c] Playes] To giue playes and pastimes to the people, seemeth to haue beene at the first the Ædiles peculiar charge, and afterward common to all magistrates in a manner, Quæstors, Prætors, Consuls, &c. Of Prætors it is plaine by these words of Cassius to Brutus in Plutarch: ὧν τὰ μὲν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν ἐστὶν ἀγορά, καὶ θέατρα, καὶ μονομάχοι, περὶ σὲ δὲ καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ἀπαιτοῦσι. *That is, of other Praetors men do expect and require large gifts, stage-playe, and Gladiatores: but at your hands they expect a matter of more importance.*

[d] Patritians] One of the fundamentall diuisions in the Roman state was *in Patres, siue Patritios & plebeios.* The Patritij were all made by Romulus, as Liuy reporteth, Senatours and councellours of state: as Dionysius, out of the Patritij the Senatours were elected. Hostilius vniting Alba to Rome, *Principes Albanorum in Patres, vt ea quoque pars reip. crescerit, legit, Iulios, Seruilios, Quinctios, Geganios, Curiatios, Cloelios.* After whom the elder *Tarquinius, non minus regni sui firmandi, quàm augendæ reip. memor, centum in patres legit, qui deinde maiorum gentium sunt appellati. Liu. lib. 1.* And when the kings were cast out, *quo plus virium in senatu frequentia etiam ordinis faceret, cadibus regijs deminutum Patrum numerum, primoribus equestris gradus lectis, ad trecentorum summam* [c] *explenit Brutus.* and fiue yeeres after, Appius Claudius, fleeing with his faction from the Sabins to Rome, *inter Patres* [c] *lectus est*; being the last, I remember, vpon whom in the free state that honour was conferred, to be made a patrician. The emperours many yeeres after vpon the like causes, or to pleasure their friends, renued the custome. [d] *Iulius Senatum supplenit, Patritios allegit.* Then Augustus, τό, τε ἄλλο εὐπατρίδων γένος συνεπήγνυσι, τῆς βουλῆς ἐλάττονι ἐπιτρέψας τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. ἐπειδή τε πλείους ἀπώλλυτο σφῶν. ἦν γὰρ ἔτος ὡς τὸ γηραιὸν τῆς ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις ἐπαλίσκετο. *That is, Augustus by permission, as he would haue it seeme, of the Senate, supplied in the number of the Patritians, whereof the most part was decaied, nothing in ciuill warres going so much to the walles as the ancient nobility. Dio. li. 52.* And Claudius. *Iisdem diebus in numerum Patritiorum asciuit Cæsar (Claudius) vetustissimum quemque è senatu, aut quibus clari parentes fuerant, pauciis iam reliquis familiarum, quas Romulus maiorum, & L. Brutus minorum gentium appellauerat, exhausiis etiam quas dictator Cæsar lege Cassia, & princeps Augustus lege Senia sublegêre.* Tac. 11. Annal. And lastly, as it may heere appeare, Vespasian, after whose time I finde no mention of any such subrogation. only I finde that Constantine the great vnder the olde name of Patritij induced a newe kinde of office, and honour superiour to the Præfecti Prætorio. Zosimus. Ὀπτᾶτος δὲ πρὸς Κωνσταντίνου τὴν ἀξίαν τετυχὼς τοῦ Πατρικίου, πρώτου τοῦτο ἐπινοήσαντος καὶ τιμὴν, καὶ προεδρίαν τοῦ τοῖς ἠξιωμένοις ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ χαρᾶς ὑπαρχόντων νομοθετήσαντος. *That is, Optatus had obtained the dignitie of Patricius at Constantinus hand, who first deuised this honour, and gaue them in that place presence before the Præfecti Prætorio. lib. 2.* and of Patritius in this sense we reade often in the times of the later Emperours.

[e] A pontificiall dignitie] Of all the colledges of Priests, in Rome being many in number, that of the Pontifices was of the supremest autority, consisting of foure, afterward foure more were added, and the number by Sylla further augmented, eligible in the free state by chapter, sometime by the people, afterward appointed by the Prince. The head of this colledge, was called Pontifex maximus, an honour resiant in the Emperours person euen from the time of Iulius, in whom the Empire, and Pontificatus first by chance were vnited, and continued euen in the Christian Emperours, till Gratian cast off both the name and the attire. Zosimus lib. 4. προσαγόντων αὐτῷ τὴν πατρικίαν κατὰ τὸ σύνηθες τῷ ἱερατικῷ σχήματι, ἀπεσείσατο τὴν αἰσχύνην, ἄτιμον εἶναι χριστιανῷ τὸ ἔνδυμα νομίσας. *That is, When as the pontifices brought vnto him according to the custome the Pontificiall habit, he reiected the suite, supposing it vnlawfull for a Christian to weare that attire.* and afterward Theodosius, as the same Zosimus and Symmachus report, dissolued the colledge of the Pontifices, and all the rest of the Priests, and confiscated the reuenues. The name of Pontifex, saieth Varro, *lib. 4. de lingua Lat.* is deduced *a ponte, nam eb ijs Sublicius est factus primum. & restitutus sæpe.* Zosimus deriueth the name from an ancient custome among the Thessalians, where before the vse of temples, the images of the gods being placed vpon the bridge of the riuer Peneus, the priests thereof were named γεφυρῖται.

[f] To a long dish, or two edged axe] *Scutula*, vsed by Tacitus heere, and Martial. lib. 11. Epigram. 32. and *scutella* by Tullie, signifieth a dish vsually serued at table, and to *Scutella* is ἑτερόμηκης, *That is, A long square*, by Censorinus cap. 18. resembled, whose definition by Euclide is this (for in Censorinus the place is corrupted) τετράπλευρον ὀρθογώνιον μὲν ἔστιν, ἐκ ἰσόπλευρον δέ. *That is, A figure enclosed with foure sides hauing all the angles right, but not all the sides equall.* like to the figure. A. although by this place of Tacitus it may seeme, that not at all *Scutula* were ἑτερόμηκεις, but some of some other fashion for he addeth *oblonge*, limiting as it were the generallity of the word. *Bipennis*, saith Quintilian, Institut. orator. *lib. 1. securis vtrinq; habens aciem, a pinna quod est acutum.* Now how well the part of Britany heere described resembleth the axe, or the dish, or one of them the other



The figure of whole Britannie according to Tacitus.

(although two like to a third ought in good Geometrie to be like together) because I see not my selfe, I am content to leaue it to others. One thing I see, that many good writers haue had but ill lucke in such kinde of resemblances. Strabo [c] likeneth the knowen part of the world to a [f] cloake, and Dionysius Afer to a [g] sling (being much like the one to the other) and both of them Spaine to an oxe-hide, Rutilius Numatianus Italie to an oaken leafe; and the same Dionysius [h] Africa and Europe to a Conus isosceles; Peloponnese πλατάνιον μυσὶζουσι πτέλῃ. *That is, To the mouse-taile-like leafe of a Plaintree.*

[c] Aristotle 2. Meteor. likeneth the knowen part of the world Tympan⁹. κύκλος ἐστὶ τυμπάνῳ τοιοῦτον γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς γῆς ὑπόκειται. [f] χλαμυδοειδὲς. [g] σφενδόνῃ ἴσον κῶλον. [h] Verse 277.

[7] The extreme and plaine parts] A place in mine opinion very hard to be well vnderstood, or at least, made good. For he seemeth to say, that the extreme parts of the world being plaine, the night therefore is nothing, or short which importeth as much, as if the night were nothing else, but when the sunne hideth it selfe behinde some mountaine or other. or els, that albeit the earth toward the middest was globose and bossed, yet was it toward the pole, flattish and plaine. Very vulgar conceits in so great a man, and yet in the text *infra cælum & sidera nox cadit*, by *nox* is meant, I suppose, *vmbra terræ*, as out of the bowels of art; and the lownesse of the shadow projected is the cause of the shortnesse of the nights. but the lownesse proceedeth not neither of mountaine, nor plaine, but because the sunne in the Summer season runneth his course almost all aboue ground in those countreies toward the poles, and when it doth set, by reason of the inclination of his circle to the Horizon, descendeth not directly, but passeth obliquely razing as it were vnder their Horizon. yet one of the Panegyrists, as though Tacitus had deliuered vs heere matter worthy of imitation, hath taken the paines to assume this high point of learning *ad verbum* into his oration.

[8] Pearles] Marcellus lib. 23. *Apud Indos & Persas margaritæ reperiuntur in testis marinis robustis & candidis, permixtione roris anni tempore præstituto conceptæ. Cupientes enim velut coitum quendam humoris, ex lunari aspergine capiunt densos ostiando. Exind; grandæ edunt minutas binas aut ternas, vel vniones sic appellatas quòd eius terræ conchulæ singulas aliquoties pariunt, sed maiores. Itaque indicium est æthera potius derivatione quam sanguinis pelagi hos creari fœtus & vesci, quòd guttæ matutini roris ijsdem infusis claros efficiunt lapillos & teretes: vespertini vero, fluxiosos contra & rutilos, & maculosos interdum. Minima autem vel magna pro qualitate haustuum figurantur ostibus variatis. Concussæ vero sepissime metu fulgerum inanescunt, aut debilia pariunt, aut certe vitijs defluunt abortiuis. Capturas autem difficiles & periculosas, & amplitudinis præterum illa efficit ratio, quod frequentata i sueta litora propter piscantium insidias declinantes, vt quidam conijciunt, circa desertos scopulos, & marinorum canum receptacula deliteſcunt. Quod genus gemmæ etiam in Brittannici secessibus maris gigni legi; licet dignitate dispari, non ignoramus.* And to the like purpose speaketh Pliny also lib. [i] 9. *In Britannia parvos atque decolores vniones nasci certum est.*: whereas the commendation of pearle consisteth *in candore, magnitudine, orbe, leuore, pondere.* But in hope of the Brittish, such as they were, Iulius Cæsar, saith [k] Suetonius, first went into Brittanny, *& ex ijs conextum thoracem Veneri genitrici consecrauit.* Plin.

[i] Cap. 35.

[k] Cap. 47.

[9] Policy] *Consilium.* As in a naturall body too little is vnperfect; too great vnwealdy; so in a politicke, both the extremities are weake, and not defensible. although peraduenture as well in the one body as in the other, πληθώρα, *That is, Fulnesse*, induceth lesse danger generally, than ἔνδεια, *Emptinesse*, doth. This inconuenience Augustus wisely foreseeing in his time, when as the Roman empire was growen to that greatnesse, *vt iam mole laboraret sua*, saith Liuy, restrained first of all that infinite desire of inlarging. of which act as a thing most aduisedly done Iulianus Cæsaribus bringeth Augustus himselfe discourseth in these words. ἵνα διεθήκω τὰ ἐμὰ αὐτῷ, ὥστε εἶναι δι' ὑμᾶς, ὦ θεοί, τὸ λοιπὸν ἀσάλευτα τάδε. Οὐ γὰρ τῶν ἀμέτρων ἐπιθυμίας εἶχον, ἐπικτᾶσθαι παίπερ αὐτῇ διενοήθην, ὅσα δεδίδαε, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀπορρηθέντα, ἰσχυρὰ καὶ εὐφράκτῳ πομοὺς ἐθέμην. εἶτα ὑπατεύσας τὸ Σκυθῶν καὶ Θρακῶν ἔθνος, ὅπερ ἐγὼ πάντων ὑμῶν τῆς βασιλείας μοι τὸν χρόνον, ἐ πόλεμον ἄλλον ἐξ ἄλλου ἐπεισκόπουν, &c. *That is, The affaires of the Empire I setled, so that it was become as strong and as hard to make a breach into as a diamant. For I yeelded not to those vnmeasurable desires of conquering still more and more, but contented my selfe with those two limits, as it were appointed by nature, of Danubius and Euphrates. afterward the Gods sparing me longer life, I vndertooke some necessary matters, and those dispatched sought not occasion to make still warre vpon warre.* After the death of Augustus a booke was produced written with his owne hand, in the which, saith Tac. 1. Ann. *opes publicæ continebantur quantum ciuium sociorumq; in armis, quot classes, regna, prouinciæ, tributa, aut vectigalia, & necessitates, ac largitiones, addiderat q; insuper consilium*, saith he, vsing the same word in both places speaking of the same matter, *coercendi intra terminos imperij, incertum metu, an per inuidiam.* Dio. lib. 56. γνώμην τε αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε, τοῖς τε παροῦσιν ἀρκεῖσθαι καὶ μηδαμοῦ ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπαυξῆναι ἐθελῆσαι. Δυσφυλακτόν τε γὰρ αὐτὸ ἔσεσθαι, καὶ κινδυνεύσειν ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπολέσαι ἔφη. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ὄντως ἀεί ποτε καλὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ ἐτήρησε. παρὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις κερδαίνειν, οὐκ ἠθέλησε. *That is, He gaue them aduice to content themselues with their present estate, and in no case to seeke to inlarge the limits of the Empire. for it would be both hard to be kept and in danger, he said, euen that which they had, and this precept he alwaies obserued himselfe not only in word but in deed and effect, refusing when as with great facility he might, to conquer any more of the barbarous nations.*

[10] To buy corne] The Romans, beside tribute, imposed vpon the countreyes subdued, such at least as yeelded commodity thereof, a proportion in corne, commonly the tenth part, and beside for the prouision of the Lieutenant and souldiers maintained there, and other like purposes, at a reasonable price. In gathering whereof the purueyours and takers, and sometime the head officers vsed many concussions and vnlawfull exactions, as apprereth at large in Tullies fifth oration against Verres. In Britanny it seemed the Romans had ingrossed all the corne of the countrey, and instituting a monopoly thereof compelled the poore Britans to buy at their hands and their price, and by and by laying a newe charge vpon them, as to victuall the armie, or such like, to sell it againe vnder foot. Moreouer the cart takers for cariage of prouision from Canturburie, for example to London, would take vp carts at Caerld, or make them pay well to be spared, whereas the same thing might haue beene done without any molestation at all of the subiect, but not with like game to the officers. These abuses, or other of this kinde, are meant in this place, as I vnderstand it, submitting my iudgement herein to men of better experience that way.

[11] The most capitall kinde of enemies, commenders] To hurt or disgrace by way of commendation, albeit it seemeth a strange position at the first sight, yet may be, and dayly is, both easily and diuersly performed. For example. To commend a man to his Prince for those qualities, wherein the Prince himselfe either by his place ought to excell, or otherwise vpon some speciall fancie affecteth to excell, and principally if he finde any weakenesse

that

that way in himselfe, is one of the most subtle, ready, and pernicious meanes to worke a great man in disgrace with his Prince. Whether that humour were with the rest infused into vs at our beginning, I know not: but I verely beleeue, that no man liueth so vtterly void of good parts, but that he supposeth he hath some lyeing ill about most men some way or other, the nature and motions of which humor whoso can marke & obserue in his Prince, to take where aduantage is offered, and worke as the matter doth yeeld, shall seldome want occasions to doe harme; to note wherein they delight and please themselues, being as ready a meanes to doe hurt, euen with the good Princes, as to [k] feele and search out, what they feared, hath beene with the baddest. For if all hate or malice ingendred in priuate men causes of grudge and dislike, what may the subiect attend from his Prince (whose mind, as his bodie is more tender, and more apt to receiue offensiue impressions) in so great matters to offend, but assured destruction, be the concurrencie founded vpon neuer so small and trifling a point? [l] Dionysius the elder, vpon some gentle phrensie, hauing a desire to become in his old daies a writer of Tragedies, hated, imprisoned, and tormented Philoxenus the Poet, who seemed to stand in his light. [m] The first disgrace of Seneca with Nero was grounded vpon a supposse, that Seneca sought to excell him in eloquence, and making of verses, vnto which studies the Prince in those daies had wholly betaken himselfe, and in this latter time setling his fancy and loue vpon singing and playing in stages, qualities vnseemely for his estate, [n] he cast out of fauour, and then made away Paris the stageplayer, as his concurrent in that profession. Now by way of commendation Poppæa Sabina commending the gentlemanly qualities of Otho, albeit she did it to another intent, yet wrought she vnawares his [o] discredit with the same Nero. And for my part I am not resolued, how an excellent Poet of our time obserued congruitie, which before a Prince, that esteemed it more than his crowne to be accounted the most beautifull personage in the world, maketh one extoll his owne brother so highly, yea and preferre him also before the king himselfe in that point, being a point so prone to engender emulation, and emulation in that kinde, dangerous effects. But aboue all other kindes of commendations, that toucheth most neerely, and worketh most danger, where the quality commended breedeth not onely loue, but admiration also generally among the meane people; as militar renowme, magnanimitie, patronage of iustice against all oppressions and wrongs, magnificence and other Heroicall vertues properly belonging, or chiefly beseeming the Princes person. And this being generall to all in some measure, no Prince in the world hauing his minde so well armed against this cunning, but that some breach may bee made at some seasons into it, yet there it worketh both most speedily, and dangerously, where the Prince, as before I haue said, is a witnesse to himselfe of his owne weakenesse. For as it is true, that *Alienæ virtutis nemo inuidet, qui confidit sibi*, so is it true also, that insufficiencie is most apprehensiue and enuious. [p] Vespasian and other great Princes, standing vpon their owne might, and the strength of their vertues, could easily digest, that one should be said, for example, to haue *imperatoriam gensim*, yea and preferred him also to place of credit, adding in iest, that hee would perhaps remember it one day, whereas with Domitian a Prince vmbrageous and fearefull, because of himselfe hee was nothing, no way was found more fit to bring Agricola in disfauour, than by commending his excellent vertues. In like maner certaine of Constantius court, whereas they could not iustly speake ill, by the same stratageme of praising in audience of their master, a iealous and suspicious Prince because hee was weake and vnable, brought Iulian in hatred, as Mamertinus declareth at large in his Panegyricke. *Cum (Iuliani) sancti principis mores atque instituta, falsarum vituperationum licentiam submouerent, callido nocendi artificio accusatorium dirtat. m laudum titulis pergebant, in omnib. conuenticulis quasi per beneuolentiam illa iactantes, Iulianes Alamannos domuit: Iulianus vrbes Galliæ ex fauillis & cineribus excitauit. Aestates omnes in castris, hyemes in tribunalibus degit: ita illi anni spatia diuisa sunt, vt aut barbaros domitet, aut ciuibus iura restituat, perpetuum professus aut contra hostem, aut contra vitia certamen. Hæ voces fuerunt ad inflammanda odia probis omnib. potentiores. Si enim comminisci aliqua flagitia tentassent, facilè ipso splendore landis & gloriæ refutarentur: inuenerunt accusandi genus quod nullus refelleret.* Another kinde of hurting by way of commendation is touched by Polybius, whereof he giueth vs in the fourth booke of his storie an example in the person of Apelles a counsellour, and one in chiefe credit with Philip of Macedony father of Perseus: who being desirous to remoue Taurion, gouernour of Peloponese, from his charge, and place some creature of his in his roome, told Philip his master, that Taurion was a most singular man, and fit in all respects to serue neerer, counselling him thereupon to send for him home and place him about his owne person, craftily calling him by that meanes from an honorable, and almost absolute gouernment thither, where he should liue in equality with others, and be subiect to checke as one of the meany: great men in this point somewhat resembling the moone, which although she fetch her light from the sunne, and eftsoones resorteth thither againe to receiue new influence and vertue, yet in her prime turneth her darke face toward the world, and shineth then brightest when shee is furthest remooued. Albeit in latter times the contrary example hath beene more vsuall in courts, by way of commendation to remoue one from about the Prince, and send him out of the way, vnder pretence that he is the only fit man for such and such a seruice abroad. Many other kindes might be reckoned of this sort of sophistrie, as to commend a man publikely, where it can doe no good (beside that it maketh the party secure of all danger from thence) and secretly dispraise him, where it should doe much harme. *Manlius Valens*, saith Tacitus 1. Hist. *quanquam bene de partibus meritus, nullo apud Vitellium honore fuit. Secretis eum criminationibus infamauerat Fabius ignarum, &, quo incautior deciperetur, palam laudatum.* Or else to commend in generalities, and so hauing wonne the opinion of a friend in the Princes eares, consequently to disable to this or that particular, which shall be in question; with such like deceits, which the malice of courtiers heeretofore hath inuented, and daily inuenteth plentifully. For in court, saith [q] Polybius, this malice was found, and in court it remaineth.

[12] A good man you would easily thinke him: &c. *Bonum virum facilè credideres, magnum libenter.*] *Et te Corneli Tacite bonum historicum facilè credimus, bonum oratorem crederemus libenter*, were it not for this and some other sayings of the like making. *Fuit illi viro*, saith [r] Tacitus iudging of Seneca, as wee may of him, *ingenium amœnum, & temporibus illius auribus accommodatum.* How that age was eared, long or round, I cannot define: but sure I am it yeelded a kinde of sophisticate eloquence, and riming harmonie of words, whereunder was small matter in sense, when there seemed to be most in apparence. This kinde of Rhetoricke was induced into Græcia by the teachers of oratorie in schoole, whose iudgements vse and experience had not refined: first by Gorgias, as it may well appeare by that little of his which is left; then by Isocrates and his disciples, and being refused by that iudicious

nation

k *Diuus Augustus nimium ex, Tigellinum dat with Nero.* See Tacitus 13. Annal.

l Diodorus lib. 15.

m Tacitus lib. 13. Annal.

n Sueton. Nero. 54.

o Tac. 13. Annal. *deijcitur famulus ex iussu & cineribus excitauit. Aestates omnes in castris, hyemes in tribunalibus degit: ita illi anni spatia diuisa sunt, vt aut barbaros domitet, aut ciuibus iura restituat, perpetuum professus aut contra hostem, aut contra vitia certamen. Hæ voces fuerunt ad inflammanda odia probis omnib. potentiores. Si enim comminisci aliqua flagitia tentassent, facilè ipso splendore landis & gloriæ refutarentur: inuenerunt accusandi genus quod nullus refelleret.*

p Suetonius Vespasiano. c. 14. *vt suspicione aliqua vel merito ad perniciem cuiusquam compelleretur, tantum abfuit vt moueretur amicum excusandi esse Mœcii Pomposiani, quod vulgo creditur, gensim habere imperatoriam, insuper Cos fecerit, spondens quandoque beneficij memorem futurum.*

q Ἐστι γὰρ ἡ μάλιστα τὴν φαυλότητα τοιαύτη κακοηθείας, καὶ συκοφαντίας, ἡ δόλος τὸ μὴ χάριτος ἀλλ' ὑπερβάντας λυμήνασθαι τοὺς πλησίον, ἐν τῷ σπεύδειν τοὺς διλας διαπρεσβεύεσθαι, ἡ τὸ τοῦτον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀλλὰ μὴ ξὺν ἄλλοις ἡ πλεονεξίας. r 13. Annal.

nation found fauour in some corners of Asia, till at length the vse of eloquence decaying in common wealth, and the study therof remaining in schooles, that bastard Rhetoricke returned againe, yeelding vs in stead of the soundly contriued sentences of Demosthenes, Æschines, Hyperides, the paintings of Aristidis, Philostratus, Dio Chrysostomus, and others, though not without opposition of many, as Dionysius, Lucian, and such like. The ancient Romans sucking the best from the Greeks, when they were at their best failed not much that way, vnlesse peraduenture we may reckon Hortensius as one of the number: for so Tullie in Bruto seemes to describe him. But of the later, whom haue we almost not infected with that heresie of stile begunne by Seneca, Quintilian, the Plinies, and Tacitus, continued in their successours the Panegyrists, and lastly conueied to Christian religion by Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, Bernard, &c? For a taste of this affectation in Tacitus, 1. Hist. *Rara temporum felicitate vbi sentire quæ velis, & quæ sentias dicere licet. Inchoauere annum sibi vltimum resp. prope supremum. Secunde res acrioribus stimulis animum explorant, quia miseriæ tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur. Quatriduo Cæsar properata adoptione, ad hoc tantum maiori fratri prælatus vt prior occideretur. Et vno anne discretis connexum odium. Redirruntque in castra inuiti neque innocentes. Nec illos priores & futuri principes terruere, quo minus facerent scelus cuius vltor est quisquis successit. Quæque alia placamenta hostilis iræ non quidem in bello sed tri pace tendebantur.* 2. Hist. *Et Vitellius credidit de perfidia & fidem absoluit.* 3. Hist. *Arserat & antea Capitolium, sed fraude priuata. nunc palam obsessum, palam incensum.* With many moe of the same marke.

FINIS.

A VIEW OF CERTAINE MILITAR matters, for the better vnderstanding of the *ancient Roman stories.*

SERVICE in warre is by land, or by water. The Roman seruice by land was either at home in the citie, or external abroad. The external consisted principally in *Legions* and *Auxilia*; a knowen diuision in the Roman stories. Liuius lib. 8. *Tres exercitus, legiones, ac tria P. L. legionis exercitus scribit Fulvius, maximus dominus.* most frequent in Latine histories *legiones* and *auxilia, vnum maximè tempus.* 13. Rom. *Cum vtrorum ita consilium, ne cum auxiliis cum duabus Legionibus apud Quadrum venirent, pugnam non committerent Carthaginienses.* Where also we see he varieth the words *Legiones* and *auxilia* by two equipollent in the latter member *vnus & alter.* And Liuius lib. 7. *auxiliorum* and *auxiliaribus*, meaning the Romane Legions and Latine *auxilia.* *Legio*, saith Varro lib. 4. *de lingua Latina, quod* [a] *legendo militibus delectus habebatur.* The Grecians translate it diuersly alone στρατόπεδον, some others τάγμα, πλῆθος, στράτευμα, ἔνοπλος χεὶρ, λεγιὼν, πανοπλία δύναμις, or πεζικὸν τέλος in respect of their standing campes, which were fortified and walled, and gaue occasion in the latter times to the founding of many great cities in the Empire.

[a] To deliuer, imploy or charge the said Cadets or souldiers aforesaid, that were inrolled, which remained diuersly, after a solemne oath ministred.

LEGIO was diuided into *Pedites* and *Equites*: although peraduenture sometimes by Legions and also by Auxilia the footmen alone are intended, as being the more principall part. The other two kindes of seruice in field by charets and Elephants, either were neuer in the Roman state, or were not ordinary, and euen so were quickly laid downe. The manner of fighting out of charets, a matter so often recorded not onely by Poets in those fabulous times, but also by the writers of the sacred storie, may seeme to haue beene in a sort proper to those *Heroica tempora*, and by generall consent of the world (some few barbarous nations excepted, who are alwaies best keepers of customes) laid aside, beside the vnwealdinesse, peraduenture because to furnish out one fighting man in that case [b] foure moneths were to bee fedde, and foure bodies armed, of which any one failing the seruice of all foure was at an end. The other by Elephants was ancient, and continued long among the Easterne and Southerly nations, the countries yeelding good store of those beasts: by the Romans seldome vsed, not for that they lacked the breed (for what would they lacke, that either could serue for vse or delight? and of those creatures they would kill for their pleasure hundreds at once in their Theatres) but because they vtterly disliked the seruice, as ambiguous, running as oft to the hurt of the owner as of the enemie. Whereof they saw good proofe in the armie of Pyrrhus, who first brought them into Italie: in which, [c] one saith, *eadem fere, quæ primum victoriam Romanis abstulerant, secundam pepererant, tertiam fere victoriæ fuisse videbantur.* The Easterne nations also found them at the length vnserueiceable [d] for the tendernesse of their hooues, and diuers other respects: and so they remaine generally laid aside. Now for the number of *Pedites* and *Equites* in a Legion, Romulus at the foundation of Rome, after the misfortune of Remus wherein many perished, had only three thousand footmen, and three hundred horsemen remaining. Dionys. lib. 1. and 2. of which number he composed his Legion at the very first beginning of Rome according to Plutarch. κτισθείσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως, ὡς ἔδοξε τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ εἰς σύστημα στρατιᾶς διέταττεν. ἦσαν δὲ σὺν τάγμασι τρισχίλιοι πεζοὶ, καὶ τριακόσιοι ἱππεῖς. *That is, When as the citie was built, first of all he seuered the people such as were within yeares of seruice into Legions, euery Legion consisted of 3000. footmen, and 300. horse. Romulo.* one horsemen for ten foot. Varro lib. 4. *de lingua Lat. Milites*, saith hee, *a mille, quod tum ex tribubus singulis mille fiebat, ut singulæ a tribu Tatiensium, Ramnium, Lucerum milite singula milia mittebant.* To that number of horsemen in a Legion of those times, Virgil (whose maner is in fabulous narrations to interlace the trus Roman antiquities) alluded, and so Seruius noteth vpon these verses lib. 7.

[e] Paruâ, saith Seruius, *nam in Legione non nisi 300 equites erant, qui primi vocabantur à numero habitæ legionis Luceres.*

[f] Romulus equites (such the same Seruius) *primum vocauit, de singulis tribubus Curiis duo deligens, quos trecentos fecit omnes.*

[g] τὸν πεζὸν (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκάλουν) λεγεῶνα ἐκ τριῶν χιλιάδος καὶ πεντακοσίους.

[h] In the time of Polybius lib. 1. of Regis Campana by Orosius named Calatina.

[i] μυριάδων τεσσάρων καὶ δισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων καὶ ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ δισμυρίων.

[k] ἐπὶ τὰς τετρακισμυρίους καὶ ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους καὶ δισμυρίους. lib. 3.

> [g] *Sexcenti tercentum mittat in præsidium alius.*

and lib. 9.

> [h] *Tercentum scitati animis Volscum emetiere.*

Albeit, the number of footmen hereafter still rising, sometime to foure thousand, sometime higher, we finde in latter times often but two hundred horse assigned to a Legion, hardly one horse for twenty foot, a very scant proportion. And such was the Legion at the first foundation of Rome. Afterward many of the Cæninenses, Antennates, Crustumerini and Sabinus being transferred by Romulus to Rome, the number of men daily increasing, more Legions were made with the same number of men in a Legion, or little differing: though Plutarch respecting rather the vsage of the time wherein hee liued, than whereof hee wrote, determineth the matter farre otherwise: διπλασιασθείσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως, αἱ λεγεῶνες ἐγένοντο πεζῶν μὲν ἑξακισχίλιοι, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἑξακόσιοι. *That is, The city being doubled by incorporating the Sabins, the Legions likewise were increased to 6000. foot and six hundred horsemen a peece. Romulo.* a number excessiue and absurd, as in that age. In the free state the least number we reade of to a Legion is foure thousand footmen, six thousand and two hundred the greatest. The author of the increase from three to foure thousand I finde not set downe, only it is not vnprobable, that Seruius Tullius, who made Rome ἐκ τετρώφυλος πρὸς ὅσπερ, τετράφυλον. *That is, Of three-tribed heretofore, foure-tribed, Dionys. sacrificuli nomen*, made likewise the Legion of three thousand, foure thousand, called also *quadrata* according to Festus, because it consisted of foure thousand men: although, as it may seeme by Dionysius and Liuy, the mustering of men in his daies went more by wealth than by tribe, as hereafter shall bee declared. Of foure thousand and thereabout we haue rule in Polybius, lib. 1. [i] and lib. 2. example [k] in Dionysius lib. 6. [l] sixteene yeeres after the kings were cast out. In Liuy, lib. 6. certaine yeeres after that Rome was taken by the French: and againe, lib. 22. in the beginning of the second Punicke warre, and elsewhere. Nuerthelesse the solemne and iust number seemeth to haue beene precisely foure thousand and two hundred footmen, and so Polybius in the sixth booke, where he handleth the question purposely, setteth it. Of which number wee haue example in Liuy lib. 7. *Anno vrbis conditæ* 406. as he seemeth to reckon, and in Polybius lib. 2. after the first Punicke warre. Now this number of foure thousand and two hundred vpon [m] extreeme and rare occasions was augmented (saith the same Polybius) sometime to fiue thousand, sometime to a greater increase. Liuy somewhat differing from

from Polybius, and from his owne both rules and examples, in the warres with the Latines about the yeere of the City 415. [l] maketh fiue thousand the ordinarie number of that age, and lib. 42. [m] the custome of ancient times. And yet the same Liuy, as hauing forgotten himselfe, *Paulo & Varrone Coss.* in the second Punicke warre writeth: *numero quoq. legiones tum auctas, milit. peditum in singulas adiectis, vt quina millia peditum essent.* Of fiue thousand wee haue examples euery where: of fiue thousand and two hundred in Polybius lib. 2. in the French warres: and in Appian 1. Εμφ. where he resolueth 23. legions of Sylla into one hundred and twenty thousand. Of fiue thousand and foure hundred in Liuy, lib. 37. in the warres against Antiochus. Of six thousand in the warre against Perseus. Liuius lib. 42. Appianus [n] Mithridatico resolueth the fiue Legions of Lucullus into thirty thousand. *Quinto,* [o] Εμφ. after the warre at Philippi, Antonius interpreteth to the Grecians twentie eight legions, *μετὰ τῶν σωματοφόρων, That is, with their associates in the field, that is, their Auxilia,* to containe aboue one hundred and seuenty thousand persons, that is, aboue six thousand a peece. *Sex millium & ducentorum hominum primus C. Marius conscripsit legionem,* saith Festus. But Marius surely was not the first that gaue the example of that number. for the Elder Scipio (saith Liuy, a man of more credit, lib. 19.) *suppleuit ita eas legiones quas in Africam transduxit, vt singulæ sena millia & ducenos pedites haberent.* Vnder the Empire six thousand or thereupon was the ordinary number. *Plena legio,* saith Vegetius, [p] lib. 2. speaking no doubt of that time, *peditum sex millibus centum fundatur,* at the lowest reckoning. Where yet wee are to vnderstand, that the corpes of his Legion consisted onely of fiue thousand fiue hundred, the rest being officers, to wit, fiue hundred and fifty Diziniers, and fiftie Centurions: the summe six thousand one hundred. Whereas contrariwise in the ancient times the Centurions and vnder officers, as it was in truth most meet, were taken out of the bodie of their companies, not by ambition and suit superinduced. And in the declination of the Empire vnder Honorius wee finde the said number of six thousand retained. Zosimus lib. 5. ἔδοξε τῷ βασιλεῖ πέμψαι ἀπὸ Δαλματίας στρατιωτικὰ τάγματα ὅπως φυλακὴν τῆς ῥώμης ἐλθεῖν. τὰ δὲ τάγματα ταῦτα ἐπλήρουν ἀνδρες ἑξακισχίλιοι. *That is, It seemed expedient to the Emperour to send for out of Dalmatia fiue Legions to guard the citie of Rome. in these Legions were six thousand men.* For so I interpret the place *distributiuè*, as they call it, six thousand for euery one of the fiue Legions, especially the same Zosimus lib. 6. resoluing ἐξ τάγματα στρατιωτῶν into μυριάδας τέσσαρας. *That is, Six Legions of souldiers into 40000. persons.* Now for horsemen [q] Polybius writing in and of the free estate assigneth to euery Legion two hundred, and vpon extraordinary occasion three hundred. Liuy likewise sometime two, sometime three hundred. Appian in Mithridat. giueth to fiue Legions one thousand six hundred horse. In the Macedonian warre, *Anno vrbis conditæ* 581. according to Liuies supputation, to a Legion were attributed [r] three hundred and thirty horse. *In epitoma libri* 130. we haue in the warre of Antony in Parthia sixteene thousand horse to eighteene Legions. as hauing to deale with a nation whose principall strength consisted in horsemen: and yet peraduenture of those sixteene thousand the smallest part was Legionary. In Appian 3. [s] Εμφ. in the ciuill warres after Cæsars death, two Legions in Africke had a thousand horse annexed, the ancient proportion belike seeming, as it was, too scant. Vnder the Empire, as it may be gathered by Vegetius, six hundred at the least were matriculated in a Legion, and six hundred and sixty where *prima cohors* was *milliaria*, beside sixty six Decurions: summe, seuen hundred twenty six comprehending the officers. As for [t] Iosephus allowing to each Legion but an hundred and twenty horse, it was an ouersight. And thus much of the number of souldiers in a Legion, which wee are to vnderstand at the first enrolement when it is entire, not diminished by warre, or misfortune, nor contrarily through ambition ouercharged. Cæsar in the ciuill warre had his Legions so worne, that they contained scarce three thousand a peece, and euen at the first enrolement [u] not aboue foure thousand. On the other side the *Legio classica* conscribed by Nero was so huge and enorme, that when seuen thousand of them were slaine at the entrie of Galba into the Citie, the rest *decumati*, yet the remainder sufficed Otho [x] to make vp a Legion. Such Legions Appianus, 4. Εμφ. seemeth to call τέλη ἐνδέοντα τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς, and πλεοναζοντα. So that of the number of the Legions in an armie, without due consideration of other circumstances, wee may not haste to conclude the number of souldiers.

The footmen in the Legion of Romulus were diuided, according to the tribes which yeelded them, into *Ramnes*, *Luteres*, and *Tatienses*, each containing a thousand: and euery thousand into ten Centuries or [y] Curias. In the Popular Legion, consisting, as wee haue said, ordinarily of foure thousand and two hundred, the footmen were [z] distributed into foure sorts, γένη, ἡλικίας. The yoongest and poorest sort they named *Velites*, the next in age *Hastati*, the third being at the age of their principall strength *Principes*, the fourth somewhat elderly *Triarij*. Of this last kinde in euery Legion altered or increased howsoeuer were six hundred onely: of *Principes*, *Hastati*, and *Velites*, twelue hundred a peece in an ordinarie Legion, and proportionably in an increased. When this partition was induced I cannot precisely define. Dionysius lib. 5. straight after the kings were expulsed, maketh mention of Triarij as of a matter not new. Valerius Maximus lib. 1. [a] writeth, that the vse of the Velites was first deuised by Fuluius Flaccus at Capua in the second punicke warre. In later times, and specially vnder the Emperours, this diuision so famous an ancient story was in a maner worne out. Now the Hastati were diuided againe into ten [b] Ensignes, or *ordines*, euery one in an ordinary Legion containing an hundreth and twenty persons. The first Ensigne or order whereof was called *primus Hastatus*, the second *secundus Hastatus*: and so forth *vsque ad decimum ordinem Hastatum.* Likewise the Principes into tenne Ensignes, *primum, secundum tertium, Principum, &c.* euery Ensigne containing as before. And lastly the Triarij were also diuided into ten Ensignes, ech one conteining sixtie persons. The first ensigne whereof was called *primus Pilus*, the second [c] *secundus Pilus*, and so foorth to the tenth. The Velites were proportionably dispersed among all the Ensignes. Of these thirtie Ensignes called in Latine *Manipuli*, according to Gellius, lib. 6. cap. 4. and Seruius in 11. *Aeneid.* (although Plutarch, *in Romulo* interpreteth *Manipulus*, ἑκατοντάς confounding it with *Centuria*,) and Vegetus lib. 2. cap. 13. most absurdly maketh it equiualent with *Contubernium*, a company of tenne or eleuen persons) ech one was diuided againe *in duas Centurias, Centuriam priorem* and *Centuriam posteriorem*, although in truth they conteined not the full number of an hundreth, but only in an ordinary Legion sixtie persons beside the Velites, and of the Triarij but thirty. Liuy in describing these Centuries seemeth to vse an inuersed kind of speech, *lib. 42. Hic me imperator dignum iudicauit, cui primum hastatum prioris centuriæ assignaret*, in place, as it may seem, of *cui priorem centuriam primi hastati assignaret.* and in the leafe following lest it might bee supposed as done by chance or negligence:

l *Scribi lentur autem fere legiones quinis millibus peditum. lib.* 8

m *Quina millia ex vetere instituto dilectantur in singulas legiones.*

n In these three places of Appian the horsmen also were comprised, the number of the footmen pertaining to a legion is according to them somewhat lesse than we haue set downe.

o *cap.* 6.

p *Lib* 1 & 3. & 6

q *Liu. lib* 45. ἐκ τῶν δύο τῶν τε ἐκ τῶν Λεύκιος καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἱππεῖς χίλιοι. εἶπετο δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ ἴδιον τῶν ταγμάτων ἱππικὸν, ἴσον τῷ ἐκ τῶν ταγμάτων τοῖς ἑκατὸν ἀνὰ τριακοσίους ἱππεῖς. *lib.* 8.

r Sex. Rulus. *Cæsar cum decem legionibus quæ quaterna millia militum Italorum habuerunt, Galliæ subiecit.*

s *Reliquos cæsorum ad pontem Miluium in numerum legionis composuerat.* Tac. a. *Hist.*

x *Dionys.*

y *Polybius libro sexto Liuius lib.* 8. *&c.*

z *Cap.* 3.

a *Polybio συμφώνως τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα συγγραφεῦσι.* but ταγμα is taken in other writers (saith Salmas. for a Legion, & σπεῖρα in Polybius himselfe 1. 11. for a cohort.

b Or *secundus Triarius* according to some learned men, although Liuy seemeth to call all the Ensignes of the *Triarij Primos Pilos* in that intricate place in the eighth booke, where he hath rather obscured than expounded the Roman souldierie.

à 21. Adiunxit primum primipo pilum centuria est assignatus, for *prior centuria primi principis*. Beside these diuision of the footmen in a Legion, we finde another in latter times more vsuall into ten Cohorts of equall number. Iulius Frontinus, Strategem. lib. 4. 1. deuideth one Legion into ten Cohorts: *Iulianus Scipio Legionem decem cohortibus ita instruxit, vt quinque cohortes in conspectu hostium constituerit, quinque ad insidias.* and *Cæsar, lib. 6. de Bello Gall.* three legions into thirty Cohorts. Tacitus, 1 Annal. diuideth foure Legions *in quadragenta cohortes Romanas*. The [a] full cohort reuoked of the three first Ensignes, or *Manipuli*, to wit, *ex primo ordine Hastati, primi Principes*, and *primi Pilani*, ioyned in one; the second of the three second, and so foorth to the tenth. *Cohors*, saith Varro, lib. 4. de Ling. Lat. *quòd ea in villa ex pluribus constructionibus, ac quidam pro vnam simplicem solebat colere.* The Greekes call it τάξιν. This diuision of a Legion into ten Cohorts, is not mentioned in Polybius, and therefore, as I thinke, was not vsuall before his age. For although the words be not vnknowen to antient times, as to Liuy often vsed in his former bookes vnlesse he spake by a figure, and to Polybius likewise vsuall in the eleuenth booke, especially and by name τὰς τάξεις, in the warre of Scipio in Spaine, yet then peraduenture it was rather ceremoniously vsurped and affirmed extraordinarily, than any member of a Legion; but of that I cannot greatly affirme. Now although in former times it is out of question, that the Legionarie Cohorts were equall of fiue hundred a piece where the Legion was fiue thousand, and more where more, yet in Vegetius time, or at least in his Legion, the first Cohort contained a thousand, and the rest but onely fiue hundred. For *in hac vrbe, vt [b] tempestate hac maxima seruetur moderatio disciplinæ.* The horse, being in the Royall and Popular Legion most commonly three hundred, were diuided *in Turmas decem*: Polyb. lib. 6. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς διαιροῦσι τοῖς δέκα λόχοις. That is, In like manner the horsemen also were diuided into ten Turmæ: euery Turma containing thirtie horse, euen from the beginning of Rome; as generally few things we find after in vse, whereof the grounds were not laid at the first. Varro. *Lib. de ling. Lat. Turma Turmæ est (E in V abiit) quòd ter denos Equites ex tribus tribubus Tatiensium, Ramnium, & Luceram fiebat.* In Vegetius Legion, being six hundred and fifty beside the officers, they are diuided into two and twintie Turmacs, euery Turma likewise containing thirty persons, whereof hee attributeth foure Turmaes to the first Cohort of the Legion, and to the other nine two a peece. Lastly, *Turma* was diuided *in tres Decurias*, each consisting of ten horse, as the name also importeth.

In the Legion of Romulus ouer the footmen (saith Dionysius) three Tribunes, χιλίαρχοι, were appointed to gouerne vnder the king, each ouer his owne tribe: and ouer euery Centurie or Curia, a Centurion, or Curion. [b] Three Tribunes and thirty Centurions in a Legion, the Tribunes selected out of the greatest men for nobilitie or reputation, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων; the Centurions of the most valiant, ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρειοτάτων. Vnder the Consull or Prætor in time of libertie, and Prince in the Empire, captaines in chiefe and soueraignetie, the next and immediate officer in both was named [c] Legatus Consularis, as it were vicegerent deputed by the [d] Consul or Prince: by the Consul [e] one, or [f] many as his Lieutenants in the armie; by the Prince one onely as Lieutenant generall ouer an armie or countrey. Vnder the Legatus Consularis in the Empire were subordinate Legati Prætorij, or Legati legionum, one or moe according to the number of the Legions in the armie; which name I finde not in the free state, nor any office answerable to it. Now for the Legion in both states the ordinarie officers were, as before in the Legion of Romulus, Tribuni and Centuriones. Decani and the rest were of smaller name. The Popular Legion being *quadrata* had also at the first foure [m] Tribunes elected by the people, or sometime at the Consuls discretion: afterward in Polybius time six, [n] executing their charge alternatiuely, two at one time for two moneths; so that in one Summer euery one had serued his course. In the Empire, as it may bee coniectured by some places in Vegetius, there were in euery Legion ten Tribunes, not with charge ouer the whole by turnes, but with seuerall and continuall [o] each ouer his Cohort. Now out of euery ensigne, saith Polybius, were chosen ἀεὶ κατὰ δύο two Centurions (ταξίαρχοι, λοχαγοί) hauing charge each of his seuerall Centurie, in absence, or sicknesse, or other mischance the one of both. To euery Ensigne beside the Centurions belonged two Ensigne-bearers at the Centurions appointment. The Centurions were distinguished in names according to the Ensignes or Centuries which they led. Liuius lib. 42. *Mihi T. Quintius decimum ordinem hastatum assignauit.* Cicero ep. 8. ad Brutum: *C. Nasicnius Metello Imperatore octauum principem, duxit.* Liuius lib. 7. *Septimum primum pilum iam Tullius decebat.* Likewise of the Ensigne-bearers. Cicero 1. de Diuinatione. *Signifer primi hastati signum loco mouere non potuit.* Some time for breuitie sake the Centurion is called by the name of his Ensigne. Liuius lib. 25. *T. Pedanius Princeps primus centurio cum signifero, &c.* Cæsar lib. 1. de bell. ciu. cap. 10. *In his Quin. Fulvius primus hastatus legionis decimæquartæ* lib. 2. de bell. Gall. [p] *Omnibus fere centurionibus aut vulneratis aut occisis, in his primipilo P. Sextio Baculo, multis vulneribus confecto*, the same man whom lib. 3. cap. 1. hee calleth at large *primipili Centurionem.* But whereas there were in euery Ensigne two Centurions, whether onely the Centurion of the former Centurie was κατ' ἐξοχὴν, for example called *Primipilus, primus Princeps, primus Hastatus*, and so in the rest, or both the one and the other equiuocally, I dare not, without better ground of authority than hitherto I haue seene, peremptorily determine. onely by *centurio primi Pili* I take to be meant the Centurion alone of the former Centurie, of the first Ensigne of the Triarij; a Centurion of principall [q] credit, and endowed with speciall priuileges, as to bee of the Generals counsell, to haue the custodie of the Eagle or Standerd of the Legion, to sound the watches, &c. Polyb. Veget. This number of sixty Centurions in a Legion wee finde also retained vnder the Empire. Tacit. 1. Annal. *Prostratis verberibus multant sexagenis singulos, vt numerum centurionum adæquarent:* although Vegetius, by I cannot tell what mischance, [r] maketh but fiftie, and in another place by errour of the copie, or ouersight of the author, *Quinquaginta quinque*: for *Quinquaginta* is much more sutable euen to his owne grounds. Vnder the Centurion, were the Decani Diziniers, one ouer euery tenne, as the word also importeth. Veget. lib. 2. cap. 13. *Rursus ipsæ Centuriæ in contubernia diuisæ sunt, vt decem militibus sub vnâ papilione degentibus vnus quasi præesset decanus, qui caput contubernii vocatur.* The horsemen in the Legion of Romulus were gouerned by ἱππέων ἡγεμόνες, saith Dionysius, not expressing the number: but the horse in the Royall and Popular Legion being of one number had in all likelihood the same officers, that is Decuriones, three chosen out of euery Turma, whereof the first and principall is called also [s] Præfectus Turmæ, Polybius lib. 6. and Varro lib. 4. de ling. Lat. But Vegetius lib. 2. cap. 14. writing that *turma habet 32. equites, huic qui præest decurio nominatur*, reckoneth two of his officers as common souldiers, and the third nameth amisse. for *Decurio* is of *decem*, not of *triginta* or *triginta duo*. Wherefore if he will

[a] cap. 6.
[b] cap. 5.
[c] Liuy lib. 8. Cic. lib. 13. ad Brutum. Suet. in Cæsare. Tacit. 1. Annal. Lucan. lib. 5. Bellonæ. Which is also called Calones, quod seruos eum impedimentorum, saith Varro.
[d] Cæsar lib. 1. de bell. ciu. Tacit. 1. Annal.
[e] Tullius militibus, saith Varro, quod seruos eius tribunus Romuli, Lucerum Tatiensium olim ad eum tuendum adiungebat.
[f] Varro lib. 4. de ling. Lat. Legati, qui bello publico, quorum opera vtebantur simul aperte significat Liuius.
[m] Publius Scipio. Varro.
[n] Polyb. lib. 6. κατὰ μέρος διάγοντες ἀπὸ μέρους τὸν ἐνιαύσιον χρόνον.
[o] The old scholiast of Iuuenal interpreteth cura cohortis in his author lib. 1. by mil tem tribunatus.
[p] cap. 7.
[q] Cicero imperio, saith Dionysius lib. 9. τὰς ἐξαίρετα δικαιοπραξίας καὶ τιμὰς καὶ λειτουργίας ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔχειν πρώτους by Liuy in the latter end of the second decath backe, it may seeme that place was of equall dignitie, or rather higher than the Tribunes: notwithstanding the Centurion were otherwise subordinate to them.
[r] Lib. 2. cap. 6.
[s] Præfect.

will needs haue two of Polybius Decurions reckoned among the comun horsemen, the third hee might more iustly haue named with Polybius *Præfectus Turmæ*, than *Decurio*. So haue wee in Polybius Legion *triginta Decuriones*, whereof ten were called ἴλαρχοι: in Vegetius twenty two *Decuriones*, or in more vsuall speech, and more according to his owne principles fortie six. Of any higher office ordinarie ouer the Legionarie horsemen then *Præfectus Turmæ*, I finde no mention in the Popular or Imperiall Legion, the horse in generall being. I suppose, vnder the direction of the great officers of the field, *Legatus et Iudices*, and *Legatus legionis*, or ordinarely I graunt vnder the Dictatour, *Magister equitum* was, as it were, the Generall of the horse. Of the Centurion and Decurion the vnder officer, and as it were vicegerent or adiutour, was named *Optio*, the office which is in Polybius called, as I suppose, ὑπηρέτης. Paulus ex Festo. *In re militari Optio appellatur aquam qui decurio, aut centurio apud Iudices, aut rem primatum ab illorum, quæ facienda sibi publica iussa. Optio*, saith *Festus, qui adiutor debatur centurioni, aut decurioni*, so called *quia centurionibus permissum est optare quem velint*: where, as it seemes, he on whom the charge or ouersight of seuen, as Varro lib. 4. de lin. Lat. doth among foot. *Quidecuriones* (saith hee) *primo annuo rescripti, qui ab eo delecti, Optiones vocati, qui nunc erant, ambitu, nam tribus fuerunt.*

Thus much of the Legionarie souldiers, among whom none were enrolled but *ciues Romani, ingenui, artis ludicra expertes*. As touching the first point it is cleere in story, that many hundred yeeres together all the *delectus* were *ex plebe Romana* alone, which in latter times seldome was mustered, in the Empire scarce euer, nor almost any Italian borne, but *ciues Romani è prouinciis*. Herodianus lib. 2. * Cæsar some time in the French warre seemeth to haue enrolled of the transpadani into Legions, being then not Citizens of Rome. Concerning the second point, they which were *libertini generis*, though *ciues Romani*, were neuer enrolled, much lesse *serui*, but once or twice in extremities. For the third, according to Dionysius lib. 2. not only *Histriones* disabled to Legionarie seruice, but all * sedentarie mechanicall, and voluntarie arts. Agriculture was onely allowed of, as the onely nurse of stout * men for seruice in warre: not as in the practise of Sparta, and precepts of Plato, one man to till at home, and another to fight abroad; but one and the same man in peace a good husbandman, and in warre a good souldier: no person by the opinion of many being more dangerous in a state, than he which maketh souldierie his occupation and trade. Furthermore it was requisite, that the Legionarie souldier should be within the yeeres of seruice, ἐν στρατείαις ἡλικίαις, and inrolled at least in the fift classis. The militare age was * from seuenteene to fortie fiue, as Dionysius saith, or fortie six, as * Polybius, and in dangerous times to fifty. *Seneca lib. de brevitate vitæ cap. 20. Lex à quinquagesimo anno militem non agit, à sexagesimo senatorem non ciuit.* In which time the footman might be compelled to serue sixteene or twenty yeeres, if need so required, the horseman ten. In Augustus time, Dio. lib. 54. appointeth twelue yeeres of seruice for the Prætorian souldier, and sixteene for the Legionarie: and in the booke following, as hauing forgotten himselfe, sixteene to the Prætorian, and twenty to the other. In Tiberius time to the souldiers in Germanie *missio data est*, saith Tacitus 1. Annal. *vicena stipendia merenti: ceterum seruitia, quæ sena dena fecissent, ut retenti sub vexillo, cæterorum in numero, nisi præmiis functis bellum.* Which words peraduenture may reconcile in some part the repugnant places of Dio. Now for the classes, or manner of mustring, which in Romulus time went meerely *tribuum*, euery tribe conferring his thousand, Seruius Tullius reduced to a matter of cense or tax: according to which not onely the muster was taken, but all officers of importance in the state * elected, lawes established, and tributes imposed. The whole number of Citizens being digested into six classes, in the first were all those, which in the tax or subsidie booke were assessed at an * hundred thousand asses and vpward. The second from an hundred thousand downeward to seuentie fiue thousand. The third from seuenty fiue thousand to fiftie thousand. The fourth from fiftie thousand to twenty fiue thousand. The fifth from twenty fiue thousand to twelue thousand and fiue hundred. And the sixth of all such as were vnder the last rate. Now whereas the first classis conferred eighteene horse, and eighty footmen, the second conferred twenty footmen and two artificers beside, as smiths, carpenters, &c. The third classis twenty footmen. The fourth twentie, and two beside to sound the trumpet, and strike the drumme, &c. The fifth thirty. The sixth classis * ἀστρατεία καὶ ἀτελὴς πάσης εἰσφορᾶς. *That is, Free from all seruice in warre, and all payment of Tributes.* Dionysius lib. 4. *although the same Dionys. in the same place alloweth it by ouersight one souldier in 193. true it is that the sixth classis had one voice in 193. in comitijs centuriatis, but it yeelded no man to the muster at all.* So that one course by this manner of mustering yeelded a hundred ninety two men to the warre, where of eighteene were horsemen, foure artificers, and fifers, a hundred and seuenty footmen: and so about againe, as the case required a greater or lesse armie, in the same proportion. Dionysius libro 4. With whom Liuy lib. 1. agreeing in the rest, differeth onely in the cense of the fift classis, which by him is but eleuen thousand *assis*, and furthermore the artificers Liuy ioineth to the first classis, and the fifers to the fifth, whereas Dionysius putteth them to the second and fourth. The reason why this last and poorest sort was excluded from seruice is well set downe by Iulius Exuperantius. *Populus Romanus*, saith hee, *per classes diuisus erat, & pro patrimonij facultate censebatur. ex his omnis operibus reseruat, ad militiam diuersantes. diligenter enim pro victoria laborabant, qui præter libertatem, bona defendebant, illi autem qui in nulla spe erant, capta forsan quod falsum possidebant eruebantur, & belli tempore in magnibus residebant, facilè enim patet. ne essiliere præsidiarios: quia ex his nemo facilè habetur sine damno.* This kinde of mustering *per classes* instituted by Seruius, was in latter times, as it may be gathered by the * præfise in the Roman stories and plaine words of * Polybius, altered in part and reduced somewhat neerer to a matter of tribe, as being a more popular order, and more agreeable to the present gouernment, yet so, that to Legionary seruice none could be mustered but such as were setled at * fower thousand *asses* at the least, saieth Polybius, which is indeede somwhat lesse then the cense of the fift classis limited by Dionysius and Liuy; whether it were that Polybius had forgotten the summe, or that the cense of the classis was abated for that both then and afterward regard was had of the classis in taking the muster it is cleere by the words of Salust. in Iugurthino. *Marius interea milites scribere non more maiorum, neque ex classibus, sed vti cuique lubido erat, capite censos plerosque*, such as for lacke of wealth were censed onely by poll. After which time the classis were, as I take it, in little consideration in the muster of Legions, especially in the ciuill warres, and in the Empire vtterly neglected, the cense also being abolished.

Now the Legion and the Legionary being such as were described remaineth to speak of the Auxiliary souldiers. *Auxilia*, Τὰ ἐπικουρικὰ, Τὰ βοηθητικὰ, ξυμμαχικὰ τάγματα, were souldiers which being not citizens of

Rome

* According to Vegetius lib. 2. c. 9. it was to supplie his place in sickenesse.

* Cæs. de bello Gal. 8. Legiones & alas seruos & mercennarios & ex his formosissimos quosque & maximæ staturæ milites scribit.

* Tabero apud Gellium lib. 10. c. 28. ex Seruij regio formula. Plut. Coriolan.

* Lib. 6.

* Comitia centuriata.

* 110. Rom. Exquilin.

* Liuy lib. 1.

* Tribus ad seruandum vsum veteris Liui. Tuscul. subiecta.

* Lib. 6. Liuius lib. 1. quinque millium censum. Dion. vbi supra.

* τετρακισχιλίων ἀσσάριον τιμήματος.

Rome ſerued in the Roman campe. *Varro lib. 4. de ling. Lat. Auxilium appellatur ab auctu, cum acceſſerant, qui adiumento eſſent, alienigenæ.* The firſt Aides to purpoſe which the Romans vſed were of the Albans in Tullus Hoſtilius time. Dionyſ. lib. 3. And anon Alba the head and mother Citie of the Latines being razed, they challenged as conquerours that ſuperioritie ouer the Latine nation, which the Albans before had enioied. In the time of Tarquinius Priſcus the Latines ſerued in the Roman Armie as Aides [i] againſt the Hetruſci, and againſt the [l] Sabins, the Hetruſci and the Latines. In the free ſtate many hundred yeeres, the Latines onely and Hernici miniſtred *Auxilia grauium armatorum.* for archers and *funditores* and *leuia auxilia* of other nations they did [k] not refuſe ſometime to admit. After the third Punicke warre they admitted alſo [l] *Auxilia ex ſociis Italiæ à populis regibuſque.* And after that time wee finde ſometimes mention, but no great reckoning made in the free ſtate of Auxiliaries: the reaſon, as I take it, was that the citie being communicated to the Latines and Italian allies *in bello Marſico*, they ſerued no longer in qualitie of Auxilia, being now inueſted with the right of Legionarie ſeruice. Auguſtus and the Emperours fortifying the limits of the Empire with armies, and furniſhing the Legions onely in a manner of prouinciall Citizens, eſtabliſhed Auxilia againe, ſupplied out of their allies and ſubiects abroad, and generally out of all nations indifferently, making acquainted the barbarous people, and ancient enemies of the Roman Empire with their maner of ſeruice, not without notable [m] preiudice to the ſtate. In Tacitus vnder the firſt Emperours we haue in the Roman campe Auxiliaries *è Tranſrhenanis, Galli, Britannis, Numidis, Luſitanis, Batauis, Thracibus, &c.* and vnder the latter Emperours no militar matter in the whole Empire paſſed thorow other than barbarous hands; till at length the Romans, as great reaſon was, were forced to deliuer the Empire to them, to whom they had deliuered their armes. Theodoſius, ſaith Zoſimus, τὴν ἐξ τὸν ἴστρον βαρβάρους ἐκ τάξεως τῆς στρατοπικῆς τάγματα. *That is, Made Legionaries the barbarians borne beyond the Danub. lib. 4.* and againe, τάξις μὲ ἦν τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἀκριβὴς, ἐδὲ ῥωμαϊκὴ διάκρισις ἦ βαρβάρου. *That is, There was no order obſerued in the armies, nor difference made of Roman and Barbarian.* and of Gratian, Ἀλανῶν τινας αὐτομόλους δεξάμενος στρατοῦ ἐγκατέλεξεν. *That is, He receiued certaine fugitiues of the Alani, and beſtowed them in his armies.* [n] Syneſius likewiſe, a more indifferent perſon to the Chriſtian Princes, reprehendeth the too great facilitie of Theodoſius in receiuing to mercy, into his countrey, kingdome and armies, the barbarous nations, reaping no other fruit of his clemencie but ſcorne at their hands, and thereupon he taketh occaſion to exhort Arcadius his ſonne [o] to increaſe his Legions, and with the Legions his courage, making ſupplie of his owne people, and ſending backe the Barbarians thither from whence they firſt came. But to returne to our Auxiliarie ſouldier, Vegetius lib. 2. cap. 2. deſcribing them vnder the Empire, hath theſe words: *Auxiliares conducuntur ad prælium ex diuerſis locis, ex diuerſis muneribus venientes. Nec diſciplinâ inter ſe, nec notitiâ, nec affectione conſentiunt. Neceſſe eſt autem tardiùs ad victoriam peruenire qui diſcrepant antequam dimicent. Denique cùm in expeditionibus plurimùm proſit omnes milites vnius præcepti ſignificatione conuerti, non poſſunt æqualiter iuſſa complere qui antè pariter non fuerunt. Tamen hæc ipſa auxilia ſi ſolennibus diuerſiſque exercitijs propè quotidiè roborentur, non mediocriter iuuant. Nam legionibus ſemper * auxilia tanquam leuis armatura in acie iungebantur, vt in his prælianti magis adminiculum eſſet, quàm principale ſubſidium.* Of Auxilia we finde two principall kindes, externall and ſociall. Externall ſent from Kings and forreine ſtates, of which, as depending in moſt points vpon the voluntarie diſpoſition of the ſender, I haue not to ſay. Sociall were [p] either annexed to ſome Legion, or ſeuerally aſſigned to the gard of ſome [q] place or countrey, where it ſeemed not neceſſarie to maintaine a Legionarie power. Concerning the *Auxilia legionum* in the free ſtate, before *bellum Marſicum*, as often as the Romans armed, their allies armed alſo *ex fœdere*, footmen [r] ordinarily as many, horſe double. Ordinarily I ſay, becauſe that rate was not perpetually obſerued, as it appeareth by infinite places in Liuy, Appian and others, but more or leſſe according to circumſtances. Vnder the Empire *illa ratio ſeruata eſt*, ſaith Vegetius, *ne vnquam amplior multitudo ſociorum auxiliarium eſſet in caſtris, quàm ciuium Romanorum.* In the free ſtate the Legionarie Auxilia were gouerned in ſtead of *Tribuni* by *Præfecti*, though different in name, yet of like [s] auctoritie, and, as it may ſeeme, in Polybius time equall in number. For he aſſigneth twelue præfecti to one Conſul, to whom belonged two Legions, and therefore twelue Tribunes. Now the extraordinarie band being choſen out, at the diſcretion of the Præfecti, of the beſt men and fitteſt for ſeruice, of the footmen about the [t] fifth part, the third of their horſemen, the reſt of the Auxilia were diuided into two companies, the one called the right [u] horne, and the other the left. And this is all that Polybius hath written touching their partitions and officers. In [x] Liuy the Latines making head againſt the Romans, haue the very ſame diuiſions and officers with the Roman Legions: but whether at other times alſo, and as in the nature of aſſiſtants they had them likewiſe, I cannot poſitiuely determine; it ſeemes rather otherwiſe. The moſt knowen diuiſion both in the free ſtate, and vnder the Empire of Auxilia as well local as Legionarie, is *in cohortes* of footmen, and *Alas* of horſemen. And ſo doth Tacitus often reſolue the word 4. Hiſt. *Cohortium, alarum, legionum hibernia, i. Auxiliorum & legionum.* 1. Hiſt. *Aſciſcitur auxiliorum miles primò ſuſpectus tanquam circumdatus cohortibus alæſque impetus in legiones pararetur.* The Auxiliarie Cohorts are ſometime to diſtinguiſh them from the Legionarie called [a] *ſociæ cohortes, leues cohortes*, and *Alariæ cohortes*: like as the *Alæ* are alſo called *Alarij equites.* Now of theſe Cohorts and Wings how many belonged to a Legion vſually I cannot preciſely define. Vitellius at his entrie into Rome with eight battered Legions had onely [b] thirtie foure Cohorts. The Auxilia of the fourteenth Legion were [c] eight Cohorts: which if it were ordinarie, ſeeing the vſe of that age beareth at leaſt ſix hundred footmen for a Cohort, the Auxiliarie footmen belonging to a Legion are foure thouſand eight hundred. And yet [d] Agricola had for three Legions in his armie in Britannie no more but eight thouſand, the reſt peraduenture being diſperſed in garriſons. [e] *Equitum alæ*, ſaith [f] Vegetius, *ab eo dicuntur quòd ad ſimilitudinem alarum protegant aciem.* Ala contained, as I ſuppoſe, about three hundred horſemen. By Tacitus 2. Hiſt. it is plaine, that *ex quatuor equitum turmis* and *vniuerſa Treuerorum ala*, ſome part being retained *in coloniis Foroiulienſi præſidij cauſa, duodecim turmæ aduerſus hoſtem iere.* So that Ala was more than eight *Turmæ*, that is, two hundred and fortie horſe. The *ala equitum* which followed Scipio into Africke conſiſted of [g] three hundred. And that Ala in theſe latter daies was a number of importance it appeareth by the circumſtances of *ala Syllana* touched by Tacitus, 1. Hiſt. Now to euery Legion belonged two Alæ of Auxiliaries at the leaſt. Ioſephus [h] ſetteth downe ſix Alæ as the Auxiliaries of three Legions. and [i] Tacitus writeth of ſixteene Alæ in Illyricum, where at that preſent were but ſix or ſeuen Legions. Contrarily Vitellius to his eight broken Legions had but twelue Alæ. Agricola in Britannie to three

i *Dionyſ.*
k *Hiero apud Iuſtinum lib. 23.*
l *Saluſt. Iugurth.*
m As, in Tullies epiſtles, Appian, &c. perchance rather ex veteri formula, and by an ordinarie phraſe of ſpeech than otherwiſe.
n *Tac. 4. Hiſt. in bello cum Germanis.*
o
p
q
r *Polybius 3. lib. 6.*
s *Polybius lib. 6.* hauing ſpoken before of the Tribunes, addeth, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς τρόπος καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν πρωτοστατῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων συμμαχικῶν.
t So that the extraordinarie band, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων, consiſted of ſix hundred footmen, & 200. horſe.
u δεξιὸν καὶ εὐώνυμον κέρας.
x *Lib. 6.*
a *Cæſar, Liuius, Tacitus.*
b *2. Hiſt.*
c *1. Hiſt.*
d *Tacitus.*
e *Alæ dictæ ex ercitus equitum ordines, quod circum legiones dextra ſiniſtraque tanquam alæ in aurum corporibus locabantur. Cincius apud Gellij lib. 16. cap. 4.*
f *Lib. 2 cap. 2.*
g *Liuius lib. 29.*
h ἀλλαι. c. 5.
i *3. Hiſt.*

Legions had three thousand Auxiliarie horsemen. Of these Cohorts of Auxiliarie footmen the Gouernours in latter times also were called *Præfecti*; and the wings of horsemen likewise in latter times had their *Præfecti* seuerall from the foot, of which in Polybius wee finde no mention. In Wings the vnder captaines, as in the Legionarie, were named *Decuriones*. Of the number I cannot affirme: onely it seemeth probable, that the Præfecti then were according to the number of the Cohorts and Wings, and the Decuriones, as in the Legion three in a Turma consisting of thirtie horsemen. To conclude this point, although the Imperiall Auxilia seeme not to obserue alwaies one stint, as by the examples alleged may bee auerred, yet taking two Wings and eight Cohorts for the Auxilia of a Legion, those things presupposed which wee haue set downe, the Legion Imperiall with her Auxilia arriueth to twelue thousand persons. Six thousand Legionarie footmen, six hundred horsemen, foure thousand eight hundred Auxiliarie footmen, and six hundred Auxiliarie horse, Summe twelue thousand. [k] Vegetius out of other particulars collecteth the same totall. *Vna Legio*, saith hee, *mixtis auxilijs, hoc est decem* [l] *millia peditum & duo millia equitum.* Whereof six thousand one hundred footmen, and seuen hundred twentie six horse according to his principles being Legionarie, there remaines three thousand nine hundred foot, and twelue hundred seuentie foure ho se for the Auxiliarie; or in round numbers 4000. foot, and 1200. horse, approching neere to the ancient proportion in Polybius of double the Legionarie horse. At the enrolement the names were imposed to the Legions Prima, Secunda, Tertia, as they were in [m] order of mustering first, second, or third. Which custome, as I suppose, continued in his first institution so long as the Romans armed and disarmed euery yeere: but afterward retaining *sub jugum* some of their Legions with their old names, and with perpetuall supplie as it were eternizing them many ages, the rest decaying or being dissolued, the name was no longer a note of his place, but rather became a proper name simply. In the latter [n] times wee reade of three Tertiæ, and two Sextæ distinguished by surnames, Tertia Italica, Tertia Cyrenaica, Tertia Augusta: Sexta Victrix, and Sexta Ferrata. Of which deuise of surnaming the Legions we haue no example before Cæsars time, and after no end: a noueltie induced vpon ambition, or countrey, or accident, or for distinction sake, or lastly vpon pleasure and voluntarily. The Auxiliarie Cohorts and Wings, specially locals, had also their seuerall names, as *cohors Decima septima, Decima octaua* of numbers, *cohortes Tungrorum, Rhætorum, ala Treuerûm, Caninefas* of nations. *Ala Syllana, Scribeniana, Petrina*, of *Sylla, Scribonius, Petra* their gouernours as it may seeme at the first enrolement: *Ala singularium*, of what accident I know not.

After the enrolement followed the great mysterie of the Roman estate, saith [o] Herodian, *sacramentum militare*, the very forme and essence of a souldier, without which first solemnly taken, or after the expiration of which, as upon the cassing of the Legions, though qualified otherwise neuer so well, though present in the campe, it was not [p] lawfull for any to kill, or wound, or present himselfe in fight against the enemie. This oath Polybius conceiueth thus: [r] ΗΜΗΝ ΠΕΙΘΑΡΧΗΣΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΙΝ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΤΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ. *That is, That they should bee obedient, and execute to the vttermost of their power whatsoeuer should be commanded them by their superiors, lib 6.* Dionys. lib. 11. not much otherwise, ὁ δὲ ὅρκος ὁ στρατιωτικὸς ὃν ἐπαίτων μάλιστα ἐμπεδοῦσι ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, ἀκολουθεῖν κελεύει τοὺς στρατευομένους ὅπῃ πῃ ἂν ἄγωσι. *That is, The militarie oath which the Romans sweare to their Generall commandeth the souldiers to follow whithersoeuer it pleaseth their Generals to lead them.* Liuy lib. 22. *Milites tunc iureiurando à Tribunis militum adacti iussu consulum conuenturos, neque iniussu abituros.* With these agreeth that of Vegetius lib. 2. cap. 5. *Iurant milites se omnia strenuè facturos quæ præceperit Imperator, nunquam deserturos militiam, nec mortem recusaturos pro Romana republica.* In the place of Liuy before quoted mention is also made of a voluntary [q] confirmation, *quæ postea*, saith he, *ex voluntario inter milites fœdere ad legitimam iurisiurandi adactionem translata est.* The forme of it was *FVGAE AT QVE FORMIDINIS ERGO NON ABITVROS SESE, NEQVE EX ORDINE RECESSVROS, NISI TELI SVMENDI AVT PETENDI, AVT HOSTIS FERIENDI, AVT CIVIS SERVANDI CAVSA.* Beside this oath I finde another oath tendred, which we may call the oath of allegeance and soueraignetie. Whether it was in vse before the Emperours time, or not, I doe not remember. It may be they sware then *in Senatus populique Romani nomen*, as afterward they did *in Principis*. Arrianus conceiueth the forme of it thus: [s] ΗΜΗΝ ΠΡΟΤΙΜΗΣΕΙΝ ΑΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΝ. *That is, That they should preferre before all things the safetie of the Prince.* Marcus Antonius in his funerall oration in Appian pronounceth verbatim and out of his paper the oath they had sworne to D. Iulius: [t] ΗΜΗΝ ΦΥΛΑΞΕΙΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΩΜΑ, ΠΑΝΤΙ ΣΘΕΝΕΙ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ, ΗΝ ΕΙΤΙΣ ΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΣΕΙΝ ΕΞΩΛΕΙΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΜΗ ΑΜΥΝΑΝΤΑΣ ΑΥΤΩΙ. *That is, That they all with all their might would guard the person of Cæsar, accursing all those that should not defend him, if any attempt should happen to be made against him.* Suet. Caio cap. 15. addeth this formall clause; *neque me liberosque meos cariores habebo quàm Caium & sorores eius.* The militar oath the souldiers only as well Auxiliarie as Legionarie receiued straight after their first enrolement, ὁπλιτελεδίσις ἢ καταγραφῆς, saith Polybius. The oath of soueraignetie the souldier, the magistrate, senate and people of Rome and of the prouinces, *mutatis mutandis* with some little diuersitie [u] according to the qualitie of the persons, receiued at the creation of a new Prince whensoeuer it hapned, and vpon the anniuersarie thereof flatterie increasing, and euery yeere likewise renewed the same the first day of Ianuarie: at what time the magistrates and Senatours also particularly sware [x] *in acta* of the present Prince and [y] of his predecessours, those only excepted *quorum damnata erat memoria*, as in Caius time and afterward they were not sworne *in acta Tiberij*, nor in Claudius *in acta Caij*.

The Roman maner of encamping according to Polybius and other ancient Writers is represented in the figure following.

PRAETORIVM.)

k *lib 3. cap. 1.*

l One horseman to fiue foot.

m *Dionys. lib. 48.* ἀφ' ἧς ἡ τῶν λεγεώνων τάξις.

n Of Augustus Dio.

o στρατιώτης ὅρκος ἐστὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀρχῆς συμβολαιοτάτιον *lib 8.*

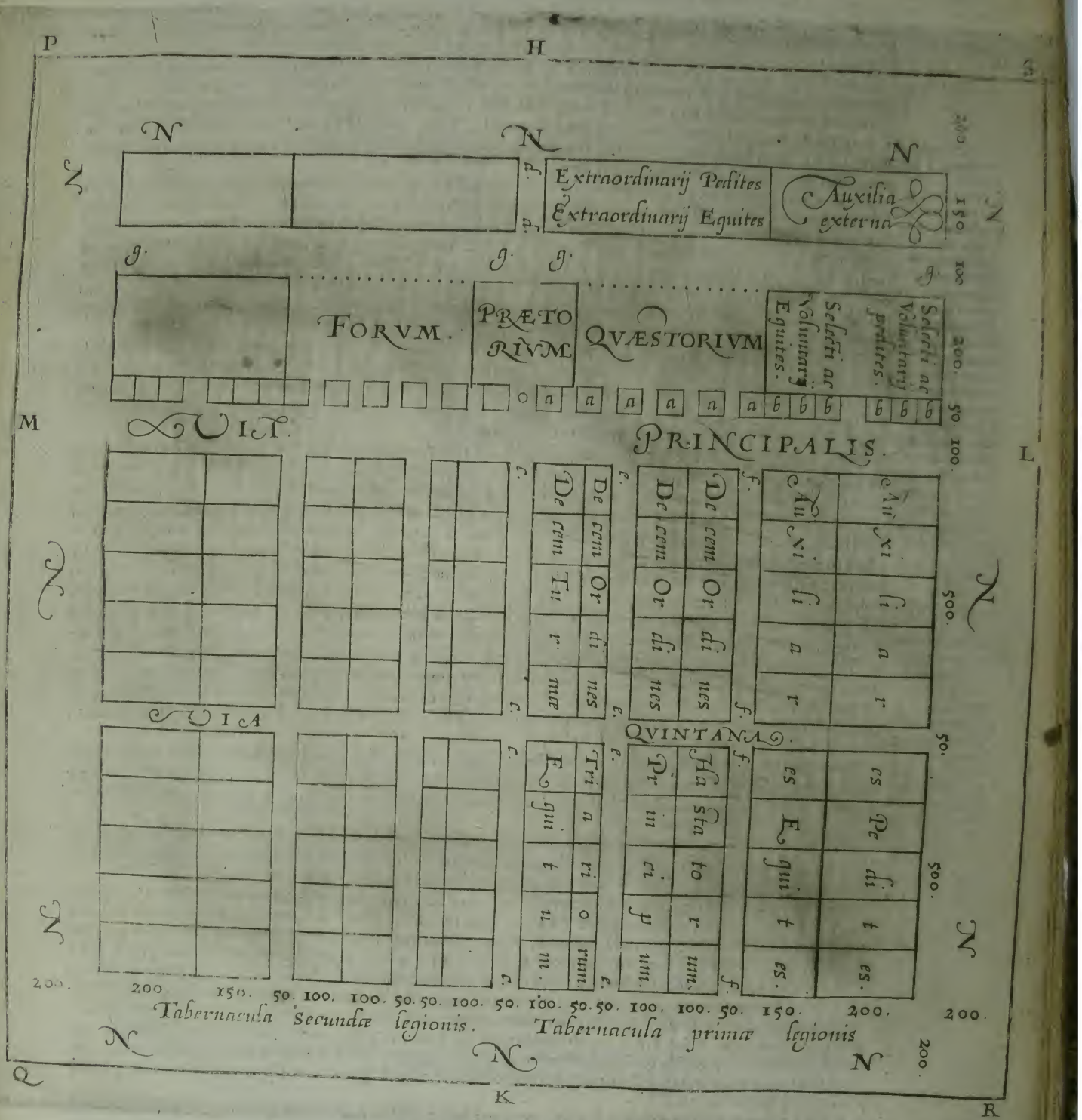
p *Plutarch. apophthegm. reg.* and the epistle of Cato to his son cited by Tull. 2 Offic.

q *Conuersatio*, saith *Seruius in 8. Aeneid quando singuli interrogari non valent, sed qui conuenerunt simul iurant vt cum est tumultus bellum Italicum vel Gallicũ.*

r *Plin. l. b 10 ep. 60 ad Traia Quæ de iure post imperium principis, & conuentibus iusiurandum nouæ sententiæ præstentur, & pronunciabuntur, &c.*

s *Dio lib. 53.*

t *Tac. Annal. 16. Dio lib. 57.* The Translator saith he, ὁ τῶν ὅλων ὅρκος τῶν ἀμφοτέρων, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐγένετο. ἐν ᾧ τοῦτο μὲν ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τὸ κεφάλαιον ἰσχύει, ἐν ᾧ αὐτὸ πάντες ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ μεταμεληθῆναι μέλλοντες, *Tac. lib 57.* there is mention of an oath not onely *in acta* of the present Prince, but *in aedes*, τὰ ἀφιερωθέντα.


P
H
Extraordinarij Pedites
Extraordinarij Equites
Auxilia externa
FORVM.
PRÆTORIVM
QVÆSTORIVM
Selecti ac Voluntarij pedites.
Selecti ac Voluntarij Equites.
VIA PRINCIPALIS.
VIA QVINTANA.
M
L
Q
K
R
Tabernacula Secundæ legionis.
Tabernacula primæ legionis
200. 150. 50. 100. 100. 50. 50. 100. 50. 100. 50. 50. 100. 100. 50. 150. 200. 200.

PRAETORIVM.) a square plot, euery side containing two hundred foot, for the Generals lodging, and his traine: the ground so chosen as might be fittest both for prospect and direction.

[a] παρασήμου. Polybius. as by setting out a flag or such like. for these mute signes I thinke he principally meaneth.

d. d. A street of fifty foot broad, leading from the middest of the PRAETORIVM to the gate H. at the top of the page.

c. c. c. c. A street directly opposite to the former, and of the same bredth, leading from the PRAETORIVM to the gate K. at the bottome of the page. Of the right hand of which street was lodged one Legion with her Auxilia, and another of the left. Now from the PRAETORIVM toward K. measuring out an hundred and fifty foot employed to vses hereafter specified, we are there to begin the lodgings of the common souldiers.

[b] The length of the campe I call according to Polybius, from the top of the page to the bottome, and from the left hand to the right the bredth: almost the latter alwayes calleth as often βάθος, as πλάτος.

Decem Turmæ equitum.) a row of lodgings for the horsemen of the first Legion diuided into ten partitions, according to the number of *Turmæ* in Polybius Legion, which consisted, as before is declared, of three hundred horse and foure thousand two hundred foot. The first *Turma* being quartered in the lodging nereest to the PRAETORIVM, and the rest in order toward the gate K. These lodgings lie in [b] length and open vpon the street *c. c. c. c.* each side being an hundred foot: so that to one horseman they allowed a standing equall to a square somewhat more than eighteene foot euery way.

[c] The Centurions according to Polybius quartering in the two corners toward the street. καθ' ἑκατέραν δὲ τὴν τῶν σημείων τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀκρογωνίας τὰ μέσα σκηνώματα ἐπὶ τὰς πλαγίας ἐκτείνεται. ἐν δὲ ταύτοις τοῖς τόποις τοὺς χιλιάρχους.

Decem ordines Triariorum.) Ten lodgings for the ten *ordines*, or *manipuli Triariorum primæ legionis* with their [c] Centurions and vnder officers, ioining backe to backe with the lodgings of the *Equites*, and opening into the street *e. e. e. e.* of fifty foot broad: *primus Pilus* being quartered next to the PRAETORIVM, and so in consequence towards the gate K. where all the *Decimi ordines* doe lodge. Euery one of these lodgings in length an hundred foot, in bredth fifte lodgeth sixty *Triarij*, and a [d] ratable part of the *Velites*, which, considering the proportion that one of the *Ordines Triariorum* beareth to one of the *Ordines Principum* and *Hastatorum*, and the number of *Velites* in Polybius Legion, falleth out to be twenty foure persons, according to which reckoning to one footman they allowed a standing equall to a square somewhat more than eight foot euery way.

[d] Mathematically 133 - but Polybius vseth not to mince it so nicely, neither were the Romans so great masters in that kind of learning, if wee may beleeue their owne Poet. *excudent alii spirantia mollius æra, &c.*

Of the other side of the street *e. e. e. e.* the lodgings of the *Decem ordines Principum primæ Legionis*, and at their backes the lodging of the *Decem ordines Hastatorum* opening the one into the street *e. e. e. e.* the other into the street *f. f. f. f.* being also fifty foot broad. each of these twenty lodgings is square, euery side containing an hundred foot, and lodgeth an hundred and twenty *sui ordinis*, and forty eight *Velites* beside: proportionably as in *tabernaculis Triariorum* we had for halfe so many men halfe so much ground.

Of the other side of the street *f. f. f. f.* are the lodgings of the *Auxiliares equites in dextro cornu*, and at their backes the lodgings of the *Auxiliares pedites in dextro cornu*, the horse opening into the street *f. f. f. f.* the foot into the void places betweene the lodgings and the trenches, of which we shall haue occasion to speake anon. Now the *Equites auxiliares* of a Legion (the Extraordinary Band being deducted) amounting according to Polybius to foure hundred horse, and allowing to three hundred Legionarie horse ten lodgings of a hundred foot euery way, wee are to allow to these, following the same proportion, ten lodgings each a hundred foot in length (for that way wee may not increase them) and a hundred fifty in bredth, to make the one as conueniently lodged as the other. And so Polybius expresly signifieth in these words: διὸ καὶ τὸ βάθος ὠφείλοντες τόποις ἴσοις λόγον, ἐν τοῖς στρατοπεδεύμασι ἔχρησαν πεζῶν καὶ τὸ μῆκος ἐξισοῦντες τοῖς ἡμισείαις στρατοπέδοις. That is, *In framing their campe, the lodgings of the Auxiliarie horse they make equall to the Legionarie in length, increasing the bredth proportionably to the number.* Likewise the footmen after the deduction of the extraordinary Band being three thousand three hundred sixty, that is three hundred thirty six persons for euery lodging, seeing as the lodgings in length are but a hundred foot, we must make them in bredth two hundred, twise as broad as the lodgings of the *Principes* or *Hastati*, seeing they containe twise as many men. For so Polybius warranteth vs heere also, αὔξειν τὸ βάθος ἴσοις λόγοις. *That is, To increase the bredth proportionably.*

Vpon the left hand of the street *c. c. c. c.* are the lodgings of the second Legion with her *Auxilia* in the same proportion and order in all points with the first. And so haue we the bredth of the campe from the vtmost Auxiliary footmen of the one Legion to the like of the other a thousand six hundred fifty foot, or three hundred thirty pace, accounting fiue foot for a pace.

VIA QVINTANA: is a street fifty foot broad, passing from side to side thorow the whole bredth of the lodgings, so named *à Quintis ordinibus* which quarter all vpon it. In this street, as being in the middle of the souldiers quarter, and therefore fittest for such a purpose, was holden a market, *forum rerum venalium*, saith Festus.

Now of the hundred fifty foot, which as we noted were betweene the souldiers quarter and the PRAETORIVM, a hundred foot was the bredth of VIA PRINCIPALIS, of which street, saith Polybius, speciall care was had, that it should be sweet and handsome, because it was the vsuall place of resort for the souldiers in the day time. In the other fifty foot toward the PRAETORIVM was a row of lodgings opening vpon VIA PRINCIPALIS, each lodging bearing euery way fifty foot, for the twelue *Tribuni* and twelue *Præfecti sociorum*, their traine, horses and carriage. *a. a. a. a. a. a.* are the lodgings of the six Tribunes of the first Legion, the first lodging answering directly to the Legionary horsemens quarter, and the last to the street *f. f. f. f.* with passages betweene of thirty foot. *b. b. b. b. b. b.* are the lodgings of the *Præfecti*, (whom as it seemes Polybius had forgotten to lodge) answering precisely to the bredth of the Auxiliarie quarter, with a void space of fifty foot betweene the third and fourth tent. and so of the other side for those of the other Legion, a void space of fifty foot being left at *e.* to answer the street *e. e. e. e.*

g. g. g. g. a crosse street before the PRAETORIVM being a hundred foot broad, where I suppose was setled the watch mentioned by Polybius: μία δὲ ἐξ ἀνδρῶν καθ' ἡμέραν σημαίνει κατὰ μέρος τὸ στρατηγῷ παρακοιτεῖ, ὅπως ἅμα μὲ ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα φυλάττῃ τὸ στρατηγῷ σκῆνος, ἅμα δὲ κοσμῇ τὸ σκήνωμα τῆς ἀρχῆς. That is, *Euery day one Ensigne by course keepeth watch and ward at the Generals pauilion, both for the safety of his person, and maruell of his place.*

[e] γνῶσι δ' ὅσοι τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐπιτρέχουσι τὸ λεγόμενον ἐπιπολάζον.

Extraordinarij Equites. and *Extraordinarij Pedites.*) a plot of an hundred fifty foot in length (for so it will fall out if wee make the whole ground for the lodgings, as wee must, perfectly [e] square) and foure hundred and fifty in bredth, answering to the QVAESTORIVM and part of the PRAETORIVM for the Extraordinary band of the

Auxilia

Acies prima Legionis, consisting of two hundred horse, and eight hundred forty foot (some [f] selected out of them only excepted, which are lodged elsewhere) the foottmen quartering toward the trenches, and the horse toward the campe. And so of the other side for the other Legion.

Auxilia externa) a plot of the same length, and in breadth three hundred and fifty foot, for the foureine Aids such as by occasion come in.

Selecti ex voluntariis Equites, and Selecti ex voluntariis pedites.) a plot of two hundred foot in length, and three hundred fifty in breadth, where the selected out of the extraordinary band of the *Acies prima Legionis*, are placed, the Foot quartering toward the trenches, and the Horse toward the PRAETORIVM: and so of the other side for the other Legion, reserving in both place for voluntaries men, which vpon kindred or friendship, or other respects follow the Generall. These *Selecti* and *Voluntarij* doe not onely, saith Polybius, quarter serve the Generall, but also in marching, and at all other times of any service are continually attendant vpon the Generall and the Quaestor, in the nature peraduenture of a *Cohors Praetoria*.

QVAESTORIVM) a plot of two hundred foot in length and three hundred seuentie fiue in breadth, for the Quaestor and his traine with their treasure and prouision, for the pioners, carpenters, smiths, armorers, &c. with their tooles and officers. There was also the *Auguraculum, Domicilium*, and peraduenture the publike port.

FORVM.) a plot equall in both dimensions to the QVAESTORIVM. Heere was the place of publike assemblies, and the Tribunall with the [g] seat of estate. Heere also in likelihood were those *Subsellia*, Seats, whereof [h] Iosephus maketh mention, on which the Tribunes and Centurions sate in iudgement to decide the controuersies happening betweene the souldiers. In the FORVM also the Eagles and Ensignes of the Legions with their bearers *Aquiliferi* and *Signiferi*, certaine images of the gods, in latter times of the Prince and his children, and sometimes of his [i] great fauorites also, were quartered. Tacitus 15. Annal. describing a solemne assembly in that place, *Inde*, saith he, *equos, haud aspernata legionum fieri reverentia, circumsistunt, & signa quoque & imagines principum, in modum templi, Martia Tribunal sedem circum, & subditi signum Neronis suspendebant.* The Eagles, except peraduenture in time of assemblies, stood in little chappels. Dio lib. 40. δεῖ Νίκης ἱερὸς, ἐν ᾧ καὶ χρυσοῦς ἑστῶτα· καθάπερ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου. That is, *In the Roman armie there is a little chappell, and in it a golden Eagle standing.* The Ensignes were placed *sub dio*, as indeed, being certaine long speares couered with siluer with the Princes image hanging vpon them vnder the Empire, they could hardly be planted vnder a tent. and yet Herodian lib. 4 seemeth to place them all in one chappell. ἐστιν ἐν τῷ ναῷ, ἔνθα τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων. That is, *He stood downe in the chappell where the ensignes and images are adored.* σεβασθέντα, saith hee, for as well the *Aquila* and *Signa* as the *Simulacra deorum*, and *imagines principum* were by the Roman souldiers adored as gods, and therefore the place of their standing accounted sacred. For by *Principia* so often remembred in [k] Tacitus and others I take the FORVM to be principally meant, although in some places of the stories *Principia* may seeme particularly to bee intended of that row of lodgings where the *Tribuni* and *Praefecti* are quartered, specially in that place of Tacitus [l] 1. Annal. *Prima Vari castra lato ambitu, & dimensis Principiis trium legionum manifesta vestigia erant.* and in some other places of the same [m] Tacitus this word *Principia* seemes to be taken *pro ipsis Aquila signisque.*

NN.NN &c.) a void roome of two hundred foot broad, round about betweene the lodgings and the Trench. The vse of this void roome is for the commodious entring and issuing of the Legions, for the safe custodie of the cattle in the night season, which are prouided for the vse of the campe, or otherwise catched from the enemie. But the principall commoditie is, that the enemie vpon sudden approches by night to the trenches cannot throw any fireworke, or dart to doe any great hurt in so great a distance.

P.Q.R.S.) *Agger* or *Vallum*, χάραξ ἢ χαράκωμα, the trench which compassed the whole campe. *Agger* signifying generally *cuiuslibet rei congeriem*, as [n] one of the Grammarians saith, is heere appropriated to that mount of earth, which is raised for defense about the campe: in which certaine stakes called *Valli* were pitched with two, three, or foure-forked heads to close and wreath one within another, and were for that purpose prepared and caried by the souldier, each man caryng three, foure, and sometimes *vique ad septenos valos*, saith Liue. Of these *Vali* the whole fortification of the campe is called [o] *Vallum*. Varro, lib. 4. bringeth two other etymologies: *Vallum quòd ea varicare non possit: vel quòd lingula ibi extrema bacilla furcillata habent figuram literæ V.* describing rightly the *Valli*. In the *Vallum* in conuenient distances were raised and cast out certaine platformes like turrets, and on the [p] curtaine betweene the turrets were placed *Ballistæ*. ἐξυστάλεις, καταπάλται, λιθοβόλοι, καὶ πᾶν ἀφετήριον ἔργαστηρίου τοῖς τότε βολὰς ἐτοίμους. That is, *catapultæ, ballistæ, and all engins of shot ready bent*: such artillerie as that age did afoord. And about the *Vallum* they cast a ditch of six foot deepe and as much in bredth.

In the *Vallum* of the campe were foure gates. Liuius lib. 40. *Admissi ad quatuor portas exercitum instruxit, vt simulacro similis vniuersus partibus cruptionem faceret.* and Iosephus 3. πύλαι, δ' ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ χάρακος τὸ πλῆθος ἐλάχιστον. That is, *In euery side of the campe a gate is built.* So that the sides of the campe being foure, the gates must also be foure.

H. *Porta Praetoria*, so called a PRAETORIO which standeth neere it: the foregate of the campe, and in times of danger, next to the enemie.

K. *Porta Decumana*, so called *à Decimis ordinibus ibi tendentibus* (as appeares by the former description) the backgate of the campe, and in times of danger furthest from the enemie. Otherwise in places of safety, as appeares by Polybius, opportunitie of water and forrage was rather respected in the placing of that gate, because all the common souldiers in a manner were quartered vpon that side.

M. The third gate of the campe called *Sinistra Principalis*: and L. the fourth called *Dextra Principalis*, so denominated, because they open into *Via Principalis*. Liuy in the place [q] aboue alleged nameth them thus: [r] *Extraordinaria*, [s] *Dextra Principalis*, [t] *Sinistra Principalis*, & [u] *Quaestoria*: whereof *Extraordinaria* is without all question the same with *Praetoria*, so named of the Extraordinarie band who quarter there: so that *Quaestoria* in that place must be all one with *Decumana*, belike because in his conceit the QVAESTORIVM was not farre from *Decumana*. And so it may seeme he conceiued of it by another place, lib. 10. *Ab tergo extrorsum Decumana porta impetu facto: Hique capti Quaestorium.* But that placing of QVAESTORIVM cannot stand with Polybius description, whom

[f] Selecti ex extraordinariis.

[g] Suidas in voce βῆμα.

[h] Ioseph. de bello Iud. lib. 5. cap. 5. Vide Lipsium de militia Rom. lib. 4. dial. 5. Sunt principia locorum quod foro vocabulo Italico ex antiquissima nostra lingua Sunt Tribunalia. Lib. 4. dial. 5.

[i] Dio lib. 55. Ἐν τῷ φόρῳ τῷ στρατιωτικῷ. In the Roman campe. Suetonius in Augusto. Signum ex quod fuisse videtur Solario in antiquissimo nostro signorum codice. Sunt Tribunalia. Lib. 4. dial. 5.

[k] 1. Hist. Tu ipsis principiis, suprema cura: 3. Hist. Nec prudentiam vllis ex aduersis ignoro fuit defuisse in principiis equitum, eodem seuera exercitium officium. Item in principia venit. Paulò post, subito tuus cultus in sinu prodire. reuertens in principia ciuis miles.

[l] Principia, ἀρχεῖα, ut Dio exercitum manus, the leaders lodgings.

[m] 2. Hist. Primum principia, quæ Romanis castris Augustum adhuc, & Asiaticum agitabant, & Agrippinam principia Germanici.

[n] Seruius in 10. Aeneid.

[o] Vallum, Gloss Seruius in 9. Aeneid. ἐρύματα vallum, ἔρυμα vallum maius.

[p] Τὰ τῶν πύργων ἐπάλξεις. Ioseph. de bello Iud. 5. 6.

[q] lib. 40.

[r] Extraordinaria.

[s] Dextra Principalis.

[t] Sinistra Principalis.

[u] Quaestoria.

m

in this case we are rather to beleeue. Now that *Praetoria* was neerest to the enemie, and *Decumana* furthest off, it is euident by Cæsar lib. 3. *de bell. ciu. Pompeius*, saith he, *acie accessit, prætoriisq; se in castra eque contulit, & ijs centurionibus quos in statione ad Praetorium portam posuerat, dare, tegumina, inquit, castra.* and immediately after, *Pompeius cum intra vallum nostri versarentur, equum nactus Decumana porta se ex castris eiecit.* That *Praetoria* was the foregate, and *Decumana* the backegate, it appeares by the place of Liuy aboue alleged lib. 10. *ab tergo castrorum Decumana porta impedimenta fuere.* and yet Polybius calleth the side where K. standeth perpetually τὸν κατὰ πρόσωπον πλευρὰν τοῦ χάρακος, *That is, The forepart of the campe:* and that other wherein H. standeth τὸν ὄπισθεν πλευρὰν ἢ τραπεζείας, *That is, The backeside of the campe*, as I thinke, onely by way of supposition and *docendi causa*, because in his description of the lodgings he beginneth at the PRAETORIVM, and proceedeth on forward toward *Porta Decumana*.

Thus haue we a description for two of Polybius ordinarie Legions with their *Auxilia*, which was the ordinarie armie of one Consull: a campe perfectly square, not as the Grecians (although if Frontinus say true, the Romans tooke this whole learning of Pyrrhus a Grecian) who framed their campe according to the ground, whereas the Romans framed the ground to their campe, and distinguished it with streets and passages in so good an order, that a man might as readily finde his place there, as his owne house in the towne where he was borne. The whole perimetre within the trenches amounted to eight thousand two hundred foot, or one thousand six hundred fifty paces: euery side, according to the positions already laid, containing two thousand fiftie foot. Now when the Legions were much fuller than ordinarie, in lodging both horse and foot, the [f] partitions were made proportionably bigger as well in length as in bredth, and so the square figure still retained. But if the *Auxilia* doe exceed, first they contriue the QVAESTORIVM and FORVM into one, and lodge them in the other: or if that doe not suffice, they make more rowes of lodgings vpon the right and left hand of the Auxiliarie quarter, enlarging the figure in bredth by that meanes, and retaining the former length. And likewise if more than two Legions vnder one Generall were to be encamped together, the figure was, I suppose, [g] a long square, enlarged onely in bredth with more rowes of lodgings on both sides the street, *c. c. c. c.* For Tacitus in a place aboue alleged signifieth that by measuring the *Principia* we might finde out the number of the Legions, which presupposing, the enlargement in length could not by that meanes bee so well discerned. But when foure Legions vnder two [h] Consulls were to be ioined in one campe, if it pleased the Generals to keepe their standings apart, it was likewise a long square, but doubled in length, in all other respects agreeing with this description: and the campe so doubled contained twise as much ground, perimetre halfe as much more with six gates, two *Decumanæ*, two *Sinistræ Principales*, and two *Dextræ* without any *Praetoris* at all. But when it pleased them to pitch together, they placed the FORVM, QVAESTORIVM and PRAETORIVM in the middle betweene the two armies; the *Extraordinarij* and *Auxilia externa* quartering, as it may seeme, in this case, betweene the Tribunes and souldiers lodgings in the same quantitie of ground as before, and with conuenient streets on both sides.

The Generall officer ouer the Campe was called *Præfectus Castrorum*: [a] to whose charge appertained to stake out the Campe and see it kept sweet, to appoint and order the trenches and ditch, to quarter the souldiers with their carriage in their lodging, to prouide diet and physicke for the sicke, and pay the Physitian, &c. [b] Particularly ouer the Smiths, Carpenters, and other Artificers, with the Engineers, and such like, the officer was called *Præfectus fabrûm*. Both of them, as I thinke, lodged in QVAESTORIO, where it is likely the *Legati legionum* also were quartered, and in the free state the *Legati consulares*.

[c] Assoone as euer the tents were pitched, and campe setled, all which followed the campe both bond and free receiued an oath called *sacramentum castrense*, which according to Polybius was, ΜΗΔΕΝ ἙΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΕΜΒΟΛΗΣ ΚΛΕΨΕΙΝ, ἈΛΛΑ ΚΑΝ ΕΥΡΗ ΤΙ ΤΙΣ, ΤΟΥΤ' ΑΝΟΙΣΕΙΝ ἘΠΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΧΙΛΙΑΡΧΟΥΣ. *That is, That no souldier should steale nothing out of the campe, but if any happened to find ought he should carry it to the Tribunes.* li. 6. and in another place he toucheth a matter of greater importance, concerning the iust representation of the spoile in the sacking of cities, a point most profitably induced, whether the spoile were to be reserued to publike vses, or else diuided among the souldiers, wherof the worst sort are commonly most nimble that way. But chiefly it staied the mindes of those, who by the Generals commandement remained in armes in the market place against all sudden mischances of warre, being assured thereby of equall part with the rest in the prey which should be taken by others. *Aulus* [d] *Gellius* setteth the very forme of the oath downe in more particular termes out of *Cincius de remissari*; *In exercitu decem que milia passuum prope fertis manufactis aolo malo scitus, neque eam pluribus plures nummi argentei in dies singules. extraque hastam, hastile, ligna, pabulum, vtrem, follem, faculam, si quid ibi inuenis quod pluris nummi argentei erit, vti in ad Cos. sive ad quem eorum alter iusserit perferas, aut profitebere in triduo proximo quicquid inueneris sustuleris sive dolo malo, aut dominus eius cuiusque esse dicet, vti quod recte facta esse volet.*

In seruice the Legionarie souldiers had allowance of pay, corne and apparell: and at the end of his seruice a consideration in money, or land of inheritance, and sometimes both. For the pay Liuy [e] writeth thus: *Anno vrbis conditæ 349. decretum Senatus vt stipendium* [f] *miles de publico acciperet, cum ante id tempus de suo quisque functus eo munere esset.* The quantity Polybius limiteth in the sixth booke, at least as it was in his time, assigning to a footman the third part of a [g] *drachma*, or two *obeli* by the day, which Polybius in another place resolueth into foure *asses*, to a Centurion twise so much, to a horseman a *drachma*, or Roman *denarius* then currant for twelue *asses*. This pay continued, as I suppose, in this forme till Cæsars time, *qui legionibus stipendium in perpetuum duplicauit*. Suetonius Iulio. cap. 26. So that the footmen had by the day eight *asses*, the Centurion sixteene, the horse twentie foure. Augustus increased the footmans pay to [h] ten *asses* a day, and as it seemeth shortly after it rose to a full *denarius*. Besides wages the souldiers receiued in latter times *vestem de publico*, as it were some liuerie garment, not all his apparell, as I suppose. Plutarchus Gracchis, among the lawes which were established by C. Gracchus, one was, saith hee, στρατιωτικὸς, ἐδόθη κελεύων ἀμφιεσία χορηγεῖσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν εἰς τοῦτο τῆς ἀποδοχῆς ὑφαιρεῖσθαι. *That is, Militar, commanding a garment to be giuen the souldier by the officer without any detraction of wages therefore.* for before, as it appeareth by Polybius, they receiued apparell, and other necessaries of the Quæstor, but the price was set vp in their wages. Vegetius lib. 2. cap. 19. *Imperatoris milites, qui veste & annonâ publicâ pascuntur.* Thirdly they receiued *frumentum*. Vegetius in the place aboue alleged, *Imperatorum milites qui annona publica pascuntur.* And in the free state.

Solost.

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[f] ἐπὶ μῆκος

[g] Πολὺβ. ὅταν δὲ συμβαίνῃ τοὺς ὑπατικοὺς διπλοῦσθαι, χρείας γραπτ. but so it must be read, not διπλᾶς γραπτ. and in the next line for χωρὶς wee are contrarily to read ἐπὶ.

[a] *Veget. l. 2. c. 10.*

[b] *Veget. l. 2. c. 11.*

[c] Μετὰ τὸν γραπτὸν εἶδος. *Polyb. lib. 6. & lib. 10.* ὅτου καθιεσθαι σημαίνει ἐπὶ τὸ ἐμβαλεῖν ἐξουσίαν τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους.

[d] *Lib. 16. cap. 4.*

[e] *Lib. 4.*

[f] The footman allowed for three yeers after. Equiti primum denarium numerum asses effigiatos. *Liuius.*

[g] *Drachma* the eighth part of an ounce, about 7. d. ob. English.

[h] *Tac. 1. annal.*

Sallust. Iugurth. Miles frumentum publicè datum vendere, pannos aliam mercari. In Polybius time the price was deducted out of their wages, and so it continued long afterward: for Nero was the first, which vnto the Praetorians (who were in all preferments the formost) *dedit frumentum gratuitum*, which before they had at some rates. Tacit. 15. Annal. The measure was to a footman for a moneth two dimes of an Attick *Medimnus* of wheat: to a horseman two *Medimni* of wheat, and seuen of oats or barley: as hauing, as many haue supposed, a spare horse, and an attendant or two allowed. Polyb. lib. 6. Dondes vpon Tacitus learnedly *demonstrat se secundum fontes mensem* the moneth, precisely agreeing with the text of Polybius footman in this place. *Pro modio* commonly vsurped for *modij*, according to Tully *Frumentum in Pontum*, Suidas, and others. Herodotus Polymnia vnto Xerxes people at a *chanix* (that is, the fortie eighth part of a *medimnus*) a day, and that was called *ἡ χοινικὸς μισθὸς*, *Thurin. dimensum*. Suidas *ἀρτάβη*, among the Grecians, somewhat lesse than Polybius rate, who alloweth thirty two *medimni* the moneth. For the quantitie of *medimnus* and *modius* thus we may gather it. Quadrantall is the measure of a cubicall [1] Roman foot. Festus and others. Now quadrantall containeth *urnas duas* according to Volusius Maecianus, which is halfe a *medimnus*. So that a measure of a square Roman foot in the bottome, and the third part of a foot high, is the Roman *modius*: and of two foot high with the same bottome, an Attick *medimnus*. Of our vulgar measures *medimnus* being lesse than a bushell and an halfe, and *modius*, which our common le rising commeth not a bushell about a pinte lesse than a peeke. For consideration at the end of their seruice the old souldier had sometimes an assignement in land of inheritance, as after the second Punicke warre the Senate [2] awarded to them which had serued in Africke *quod agri Samnitibus, Apuli pabulum populo Romano fuit*, and at other times vpon like occasions. Sylla to the [3] Legions which had serued vnder him in the ciuill warres *ἐπίκτητον πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔδωκε, τὴν μὲν ἐν ὅπλοις κτησάμενος, τὴν δὲ παρὰ τῶν οὐκ ἀδικούντων*. That is, *Distributed vnto them all Italie; some which had taken in warre, and some taken away by force from the owners*: not only as in reward of their former seruice, but much more to haue so many good souldiers at hand, whose fortune could not bee severed from his, and whom he might raise in a moment the case so requiring. The like vpon like respects did Caesar Iulius, placing his *veteranas legiones* in colonies about him. Antonius and Augustus conspiring against the state, named before hand eighteene of the fairest and richest Cities in Italie, as Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Nuceria, Beneventum, Arminium, &c. which they promised to distribute and part among the souldiers after the warre, *ἐκβαλόντες τοὺς ἐνοίκους*. That is, *Dislodging and expelling* vtterly all the old inhabitants, and accordingly for the most part performed it. vnder the Empire all [4] prouinces were replenished with such master colonies. For consideration in money at the end of their seruice before Augustus time I finde no stint set downe. At the triumph after some great warre the souldier had some little remembrance: at the triumph of [5] Aurelianus some *asses* a peece, two shillings six pence English. At the triumph of [6] Paulus some five *asses*, double the Centurion, triple the horse. At the triumph of [7] Pompey out of Asia [8] fifteene hundred drachmas a common souldier, and the rest in proportion. So much was either wealth or ambition growen in so few yeeres. At the triumph of [9] Caesar after the ciuill warres the souldier [10] five thousand drachmas, the Centurion ten thousand, the Tribune twentie thousand. Augustus reducing it to a certaintie vpon the Guard-souldier at the end of sixteene yeeres seruice [11] bestowed five thousand drachmes, vpon the Legionarie at the end of twentie, three thousand. For the pay of the Auxilia, the allies in the free state had their pay and [12] paimaster, from whom, as liuing in some equalitie of alliance, and yet recognizing a superiorite. Some allowance in corne they had euen in Polybius dates from the Romans. In Augustus time first, and so in the Empire the Social Auxilia carrying armes more for the maintenance of the Princes estate, than for the interest of their owne libertie, receiued their pay and other commodities of the Prince as well as the Legions.

It remaineth now to consider the number of the Legions and men which the Romans commonly armed, or armed at the highest, or possibly could arme. Rome in her infancie had onely one Legion, according to Dionysius and [13] Varro, consisting of three thousand footmen, and three hundred horse, as before it is shewed: notwithstanding the words before alleged of [14] Plutarch, a man of baser alloy, seeme to import a multitude. After the Cemenses, and Antemnates were incorporated, the Romans had then, saith Dionysius lib. 2. six thousand [15] Legionarie footmen, that is according to the vsage of that time, two complete Legions. In his armie against the Sabins, Romulus armed of his owne people, and from his grandfather twentie thousand footmen, and eight hundred horse. Dionysius. Afterward the Sabins being receiued into the cite, and the Cemenis with others, at his death Romulus [16] left the Cite furnished of fortie six thousand footmen, and little lesse than [17] a thousand horse; a great and almost incredible increase in one mans raigne. In the time of Tullus Hostilius third king of the Romans by the ruines of Alba the Roman forces were [18] doubled. Dionysius lib. 3. Which if it be true in Grammaticall vnderstanding, the state of Rome at that time was able to make vp three an hundred thousand men to the field: an excessiue number of souldiers, seeing the whole cense, which contained all men aboue seuenteene yeeres, not [19] bond nor mechanicall, in Seruius time amounted but to eighrie thousand, or eighte foure thousand seuen hundred, as Liuie and the same Dionysius doe witnesse; although Fabius Pictor indeed maketh it the number of men able for seruice, something approching to our number collected by consequence out of Dionysius words. In the free state from the beginning in a maner without interuption, they commonly armed euery yeere foure Legions with their Auxilia, as [20] Polybius an eie-witnesse, and [21] Liuy doe testifie, which according to the lowest reckoning of those times with the Auxilia make thirtie two thousand footmen, and foure and twentie hundred horse. And this was their ordinary yeerely stint, obserued euen in peaceable times, and as it were to keepe their hands in: a point of great consideration and necessarie vse in a warlike common-wealth. But how many they armed vpon occasions, or possibly could arme, is another consideration. In the bottle *ad Lacum Regillum*, *Anno vrbis conditae* 257. the Romans [22] put in the field twentie foure thousand, that is six complete Legions, as the Legion was then, and three thousand horse, fiue hundred as it seemeth to a Legion, which exceedeth greatly the vse of that age. and the Latines, at that time enemies not Auxiliaries, fortie thousand footmen, and three thousand horse. In the cense two yeeres before were [23] censed an hundred and fiftie thousand seuen hundred, of which, exempting those which were aboue militare age, wee may reasonably presume the one halfe seuentie thousand at least to haue beene seruiceable men for the field. *Anno vrbis conditae* 245. the yeere after the kings were excluded, the cense was

[1] The Romans foot is the thing more by halfe a foote then.

[2] Liu. lib. 31.

[3] Appian. Alex. p. 306. 307. Plut. in Sylla. Dion. lib. 55. Polyb. lib. 6. Liuy in Roma- lium. ad hos Imperatores ipsa dicta sunt bis, in the singular number not in the true meaning of Tullus Hostilius, Romulus Augustus &c. Romanae legiones dicuntur, quae ab vrbe Roma conditae sunt.

[4] Romulus ait etiam in pace exercitum deducere oportere, quo minus ociosa iuuentus corrumpatur, &c.

[5] Dionys. lib. 2.

[6] According to Liu. lib. 1. 600. horse seuenty centuries.

[7] Dionys. lib. 9. lib. 1.

[8] Dionys. lib. 2.

[9] Dionys. lib. 5.

m an hundred and thirtie thousand τῶν ἐν ἥβῃ ῥωμαίων. *That is, Of those of seuenteene yeeres and vpward.* and the number of persons men and women aboue three hundred thousand. Now halfe of the cense, or a a quarter of the heads in common intendment being accounted men of the field, wee may probably conclude, that the state of Rome in those daies was able to put seuentie thousand, or not much lesse in armes. *Anno vrbis condita* 260. *Quantas nunquam ante ex vllius*, saith Liuy lib. 2. *legiones decem effectæ.* Dionysius addeth, ἐξ ἀνδρῶν τετρακισχιλίων ἕκαστον. *That is, Each of them consisting of* 4000. *men.* So that the Romans armed that yeere actually forty thousand men of themselues, without the *Auxilia* of the Latine nation, whom it was not thought conuenient as yet *pati retractare arma.* In the warre of the *Decemuiri contra Sabinos & AEquos* ten Legions were leuied συνεστρατεύετο δὲ αὐτοῖς λατίνων τε καὶ ἄλλων συμμάχων ὁπλιτικὸν οὐκ ἔλαττον τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλῆθος. *That is, Accompanied with as many more of the Latines, and other their allies, Dionysius lib.* 11. Summe eighty thousand. *Anno ab vrbe condita* 406. vpon the reuolt of the Latine nation, the Romans armed forty two thousand footmen, and three thousand horse. Liuius libr. 8. *Vndique non vrbana tantum, sed etiam agresti iuuentute, decem legiones scriptæ dicuntur, quaternûm millium & ducenorum peditum, equitumque trecenorum, quem nunc* o *nouum exercitum, si qua externa vis ingruat, hæ vires P. R. quas vix terrarum caput orbis contractæ in vnum haud facilè efficiant; adeò in quæ laboramus sola creuimus, diuitias luxuriámque.* Betweene the first and second warre Punicke, at what time the cense of the Citizens pricked about three hundred thousand, a full view being taken of the forces of them and their allies in Italie, there were found, as p Polybius reporteth, aboue seuen hundred thousand footmen able to beare armes, and seuenty thousand horse, an incredible number if we compare it with latter ages: and produced by Diodorus Sic. 2. Bibliot. to confirme the admirable populousnesse of ancient times. notwithstanding that Cæsar, as Appian writeth Κελτικῇ in few yeeres fought in France with foure millions of men, a number comparable with Xerxes armie, which dried vp with drinking the riuers, sailed the mountaines, bridged the sea, as stories and Panegyricks make vs beleeue. *Anno vrbis cond.* q 538. & r 539. & s 543. in the second Punicke warre, the Roman state armed twenty three Legions, which according to the count of that time riseth to an hundred and fifteene thousand Legionarie footmen, and almost seuen thousand horse. After the third Punicke warre, in which time the cense was t about foure hundred thousand, *in bello sociali* the Romans armed an hundred thousand: the *socij* as many of the contrarie side, beside sufficient garrison in their seuerall Cities. Appian. Ἐμφ. 1. In the ciuill warre of Sylla the Consuls had two hundred Cohorts of fiue hundred a peece, Ἐμφ. 1. and Sylla u twenty three Legions, which Appian resolueth into an hundred and twentie thousand. on both sides two hundred and twentie thousand. In the Ciuill warre betweene Pompey and Cæsar, about which time the cense amounted to x foure hundred and fifty thousand, Pompey had y sixtie thousand and fiue hundred men, Cæsar eighty Cohorts, in which were but twenty two thousand, and two Cohorts *præsidio castrum. lib. 3. de bello ciuili.* After Cæsars death when the peace was made at Mutina to trouble the state, *Octauius* z had twenty Legions: Antonie twentie: Brutus b eight: Cassius twelue: Lepidus three: Dolabella two; and at least one in Africke. Summe sixtie six: all at one time: which following the rate set downe in Antonius oration, 5. Ἐμφ. (an hundred and seuenty thousand souldiers in twenty eight Legions) in sixty six bringeth out better than foure hundred thousand, the greatest reckoning actually in armes that wee reade of hitherto in the Roman state. After the ciuill warres ended, Augustus setling the state, and remouing armes out of Italie, established in the prouinces and limits of the Empire c twenty three Legions with their Auxilia, that is, according to the Positions already laied, two hundred seuentie six thousand souldiers. Tiberius maintained d twentie fiue Legions, that is, three hundred thousand souldiers, placing in the two Germanies eight Legions: in Spaine three: Africke two: Egypt two: Syria foure: Illyricum six: to wit, two in Pannonia, two in Mœsia, two in Dalmatia. Sum twenty fiue.

In Galbaes time the state maintained one and thirty Legions.

In Britannie e three,	Secunda f Augusta.
	Nona Hispanensis.
	Vicesima g Victrix.
In Spaine two,	h Sexta, i Ferrata.
	k Decima, l Gemina.
In Gallia m Lugdunensi one,	n Prima n Italica.
In High Germany three,	o Quarta, p Macedonica.
	p Decimaoctaua, *aliâs* Duoetvicesima.
	q Vnaetvicesima r Rapax.
In Low Germany foure, s	Prima.
	Quinta.
	Decimaquinta.
	Decimasexta.
In Pannony two,	t Septima u Galbiana.
	x Tertiadecima x Gemina.
In Dalmatia two,	a Vndecima b Claudiana.
	c Quartadecima a Gemina.
In Mœsia three,	d Tertia e Gallica.
	f Septima g Claudiana.
	Octaua h Augusta.
In Africa one, Tertia i Augusta.	
In Egypt two,	k Tertia Cyrenaica.
	l Duoetvicesima Primigenia.
In Syria l foure.	m Quarta n Scythica.
	o Sexta p Victrix.
	q Duodecima r Fulminatrix.
	Vicesima, if the place be not corrupt in Dio, that there were two of that name continued from Augustus to his time.

In

a For of the heads at least halfe be women, and of the other halfe scarce an halfe seruiceable men Dionysius lib. 9 maketh one of his censes but a quarter of the heads.

o *Nouum*: for otherwise the state in his time kept more than thrise so many in armes, or peradventure it was but a slip of his pen.

p lib 2. σύμπασι πλῆθος ἦν ἀνὰ μὲν τὴν ἵππον βοσκήσεως, αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν συμμαχόν πεζὸν μὲν ὑπὲρ τὰς ἑπτακοσιομυριάδας, ἱππέων δὲ εἰς ἑπτὰ μυριάδας.

q *Liuius lib.* 25.
r *lib.* 26.
s *lib.* 27.
t *Epitom Liu. l.* 47
u Ἐμφ. 2.
x *Epitoma* 98.
y 120. *cohortes*. that is, 55000. *Lucan* 2000. 7. *cohortes in castella*. 3500. *Summa* 60500.
z *Ap.* 3. & 4 Ἐμφ.
b *Seneca cõsolatione ad Polyb. c.* 35
c *Dio lib* 55.
d *Tacit.* 4 *Ann.*
e 3 *Hesser.*
f *Dio. Prol. Geogr.*
g *Dio.* in the place alleged, and *Ptolemæus.*
h 3. *Hist.*
i *Dio.*
k 2. *Hist.*
l *Dio.*
m 1. *Hist.*
n 2. *Hist. Dio.*
o 1. *Hist.*
p 3. *Hist.*
q 1. *Hist.*
r 2. *Hist. Plin. Quinct.*
s 4. *Hist.*
t 5. *Hist.*
u Which *Tacitus* 1. *Hist.* seemeth to call *Hispana.*
a 1. *Hist.*
b 3. *Hister.*
c *Dio.*
d 2. *Hister.*
e 1. *Hist.*
f *Xiphil.*
g 2. *Hist.*
h 3 *Hist.*
i *Dio.*
k *Dio. Prol. Geogr.*
l 5 *Hist.*
m 1. *Hist.*
n 15. *Ann.*
o *Dio. Spartianus*
p 2. *Hist.*
q *Dio. Ptolemæus*
r 5. *Hist.*
s *Dio.*

In Iewry [t] three, { [t] Quinta [u] Macedonica. / [t] Decima [z] Fretensis. / [t] Quintadecima [x] Apollinaca.

At [a] Rome one, { Prima [b] Adiutrix [b] Classica.

In this Catalogue Prima Italica of Gallia Lugdunensis, Prima Adiutrix at Rome, and Septima Galbiana of Pannonie were conscribed by Nero and Galba: The seuen Legions of Germanie, Duoetvicesima of Egypt, and Nona of Britannie were established by Tiberius Caius, or Claudius, or peraduenture some of them in the latter times of Augustus. All the other nineteene were vndoubtedly founded by Augustus, and in esse yeeres before Augustus death: for albeit two of them beare the name of Claudius, Vndecima Claudiana in this catalogue of Dalmatia, and Septima Claudiana of Mœsia, it was not because Claudius was their founder, but as Dio saith, ὅτι αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κομμόδου ἐκαινοποίησε μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπεποιήσατο. The rest of the countries either had no souldiers at all, or but only some [c] auxiliary garrisons of cohorts and wings, *quas per sequi*, saith Tacitus 4. Annal. *incertum sit, nomine vsu imperij ita illum aremi, gliscerent numero & aliquando minuerentur*. yet may we reasonably presume out of Tacitus [d] words, that the Auxilia annexed to the Legions ioined to these locall, were in number not inferiour to the Legions considered alone. This number of Legions or thereabout we finde retained many yeeres in the Roman Empire. Fauorinus de Hadriano apud Spartianum, *Nouercè suæ locus, familiares, qui non parùm mali tum amborum dubitabant, orimo creduli, qui habet triginta legiones*. In Alexander Seuerus time [e] Dio reckoneth thirty two Legions whereof two and twenty are the same that wee haue found in Galbaes time, the nine remaining of the thirty one which we had vnder Galba, being miscarried in the meane time, or ioined to some other; to wit, Nona of the British, all the seuen Legions of Germany, and Vicesima secunda of Egypt. and for Quinta and Decimaquinta in low Germany we are assured by Tacitus of their ruine at Vetera In stead of these nine thus decaied, we haue ten other named by Dio: Secunda Adiutrix, and Quarta Flauia enrolled by Vespasian; Prima Minerua by Domitian; Secunda Ægyptia and Tricesima Germanica otherwise called Secunda Traiana and Tricesima Vlpia by Traian; Secunda Italica and Tertia Italica by Marcus; Prima Parthica, Secunda Parthica, Tertia Parthica by Seuerus. The catalogue of the Legions which at this day is extant in the court of the Capitoll, and is euidently more moderne than Dio, hath the same number with Dio, and nine and twenty of the same Legions, only in the particular names in stead of Vicesima, Septima Galbiana, and Tertia Italica which are in Dio, it hath *Vicesima Secunda Primigenia, Septima Gemina*, and *Decima sexta Flauia*. and of the Legions in Galbaes time, that monument hath but only twenty, lacking (beside the same nine which are wanting in Dio) Septima Galbiana, and the Vicesima which we haue placed in Syria. Now thirty one Legions Imperiall, which in Galbaes time we doe finde, according to our suppositions containe an hundred eighty six thousand footmen, and eighteen thousand six hundred horse. The Auxilia of the one kinde and of the other in number not much otherwise. So wee haue in these times vsually maintained by the Empire, [f] footmen three hundred seuenty two thousand, and horse thirty seuen thousand two hundred at the smallest reckoning. Whose ordinary pay, beside corne and some apparell, at one *denarius* or *drachma* a day for the footman, and three for the horse, beside the increase of wages giuen to the officers, amounteth by the yeere to an hundred seuenty six millions fiue hundred foureteene thousand *denarij*, in our money fiue millions fiue hundred sixteene thousand sixtie two pounds and ten shillings; which is more than the great Turke at this day receiueth in two yeeres toward all charges. And yet they maintained beside a Guard of many thousands for the Prince with double pay, another for the Prouost of the Citie, with many cohorts of Night-watchers, and many armadaes with proper souldiers annexed, as shall be declared. Neither can we finde thorowout all the Roman storie for lacke of pay any disorder or mutinie to haue growen among the souldiers, though otherwise very mutinously disposed.

The seruice at home in the Citie was performed by three sorts of souldiers principally, *Prætoriani, Vrbani*, and *Vigiles*. *Prætorium*, πραίτωριον, the Generals pauilion, be he Consull or Prætor, or else whatsoeuer: and *Prætorium cohors*, a band of chosen men to the guard of his person, so named by Scipio Africanus, but induced before in Romulus time by the name of *Celeres*, selected *ex fortissimis & nobilissimis*, οὓς ἀεὶ (*non in bello solùm, sed etiam in pace*) περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχε τριακοσίους ὄντας ἀεὶθ ὡμῶ φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ τὰ χρήσιμα τῶν ἔργων. *That is, Whom alwaies he had about him, being 300. in number for the guard of his person and dispatch of vrgent affaires*: Dionysius lib. 2. in the free common wealth not vsed, but [b] abroad in the warre, till Sylla and Cæsar vsurping the state retained also at home as among enemies their vsuall guard. But Sylla [i] resigning the state and his guard both at once, howsoeuer he is charged by Cæsar *nescire literas*, may seeme to haue followed a better Grammar than Cæsar himselfe; who dismissing his guard and not his gouernment, committed a notable and dangerous solecisme in matter of state, and opened the way to his owne destruction. After the death of Cæsar the state being troubled, Antonius by permission of the Senate, φρουρὸν ἑαυτῷ περιεποιήσατο, *That is, Put a guard about his person*, of six thousand chosen men. 3. Emp. And Octauius pretending enmitie against Antonius, returned out of *Campania* εἰς μυρίους ἀνδρας ἐς μόνον τὸ σώμα τὸ φυλακῆς ὑφ' ἑνὶ σημείῳ. *That is, Bringing with him 10000. men vnder one Ensigne for the guard of his person onely*. And a little after Antonius marching from Brundusium to Rome, ὡς παντὸς στρατεύματος αἱρετοῦ ἀνδρῶν ἀμείνων τό τε σώματα καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἀπελέξατο. *That is, Selected out of his whole army a Prætorian cohort of the best and choisest men. In bello Philippensi* a Prætorian cohort of two thousand going toward Octauius, was intercepted at sea by those of the contrarie part. 3. Emp. and after the warre Antonius and Octauius ὀκτακισχιλίους στρατιώτας δεηθέντας ἐπ στρατείας σφίσιν ἀποδεξαμένοι δεῖλουτο, καὶ συνελόγησαν εἰς στρατηγίδας τάξεις. *That is, Receiued into seruice 8000. souldiers which desired to continue in pay, and distributed them into Prætorian cohorts*. Emp. 5. and after the battell at Actium Augustus eschewing his fathers fault, and thinking it expedient for the safetie of his person, maintenance of his state, and dispatch of affaires to haue in a readinesse a conuenient companie of souldiers in armes, established vnder the name of *Prætoriani* a guard of ten thousand men diuided into ten cohorts, saith Dio lib. 53. Tacitus 4. Annal. mentioneth but nine in Tiberius time. In Vitellius time *prauitate vel ambitu confusus ordo militiæ, sedecim prætoriæ, quatuor vrbanæ cohortes scribebantur, quibus singula millia inessent*. 2. Hist. This guard of Prætorians consisted *è militibus Etruria fermè Vmbriáque delectis, aut vetere Latio, & colonijs antiqui-*

[t] 1. Hist.
[u] 5. Hist. Tac. dicit. cap. 3.
[z] Dio.
[x] Ex Inscript. colum.
[a] 1. Hist.
[b] 2. Hist.
[c] As at this time Mauritania, Rhetia Noricum, Thracia &c. Tac. Hist 2.
[d] Sic magnitudo sui exercitus.
[e] Lib. 55.
[f] Agathias lib. 5. pag. 153. sets downe a proportion obserued in the latter Emperours time farre greater of 645000 fighting men, which he complaines to haue beene by Iustinian by his later time greatly diminished. ἐς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους μαλιστα ἀριθμὸν ἐσῆγον οἱ πρόσθεν ὅλον ἐς πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸ εἰς πεντηκοστὸν καὶ ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος ἡκοντα χρόνου.
[i] Liuius.
[b] As in the battle ad Regillum the Dictator had cohortem de electam circa se præsidij causa. Liu. lib. 2.
[i] Appian 1 & 2. Eutr. Salust. and other.

tis Romanis, differing in that point onely from the guard of Tyrannes in ancient times, which commonly consisted of mercenary strangers. and so the Emperours had also another guard of Germans, Tacitus 1. Annal *robora Germanorum, cum qui tum custodes imperatori aderant.* 13. Annal. *Germanos super eundem lictorum custodes additos.* Sueton. [1] Nerone. *abductaque militum & Germanorum statione.* Which guard Galba dissolued. Suet.cap.12. *Germanorum cohortem à Cæsaribus olim ad custodiam corporis institutam multisque experimentis fidelissimam dissolvit, ac sine vllo commodo remisit in patriam.* Dio lib. 55. maketh mention also of certaine horsemen of Batauia attending vpon the Prince. ξύοι τε ἱππεῖς ἐπίλεκτοι, ὅτις τὸ ἔθνος βαταύιον ἀπὸ τῆς βατάυας τῆς ἐν τῷ ῥήνῳ νήσου ὄνομα. ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἀεὶ αὐτῶν ἀκολουθεῖν εἰώθεισαν. *That is, Certaine choise horsemen strangers whom they call Batani of Batauia an isle in the Rhene; but the number of them I cannot precisely set downe.* Of the *Prætorian* some were horsemen, Tacit. 1. Annal. *Additur magna pars prætorianæ equitis.* Sueton.Claudio.cap.21. *Astricanas exhibuit Claudius consistente turma equitum prætorianorum, ducibus tribunis ipsisque præfecto.* most footmen, as *Speculatores*, and other. Their proper office was δορυφορεῖν, (and also they are called of the Greeke writers δορυφόροι, and σωματοφυλακες) to watch and ward at the Palace euery Cohort in their turne, or to accompany the Prince abroad *in Forum, in Curiam, in comitium, &c.* Tac.1.Hist. *Consultantibus placuit centeni animum cohortis, quæ in Palatio stationem agebat.* and againe, Ann.12. *Egreditur Nero ad cohortem quæ more militiæ excubijs adest.* Sueton. [1] Othone : *Obstitit reste ctus cohortis quæ tunc excubabat.* Tac.Annal. 1. *Miles in forum, miles in curiam comitabatur.* Dio.lib.60. ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις πάντως πάντας φρουροὺς σιωβῶντας εἶχε, καὶ τοῦτο μέχρι ἐξ ἐκείνου κατεδεσχέθη καὶ δι' ἔτους ἀεὶ γίγνεται. *That is, At banquets Claudius had alwaies some souldiers attending vpon him, which custome began by him is continued euen to this day.* And not only the Prince himselfe, but his wife, mother and children had likewise some of these *Prætoriani* attending vpon them. Tacit. 13. Annal. *Excubias militares, quas vt coniugi imperatoris olim, tum & vt matri seruabantur, degredi iubet.* With Germanicus in Germany were *duæ Prætoriæ cohortes*, 2. Annal. whether of the body of the Roman guard, or after the ancient vse of the word, I cannot determine. And 1. Annal. Tiberius sendeth with his sonne Drusus vnto Pannonia *duas prætorias cohortes.* At the places I finde that a Cohort assisted to keepe good order. Tac.13.Annal. *Statio cohortis assidere ludis solita demouetur.* Moreouer in accompanying Embassadors sent from the Prince, in doing executions and murders, and many other seruiceable points, they were by the Prince employed. In the warre but seldome vpon vrgent occasions. Tacit.1.Hist. *Quod raro alias prætorianus, vrbanusque miles in aciem deducti.* Of the Prætorian souldiers the principall officers were called *Præfecti prætorio*, Captaines of the guard wee may terme them, chosen at the first out of militar men, till vpon the danger discouered that way, how vnsafe it was to put such strength into mens hands of that quality though of meane birth, wisedome in latter times and skill in law was in that choice rather respected, as it appeareth by Papinian, Vlpian and other famous Lawyers preferred to that roome : by meanes of whom peraduenture the place became in the end more [m] iudiciall than militar ; but at all times the greatest office in the state. Zosim. lib. 2. ἡ δὲ ὑπάρχων ἀρχὴ δευτέρα μετὰ τὴν σκῆπτρον νομίζεται. *That is, The office of the* Prætectus prætorio *is esteemed the next degree to the Prince.* The number of them at the first institution was two. Mæcenas apud Dionem lib.52. in his aduice to Augustus, τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἱππέων δύο τοὺς ἀρίστους τοὺς σοὶ σε σῴζειν ἄριστα ὁπλίσαι. τὸ τε γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῷ ὁπηδεῖν τι καὶ σφαλερὸν, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος παραχρῆσθαι. δύο τε ἂν ἐπιτήδειοι εἶεν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ὁ ἕτερος αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμήσῃ τι πρὸ σοῦ μόνου, μήτε χρήσηται τῇ φυλακῇ σοι εἰς ἕν. *That is, I counsell you to appoint two of the most choice persons of the Equites for captains of your guard. to commit it to one may breed danger, and to moe confusion. wherefore let there be two* Præfecti prætorio, *that if one be sicke, you may not want one to performe so necessary a charge.* Agrippina perswaded Claudius to reduce the whole gouernment to one. Tacit.12 Annal. *Diffidebat cohortes ambitu duorum, & si ab vno regerentur intensiorem fore disciplinam assueuerante vxore, transfertur regimen cohortium ad Burrhum Afranium egregia militaris famæ.* After whose death Nero againe *duos prætorijs cohortibus imposuit.* Annal.14. In Galbaes time Laco was only without any fellow. Otho made two, Plotius Firmus, and Licinius Proculus, as appeareth by Tac.1.Hist. and so consequently afterward, sometime one, sometime two, as it pleased the Prince. Now that which Mæcenas counselleth Augustus to chuse them *ex equitibus Romanis*, and no higher (lest their high birth should giue them courage perchance to attempt against their soueraignes) was obserued in a maner continually till the time of *Alexander Mammææ, qui Præfectum Prætorij fecit*, saith Lampridius *senatoriam addidit dignitatem, vt viri clarissimi & essent, & dicerentur : quod antea vel raro fuerat, vel omnino non fuerat : eosque vt si quis imperatorum successorem Præfect. Prætorio dare vellet, laticlauium eidem per libertum submitteret.* Notwithstanding in Vespasians time *Titus præfecturam quoque prætorij suscepit, nunquam ad id tempus nisi ab equite Romano administratam.* Sueton. [o] Tito. which opinion of Suetonius I find checked by Tacitus 4.Hist. where Aretinus Clemens before that time, *quanquam senatorij ordinis*, was made *Præfectus Prætorio.* Beside the two Captaines there was one *Præfectus castrorum, Tribuni* as many as Cohorts : and vnder the Tribunes *Centuriones*, & other petty officers, as in the armies abroad. Their pay was in the free state [p] *sesquiplex*, ἡμιόλιον, in the Empire double to that of the Legionary souldiers. The Senators, saith Dio li.53. παρευθὺς γε τοῖς δορυφορήσουσιν αὐτὸν διπλάσιον τῶν μισθὸν τὸ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιώταις διδόμενον ὑποτελῶσι διεκράτησαν, ὅπως ἀκριβῶς φρουρῶσιν ἔχῃ. *That is, Immediatly established a law, that these which should be of Augustus guard should receiue double pay to the rest of the souldiers, to the end they might be more diligent and watchfull in their charge.* Tacitus 1.Annal. limiteth the summe, *An Prætorias cohortes, quæ binos denarios acceperint, &c.* that is in our money fifteene pense, which no doubt is meant of the simple footman onely, for a Legionary horseman had more. These Prætorian bands in Augustus and part of Tiberius time, lying dispersed in the Citie and colonies about, were by Seianus vnited and placed together in *castris prope viarium constructis*, τείχει, παρεμβολῇ, or στρατοπέδῳ they called it in Greeke. *Seianus*, saith Tacitus 4. Annal. *vim præfecturæ modicam antea intendit, dispersas per vrbem cohortes vna in castra condendo, vt simul imperia acciperent mercesque & robore & visu inter se, fiducia ipsis, in ceteros metus crearetur, prætendebat lasciuire militem diductum, si quid subitum incrueret, matori auxilio pariter saluberi, & seuerius acturos si vallum statuatur procul vrbi illecebræ.* Suet.[r] Tiberio. *Romæ castra constituit, quibus prætorianæ cohortes vagæ ante id tempus & per hospitia dispersæ continerentur.* The ruines are vnder the walles of Rome, as it is now not farre from S. Laurence gate. For afterward Constantine the great perceiuing the order to haue more of the bad in it than of the good, τοῦ τε στρατιωτικοῦ φρονήματος ἐξέκοψε καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν τὴν τότε ἐκφοβοῦσαν κατέλυσε. *That is, Cassed the Prætorian souldiers, and destroied their campe,* saith Zosimus lib.2. retaining the name of *Præfectus Prætorij* still, but marring the office (saith the same [s] Zosimus, who seldome saith

[1] cap.34.

[m] *Sed princeps rerum iudiciarum summam commisit : qui & vires castra tenebat, & conflatarum prouinciarum maximam potestatem habet : præter quem vel vicarium eius nullus magistratus habet præter Cæsarem imperium merum.*

[n] Some other Grecians call them ὑπάρχους.

[o] cap.6.

[p] Festus.

[q] Suet. Augusto. c.49. *Quinquam plures quam vni cohortes in vrbe esse passus est. Augustus, easq; sine castris, reliquas in hibernis & aliis circa finitimis oppidis dimittere assuerat.*

[r] cap.37.

[s] lib.2.

saith well of that Prince) by diuiding it into [t] foure, and weakening their authority. *Milites vrbani* in Augustus time (if Dio be not deceiued, as I thinke hee [u] is) were in number six thousand, distributed into foure Cohorts, or companies. Dio lib. 55. ὁι τῆς πόλεως φρουροὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι τὸ ὄντες, καὶ τέτταρσι νενεμημένοι, in Tiberius and Caius time into three only. 4. Annalium. *Tres vrbanæ cohortes.* and Iosephus ἀλώσεως [a] lib. 2. τρισὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις *vrbanæ.* in Vitellius time *quatuor vrbanæ cohortes quibus singula millia inerant.* Tacitus 2. Hist. Their gouernor was called *Præfectus vrbis* πολίαρχος taken *ex senatorio ordine* whose office Dio describeth lib. 52. in Mæcenas oration; πολίαρχος δὲ δή τις ἐκ τῶν βουλευτικῶν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πάνυ τε καθηκόντων προπεπονηκυίων, ἵνα δὴ καὶ ἀποδημοῦντων τῶν ὑπάρχων (leg. ἀρχόντων, vel εἰ καὶ οὐκ ἄτοπον) ἄρχῃ, ἀλλ' ἵνα τάττῃ ἅμα ἀεὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα, καὶ τὰς δίκας, τάς τε παρὰ πάντων, οὓς εἶπον, ἀρχόντων ἐφοσίμας τε καὶ ἀναπειστήρια, καὶ τοὺς τὰ θανάτου τοῖς τε ἐν τῇ πόλει, πλὴν ὧν αὐτὸς εἶπον, καὶ τοῖς ἔξω αὐτῆς μέχρι [b] πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑξακοσίων σταδίων οἰκοῦσι κρίνῃ. *That is, Let there be a Præfectus vrbis one of the greatest countenance, and such as before hath passed all degrees of honour with commendation, not to gouerne in absence of other officers, but to vndertake the gouernments of the city both in other matters, and namely to iudge in cases of appeale from other magistrates, and in criminall not only within the citie, but within 150. stadia round about.* His office dured for life, vnlesse it pleased the Prince otherwise vpon desert or displeasure to deprive him. Dio lib. 52. ἀρχέτω διὰ βίου. Tacit. 6. Annal. sheweth the occasion of the foundation of the office in the old common wealth, and the vse of it in the new. *L. Piso Præfectus vrbi recens continuam potestatem, & insolentia apparendi graniorem minè temperauit. Namque antea profectis domo regibus, ac mox magistratibus, ne vrbs sine imperio rei, in tempus diligebatur qui ius redderet, ac subitis mederetur. Cæterum Augustus bellis ciuilibus Cilnium Mæcenatem equestris ordinis cunctis apud Romam atque Italiam præfuit. Mox rerum potitus, ob magnitudinem populi, ac tarda lege manuilia, sumpsit è consularibus, qui coerceret seruitia, & quod audacia turbidum, nisi vim metuat.* Notwithstanding this new office the name and shadow of the old remained still, when the Consuls going foorth *ad instaurandum sacrum in Albano monte*, one or two of the yoong nobilitie were left for fashion sake, with title of *Præfectus vrbi*, and authoritie of the Consuls. Tacit. 6. Annal. *Duraque adhuc simulacrum, quoties ob ferias Latinas præficitur qui consulare munus vsurpet.* reade Sueton. Claudio cap. 4. Nerone cap. 7. Aulus Gellius lib. 14. cap. vltimo, but principally 1. Digest tit. 12. and 1. cod. tit. 3. 8. where the points of this office are set downe particularly. *Vigiles* were night-walking souldiers appointed by Augustus *ad restinguendum incendia, prohibenda furta nocturna, &c. ex libertinis* and afterward of others, seuered into seuen companies, with one *Præfectus Vigilum*, a [d] Gentleman of Rome, Tribunes and other officers. Strabo lib. 5. ἐπιμελήθη μὲν ὧν ὁ Σεβαστὸς Καῖσαρ τῶν τοιούτων ἐλαττωμάτων τῆς πόλεως, πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἐμπρήσεις συντάξας στρατιωτικὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων τὸ βοηθοῦν. *That is, Against the inconuenience of fire by night Augustus appointed a band of souldiers taken* ἐκ libertini generis hominibus. Dio lib. 55. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ χρόνῳ τούτῳ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως πυρὶ διεφθάρη, ἄνδρας τε ἐξελεύθερους ἐπῆρχε πρὸς τὰς ὑπηρεσίας αὐτῆς κατελέξατο, καὶ ἀρχοντα ἱππέα αὐτοῖς προσέστειλεν, ὃς καὶ δι' ὀλίγου σφᾶς διαλύσων, ἐμεινέ τε καὶ ἐπέμεινε τέως. καλαμαθὼν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πείρας καὶ χρησιμωτέρους καὶ ἀναγκαιοτέρους τῷ παρ' αὐτῶν βοηθείαν ὄντας, ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ νῦν ὁ νυκτοφύλακες ἔτοι ἴδιόν τινα τρόπον, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἔτι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων στρατευόμενοι, καὶ τείχη τε ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔχουσι, καὶ μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου φέρουσι. *That is, Because about that season many parts of the city were wasted by fire, Augustus amongst other ordinances chose out* è libertinis *seuen companies, appointing an* Eques *for their gouerner, meaning it only for a time. How beit by experience finding the vse and necessity of that institution he retained it still, & so they remaine euen to our dayes, called not only* è libertinis, *but of others also; and haue their camps in the citie & pay of the state.*

The city of Rome though opportunely seated for sea matters, as being distant onely fifteene miles from *mare Tyrrhenum*, and hauing the riuer of Tiber passing thorow the citie of conuenient breadth, and for depth able to cary small vessels, neuertheless many hundred yeeres neglected the seruice. Which thing peraduenture among others was not the least cause which maintained the state in integritie, and preserued it so long without corruptions, of which the trafficke, and seruice by sea, as these Politickes make vs beleeue, is the principall mother and nurse. Notwithstanding a conquering state, and they which will liue ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν βίον, must necessarily haue καὶ ταύτῃ σωμάτων πρὸς τὰς πρᾶξεις σύμμετρον. *That is, Either as Lords of others or in libertie themselues, must necessarily haue a competent power that way also.* Arist. 7. Politic. And generally no state may looke to stand without notable molestation, and danger of ruine, much lesse to enlarge, which in any kinde of seruice, on foot, or on horseback, or by sea is quite defectiue and vtterly disfurnished, although perhaps it cannot in all attaine to that degree of perfection, which some of their neighbours haue attained vnto. Wherefore the Romans in the first Punicke warre hauing to deale with the Carthaginians vndoubted Lords of the sea, ἐκ παλαιόνων, *That is, Of a long time euer from their ancestors*, and perceiuing the errour, in the yeere *ab vrbe condita* 490 determined to apply themselues, and diligently to attend to that part of seruice: hauing before, as Polybius reporteth, not onely no *naues rectæ*, but no *naues longæ* at all, no not so much as any *lembus* or passage boat, but only vpon borrowing. As for the Quinquereme a principall shippe of warre, their shipwrights knew not any way what it meant, till such time as [e] one of the Carthaginians by great good chance was in the strait at Regium runne vpon ground, and so being taken by the Romans, the shipwrights vsed it for a patterne. Againe the men which were mustered, hauing neuer serued at sea, were set vpon benches in the same order, and taught by practise vpon the drie land to keepe their time and measure in strokes. And this was indeed the first time the [f] Romans attended to seruice by water; although some Roman [g] writers vpon a vanity and ambition haue reported, *Anno vrbis conditæ* 329 *classe ad Fidenas pugnatum fuisse cum Veientibus* which perhaps was some braule betweene bargemen; as indeede the riuer is so strait at that place, that scarse two barges can passe one by another. And [h] Liuy not altogether free of the humour, in his former bookes maketh solemne mention of the name, of *Præfectus oræ maritimæ, Duumuiri nauales, socij nauales*, and so foorth, which either were not at all, or not to any purpose of warre. For as concerning matter of merchandise, many yeeres before, *Ancus Marcius* perceiuing that Tiber at the mouth yeelded commoditie of hauen, builded Ostia to lade and vnlade wares there, ὑ μόνον ἠπειρώτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαλαττίων παρασκευάσας τῷ ῥώμῃ ἡδέα. *That is, So that Rome was not onely serued of whatsoeuer the countrey about did affoord, but by that meanes prouided also of sea commodities.* Dionysius lib. 3. And yet to say true, I see not how that opinion can in rigour stand with the causes of the Tarentine warre some yeeres before that time, alleged by the common consent of all the Roman

[t] *Præfectus Prætorij ornatus. Præfectus Vrbi. Vicarij Præfectorum PP. Italiæ. PP. Galliæ.*

[u] For in another place he writeth πολίαρχος ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τοὺς ἑξακοσίους. and Tacitus 3. Hist. maketh 4000. as expressly and differently number for the *Vrbani.*

[a] cap. 10.

[b] 1. Dig. *quicquid intra centesimum vrbis ædificatum, ad præfectum vrbi videtur pertinere. sed & si quid intra centesimum miliarium admissum sit ad præfectum vrbi pertinet.* so that Dio in this place seemeth to make 600 stadia and an hase allowable to a Roman mile.

[c] *Cassiodorus de præfecto vigilum. qui furta in suburbibus sarcit, dum illos noctu circumuenit.*

[d] *De officio præfecti vigilum vide Dig. 1. tit. 15. cod. 1. tit. 43.*

[e] In Polybius it is onely called κατάφρακτος but being one, after on alter which the Romans framed their first ships (which were fiue to one πεντηρικὸν) it may probably be concluded, it was a πεντήρης.

[f] ἐδ' ὅλως ἐπενόησαν ἐξαυτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι ναυμαχίας πρὸς θαλάττῃ, τότε δὲ πρῶτον ἐπὶ τὸν λαμβάνοντες. Polyb. lib. 1.

[g] *Apud Liuium lib. 4.*

[h] lib. 9. and Florus lib. 1. c. 11. about the time of the war with the Latines: *extant & partis de Antio spoliæ, capta hostium nauia classis. nauium alia classis. naues sex fuere rostratæ. sed hic numerus illa imperij nauis a bellum fuit.*

Roman ſtories, but ſpecified moſt particularly by Appian in his fragment περὶ πρεσβειῶν, and the Epitome of Liuy lib. 12. firſt that there was an ancient league with the Tarentines, μὴ πλεῖν ῥωμαίους πρὸ τοῦ λακινίας ἄκρας : *That is, That the Romans with their ſhips ſhould not paſſe the point called* Lacinium ; which ſheweth that the Romans haunted the ſea. Then that the Roman *Duumuir* went with ten *nauibus tectis* to ſuruey the coaſts of *Magna Graciæ*, whereof foure were ſunke, one taken, and the *Duumuir* ſlaine. But whether now firſt or otherwiſe, the Romans vpon the occaſion before mentioned entring the ſea, brought thither from their ſeruice by land, ſaith Polybius, a kinde of violent proceeding, as though winde and weather notwithſtanding, what once they had determined to doe, that they muſt neceſſarily goe thorow withall. Which maner of contending and ſtriuing or rather enforcing of Fortune, as it is by land commendable, and to the Romans hath beene cauſe of infinite good, ſo by ſea againſt that wilde element it did them more harme, than their enemies the Carthaginians did ; who although through their long experience by ſea they excelled the Romans in skill and agilitie πρὸς τὸ κυβερνητικὸν, yet πρὸς βιαιομαχίαν, καὶ τὰ ἀρετὴ τῆς ὁλκάδος. *That is, At handy ſtrokes in grapling, and valour of ſouldiers* being inferiour, they were at the length inferiour in the whole.

Ships, as farre as concerneth our purpoſe, were of three ſorts : of warre, of burden, and of paſſage : the firſt rowed with oare, the ſecond gouerned with ſaile, and the laſt often rowed with cords. Ships of paſſage by ſea, were either for tranſportation of men, ὁ ἱππαγωγὸς, called alſo σφαπατίδες, πῶλα, ὁππάδες : or of horſes, ἱππαγωγὸς, ἢ ἵππαγοι, *hippagines.* ouer a riuer, or ſome ſhort cut peraduenture by ſea, πορθμεῖα, ſcriboats, if the number were few ; and to paſſe whole armies with their cariage σχεδία, *rates.* plankes or fagots tied together. Ships of burden, *onerariæ*, φορτηγοὶ, & ὁλκάδες, *hulkes.* which word our vulgar language alſo retaineth, were for cariage of victuall and other proviſion, ſometime for [k] tranſportation of ſouldiers alſo. Of ſhips of warre the moſt principall and of greateſt ſeruice were *naues longæ*, μακραὶ πλοῖα, ſo named of their forme moſt apt both to be weelded and to make way, whereas ſhips of burden were commonly built bigge in the belly and more round for capacitie. Now *longæ* were ſorted againe into their ſeuerall kindes, according to the number of [l] bankes and oares placed one aboue another, as I take it, though peraduenture not directly. ſome I know haue concluded otherwiſe, that in the Trireme for example, three men with three oares ſate vpon one banke, and ſome other, that three men pulled at one oare, directly againſt both the authoritie of ancient writers produced by themſelues, and contrarie to the ancient portraitures of *triremes* remaining yet to bee ſeene : ſo incredible a thing it ſeemed to beleeue that which in our gallies now adaies they neuer ſaw : whereas in truth Zoſimus telleth vs, that very many yeeres before his time they had diſcontinued to make any *triremes* at all : as indeed from the battell at Actium, till the battell betweene Conſtantine the great and Licinius at Helleſpont, I doe not remember by ſea any action of moment. His words be lib. 5. δοκοῦσι δέπως ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα ταχυναυτεῖν πεντηκοντήρων οὐκ ὄντων, κατὰ πολὺ ἧσσον τῶν τεσσαρακοντήρων ἐλαττώμενα, πλείοσι ἔτεσι πρὸ τούτων ὀκλιτέσης δημιουργίας. εἰ καὶ πολυβίῳ ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἐκτίθεται πῶς ἔδοξε τῶν ἡμιολίων πλοίων τὰ μέτρα, ὅις φαίνονται πολλάκις καχρῆσθαι ῥωμαῖοι καὶ καρχηδόνιοι πολεμοῦντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους. *That is, Theſe ſhips (ſpeaking of the* Liburnicæ*) are as ſwift at ſea as the galley of fiftie oares, but nothing of the like ſeruice to the trireme, which kinde of ſhip this many yeeres hath not beene built, although Polybius deſcribeth the meaſures and proportions of the Hexeres an vſuall ſhip in the warres betweene the Carthaginians and Romans.* But howſoeuer, ſome different circumſtance in the maner of rowing produced the different kindes of *Naues longæ*. For generally the ſhips of warre, as before wee haue ſaid, although in the flight, and otherwiſe for ſpeed, both oare and ſaile were vſed, in the [n] combat were directed only by oare, as being a thing very ſeruiceable in thoſe calme ſeas, and more at commandement. The moſt vſuall kinds of *Naues longæ* in the Roman warres, eſpecially ancient, were theſe three : *Triremis, Quadriremis*, and *Quinqueremis* : τριήρης, τετρήρης, καὶ πεντήρης, exceeding one another by one rancke of oares, and conſequently rowed with more ſtrength, and builded more high. In the ninth yeare of the firſt punicke warre the two Admirals were *Hexeres*, [n] Polybius lib. 1. And in the writers of Roman ſtories we haue mention alſo aboue this number, though ſeldome vſed in the Roman warres, as of *Hepteres, Octeres*: ὀκτήρης, ἑπτήρης, ἐνδεκήρης, δωδεκήρης, τεσσαρεσκαιδεκήρης, πεντεκαιδεκήρης. Philip of Macedonie father to Perſeus had an ἑκκαιδεκήρης. Polybius in fragment. which place [o] Liuy tranſlateth thus : *Regiam vnam inhabilis prope magnitudinis, quam ſexdecim* [p] *verſus remorum agebant.* And yet the Ægyptian Kings exceeded *viginti, & triginta verſus remorum*, εἰκοσήρης & τριακοντήρης : and Philopator as [q] Plutarch and [r] Athenæus teſtifie, built one of fortie rankes, τεσσαρακοντήρης, more like to a caſtle or palace, then a ſhippe, being in length foure hundred and twenty foote, and in height ſeuenty two, containing foure thouſand rowers, other marriners foure hundred, and almoſt three thouſand ſouldiers. On the other ſide vnder *Triremis*, there were two perfect kinds, *Biremis & Moneres*, and two vnperfect, ἡμιολία and τετρημιολία. *Biremis*, in Greeke δίκρης, and more vſually δίκροσ & conſiſted of two rankes of oares ; of which the fitteſt for ſeruice, both of lightneſſe and ſwiftneſſe were called *Liburnicæ*, as [s] Appian ſaith of the *Liburni* a people in Dalmatia who were the inuentors of that faſhion and building : albeit in later times, as it may ſeeme by Vegetius and others, all ſhippes, though of more or fewer rankes than two, built after that manner, were generally called *Liburnicæ*. [t] *Moneres* mentioned by Liuy lib. 38. was a galley conſiſting of one ſimple ranke, whereof I remember fiue kinds ſpecially named ; εἰκόσορος, or *Actuaria viginti remorum*, of twenty oares, [u] τεσσαράκοντορος which had thirty (named alſo by Polibius in *fragmentis*, as it ſeemeth to me τεσσαρακοντάκωπος) τριακόντορος which had forty, πεντηκόντορος, which had fiftie, as the galleyes now a dayes commonly haue, and ἑκατόντορος which had an hundred. The Grecians vſe μονήρης & more vſually κέλης, which [x] Gellius tranſlateth *celox* as equiualent to *Moneres* : and ſo that gradation in the ſixt of Polybius ſeemeth to induce ; τὰ δ' λοιπὰ τριήρεις, καὶ δίκροτα, καὶ κέλητες. Of the vnperfect kinds ἡμιολία and ἡμίολος ſeemeth to haue beene a ſhip furniſhed with one rancke and a halfe onely, as it were betweene a *Moneres* and a *Biremis* : and τετρημιολία, betweene a *Biremis* and a *Triremis*, with two rowes and a halfe. Theſe foure kindes vnder the Trireme, although being built as I ſuppoſe, *ad formam longarum nauium*, yet are not ſo generally comprehended by the name, but in the writings of approued authours ſtand often times in oppoſition to *longæ*, and ſome of the kinds to μάχιμοι alſo. Liuius lib. 21. ſeuereth *celoces*, and lib. 38. τεσσαρακοντάκωπος, from *longæ*. [y] Thucidides in his proeme

[i] Νῆα μὴ κατασκευάζειν.
[k] Cæſar. com. appointeth 80. *onerarias ad duas legiones tranſportandas.*
[l] κῶπαι εἶχον τοὺς κώπους τὸ ὕψος ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις, ſaith one. and Lucan. lib 3 *Quaſſa quater ſurgens exertis remigis ordo Commouet*, deſcribing the Quadriremes. Virgil. lib. 5. deſcribing the *Triremes* : *triplici pubes quam Dardana verſu impellunt, terno conſurgunt ordine remi.* Memnon. in fragmen p. 86. in the deſcription of an octeres : ἐν ταύτῃ, ſaith hee, ἑκατὸν μὲν ἄνδρες ἔκαστοι τοῖχοι ἔρεσσον, οἱ ἑξηκοντοπλάσιοι ἐκ διπήρους μέρους γίνεσθαι. ἐξ ἑκατέρου δὲ τοίχου τὸ ἑξηκοστὸν ἐπὶ δὲκα πῆχεις κατατεταμένοι μακροσμῆροι χάλκοι καὶ διακόσιοι, καὶ χιλιόπηχυ δόρυ.
[m] *Dio lib 50.* τοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας καὶ αὖθις ἐπίοντας, καὶ πρὸς τὴ ναυμαχίαν μᾶλλον παρασκευαζομένους ἐπεδίωξαν.
[n] τὰς μὲν ἑξήρεις δύο ἔσας ἐφ' ὧν ὁ ἅπλους ἐστρατήγει.
[o] *Lib. 33.*
[p] σίγλοι.
[q] *Demetrio.*
[r] *lib 5.*
[s] λιβύρνοι γένος ἰλλυριῶν, οἳ ἀπὸ ἰδίου καὶ τοὺς νῦν ἁπάντων ναῦς ἀκάτους τε καὶ κέλητας ἐξεῦρον ἐπὶ τῶν ῥωμαίων τὰ κάρα καὶ ἐξέλιπε διάκοπα λιβυρνίδας ὠνόμασαν Lucanus lib. 3. *Ordine contenta gemino ceciſſe liburna.*
[t] Tacitus 1. *Hiſt. complexi quod biremium quaque ſimplici ordine agebantur*, interpreting *Moneres* into Latine.
[u] τεσσαρακόντορος καὶ τριακοντόρος καὶ πεντηκόντορος λέγεται καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς κωπῆς : ἡ μονήρης καὶ δίκρης καὶ ἰφικράτης καὶ τὸν σίγλον τὸν καὶ τὸ ὕψος ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις. *incertus author ad finem Arriani.*
[x] *lib.* 10. c. 25. τετρήρεσι μὲν ὀλίγαις χρῶμαι, πεντηκοντόροις δὲ πλείοσι, καὶ πλοίοις μακροῖς ἐξηρτυμμένοις.

seemeth

seemeth not to allow the name of μακρὸν πλοῖον to πεντηκοντόροις, and yet to some other vnder the Triremes, whereas Herodotus, Clio, expresly nameth it ἐπὶ ναυπηγίῃ μακρῇ, the same which in [a] another place setteth both τειακόντεες and πεντηκόντορες in opposition to ships of war: and so doth [c] Plutarch, Catone, by ouersight Liburnæ and that some of the Liburnes also were μακροί it is cleere by Liuy lib. 31. Ne remanerent milites extra tectum, which else were a vaine and needlesse addition. Beside these sorts aduertised, as wee see, by the number of rowes we haue in the stories particular mention of others, as Myoparones, Triremes, Phaseli, Cercuri, &c. differing peraduenture from those we haue reckoned in the fashion and maner of building, as being in some part built like to the Longæ, and in part to the hulks, as Appian 5. Ἐμφ. witnesseth, namely [d] Phaseli triremes. And these kinds of shipping wee finde also to haue beene employed in seruice by sea, sometime principally, and sometime ὡς ὑπηρετικὰ, and as accessaries to others. And thus much of the different fashions of ships of warre, which againe were diuided in tectas & apertas: rostratas, turritas, and such as were otherwise. Tectæ, or constratæ, κατάφρακτοι, so called because they had καταστρώματα, hatches: apertæ, ἄφρακτοι, hauing none: although Aphractum in the newer gender in some places of Tully, Diodore, Plutarch, &c. seemeth to stand for some speciall kinde of ship, and κατάφρακτος in Polybius for a Quinquereme. The greater ships, as Quadriremis and vpward, had alwaies, as farre as I remember, hatches: the Triremes and [e] Biremes sometimes otherwise: the rest that were vnder in a maner alwaies aperta. καταστρώματα were induced to the end that the ship might be more capable of souldiers for her defense, Ne in mediâ, saith Pliny lib. 7. ex omni tantùm & puppi tugmabatur. and in the warre with Xerxes, the Athenian ships, saith Thucydides, ἦσαν εἶχον διὰ πάσης καταστρώματα. Rostratæ, æratæ, χαλκήρεις ἢ χαλκώμυλοι, were such as had rostra ærea, ἐμβόλους ἢ χαλκώματα. Rostra were common to all ships of warre, greater or smaller, couered or open, to all such at the least, which were to encounter with the enemie: in Specularijs, and such like that were meerely ὑπηρετικὰ, being not greatly materiall. For whereas in their maner of fight by sea there were three ordinary waies to offend, either to breake the enemies ship by running against it, to wipe away her oares, or to kill the souldiers which stood at defence vpon the hatches, and so boord her, for performing the first it was meet that their owne should be surely and strongly headed for that encounter. Turres, πυργίσκοι, which had ad proram & puppim turrium propugnacula, vt in mari quoque, saith [f] Pliny, pugnaretur velut è muris. Pollux maketh mention of πυργίσκον δεξιὸν καὶ εὐώνυμον, That is, The right and left turret, which were on the sides.

The officers in the nauie were Præfectus classis, Admirall of the whole Armada; Duumuiri in the ancient storie, when as two were ioined in the commission. Trierarchus gouernour of a particular shippe, then Gubernator, the Master, κελευστὴς, and other vnder officers: the rest [g] ciues nauales or militares, πλωΐματα. ἢ ἐπιβάται. againe [h] ciues nauales of two sorts, ἐρέται, remiges, to handle the oare, or ὑπηρέται, whom Cæsar calleth nautas, for the other seruices in the ship. Socij nauales in the free state were collected ex vltimæ classis hominibus, or ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόστιν δραχμὰς τεπικρυῶν, as [i] Polybius speaketh; in latter times ex [k] Dalmatis, Pannonijs &c. The souldiers ἐπιβάται, most commonly Legionarie, accommodated both to fight at sea, and vpon occasion to make their descent into the land: and in latter times to euery armada was [l] annexed his proper Legion with the Legionary officers appertaining. In the first Punicke warre we haue example in [m] Polybius of three hundred remiges, and an hundred and twenty ὑπήρεται in each of the ships of war: and likewise a diuision of the Armada into foure ranks: the first called [n] prima legio & prima classis: and in consequence the second, and third; the fourth triarij: but I finde little mention of this diuision in the practise of latter times. In the sift yeere of the first Punicke war, and first of their seruice by sea against the Carthaginians, the Romans manned out an [o] hundred Quinqueremes, and twenty Triremes. Florus [p] lib. 2. increaseth the number, 160. nauium classis intra [q] sexagesimum diem quam cæsa silua fuerat, in aquas deducit: of so wonderfull a dispatch must they be, which will be Lords of the world: and yet that of the elder Scipio was more maruellous, who [r] die quadragesimo quinto quàm ex silua dejecta materia erat, naues instructas armatasque in aquam dedixit, and that being not assisted by the publike purse. In the ninth yeere of the said Punicke warre, 330. according to Polybius were manned. But Regulus the same yeere, saith Appian. λίβυκὴν, sailed into Africke with three hundred and fiftie: Æmilius and Fuluius had [s] three hundred sixtie foure shippes of seruice in the same warre, which number can hardly be matched againe in the Roman state in many yeeres after. In the second Punicke an hundred and sixtie, and two hundred, or not much aboue. Against Antiochus they manned but eightie, and at other times the like in their more flourishing state. Which doubt Polybius also noteth in [t] his storie, but leaueth the solution to another place. For although the number of three hundred sixtie foure seeme not so excessiue, yet such and so great was the fleet, by reason of the qualitie of ships, that not only the Grecian and Macedonian, but euen the Persian power, which couered the sea with twelue hundred saile, could not by Polybius iudgement stand in comparison. After Polybius time Pompey *in bello* [u] *Piratico* had not aboue two hundred and seuentie. But in the ciuill warre he had, as [x] Appian witnesseth, six hundred *naues longas* ἐντελεῖς πᾶσι πληρώμασι. And Augustus after he had driuen Sex. Pompeius out of Italie [y] six hundred *longas naues* of his owne, beside seuenteene which fled with Pompey, and the nauy of Antony; who shortly after the battell of Actium furnished fiue hundred ships of war (μακρᾶς νεῶς) where Augustus had two hundred and fiftie. Plutarch Antonio. And this was, as I take it, the greatest reckoning in the Roman state. For whereas wee reade of [z] sixteene hundred with Sylla out of Asia; [a] a thousand with Germanicus in Germanie, and such like; they are not to be otherwise intended but as vessels to transport, not for the warre.

After the ciuill warres ended, Augustus hauing as it were walled the state with Legions, and Aids by land, as before we haue shewed, established also, to guard the Empire by sea, two ordinarie Armadaes in Italie, the one at Misenum *in mari infero* to protect & keepe in obedience France, Spaine, Mauritania, Africke, Egypt, Sardinia & Sicily: another at Rauenna *in mari supero* to defend & bridle Epirus, Macedonia, Achaia, Asia, Creta, Cyprus, &c. and out of Italy one *in* [b] *Ponto Euxino* for defense of those countries consisting of forty ships at the beginning of Vespasians time. Egesippus lib. 2. Beside these Armadaes which remained ordinary for defense of the Empire, *proximum Galliæ littus*, saith [c] Tacitus, *rostratæ naues præsidebant, quas Actiacâ victoriâ captas Augustus in oppidum Forciuliense miserat valido cum remige*: and beside *apud idonea prouinciarum sociæ triremes*. Claudius adioining Britanny to the Empire, adioined also the British Armada. And not only by sea, but also vpon the riuers, which bordered the Empire, seuerall nauies were maintained, as *Germanica classis* vpon the Rhene, *Danubiana classis*, & *Euphratensis*. Tacitus and others.

[a] Polyænus.
[c] Ἐστὶ δὲ τὰ μακρὰ πλοῖα τῶν λῃστρικῶν μακρότερα.
[d] Φάσηλοι τριήρεις.
[e] Liburnicæ constratæ Plutarch. Antonio. Ita vbi dicitur τὰ ἀφράκτα μακρὰ, Appian. Mithr.
[f] Lib 32.
[g] Lib. 6.
[h] 3. Hist.
[i] Vegt. lib. 4. c. 37.
[k] Lib 1.
[l] ἀεὶ συμπαρῆν ἑκάστοις τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ τὰ πλοῖα καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὄχλον, τὰ δὲ τέλματα τῶν ἱππέων ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν ὁμοειδῶν.
[m] Pol. b. lib. 1.
[n] cap. 2.
[o] Polybius p. 16. maketh it an incredible thing in three motions: but the number of the ships was greater then, to wit, 220. ἐκάστη δὲ διακοσίαις ἐπλήρου τὸ σύμπαν τῶν πλοίων εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀριθμόν.
[p] Liuy lib. 28. extremo
[q] Polyb. lib 1.
[r] lib 1. καὶ τὸ δίμηνον ἔργον ἐποίησε τὸ αὐτὸν χρόνῳ καὶ τὰς ἐπικαταστάσεις τῶν κακῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν τὴν ναυτικὴν πολλαπλασίας ἐχούσας τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἢ φαίνονται ἐξ ἀριθμοῦ τοῦ τῶν πλοίων.
[s] Appian. Mithr.
[t] Lib. 1.
[u] Appian. Bell.
[x] Appian. Bell.
[y] Tacit. Annal. 2.
[z] Tac. 2. 3. Hist.
[a] Annal. 2. Pont. Euxin.
[b] Egesip. 2. Annal.

THE EXPLICATION OF A Place in POLYBIVS, with a defence of the *common copie against the opinion of certaine great* learned men, wherein also the reason of the *militar stipend is declared.*

POLYBIVS lib. 2. discoursing of the excellent and miraculous fertility of Lombardy, maketh report that a man in his Inne might there be well and plentifully entreated for halfe an *assis* a meale, which is, saith hee, the fourth part of an *obolus*. His words in our common printed books be these, πιόντα τὸν καταλύτην οἱ διοδεύοντες τῶν χώρων ἐν τοῖς πανδοχίοις, ἀσυμφώνητοι· ἀεὶ γὰρ κατὰ μέρος ὀπτὰ δέονται, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅσον τες, πόσου τὸν ἄνδρα δέχονται. ὡς μὲν ὂν ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ παρέχονται τοῖς καταλύτας οἱ πανδοχεῖς, ὡς ἱκανὰ πάντ' ἔχειν τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, ἡμιασσαρίου. τὰ δ' ὀβολὸν τέταρτον μέρος ὁλκῆς. σπανίως δ' ὑπερβαίνει. *That is, They which travell that country, are entertained in their Innes, not bargaining by parcell, but demanding how much in grosse they must pay for a man. and for the most part the hosts give entertainment with allowance of all necessarie things for halfe an assis, that is, the fourth part of an obolus, seldome exceeding that rate.* For the better declaration whereof wee are to vnderstand, that *Drachma* was a Grecian siluer coine weighing precisely the eighth part of an ounce, and vsually diuided into six *Oboli*: That *Drachma* and *Denarius* according to the most testimonies in number and most pregnant in proofe against the fewer and more doubtfull, of the ancient stories are interchangeably vsed, and so construed in the one and the other tongue, as precisely equiualent: That *Denarius* contained precisely and in all ages foure *Sestertij*: and at the first was currant for ten *Asses* onely, as the [a] name also importeth: but afterward went at a higher reckoning, sometime for sixteene. So that of our siluer, whereof fiue shillings sterling maketh the ounce, *Drachma* or *Denarius* weighed seuen pence halfe-peny: and *Obolus* was in value peny farthing: *Sestertius*, peny halfe-peny farthing [b] kue. *Assis* at the first institution, halfe-peny farthing: and when the *Denarius* went at sixteene *Assis*, of our money but farthing kue cee pricke. And if at any time *Denarius* was currant for twelue *Assis*, as Polybius seemeth to make it in this [c] place, then one *Assis* was worth halfe-peny kue of English money; and an halfe *Assis*, farthing cee, the price of a mans dinner in his Inne in Lombardie. This saying of Polybius seemeth to Budæe an impossibilitie, and to D. Hottoman, pag. 20. of his booke *de re nummariâ*, a miracle. Which if Hottoman had said, and said no more, it had beene well said: for as a miracle Polybius put it downe, and so it may seeme much more vnto vs, considering the prices of things in our age. But Hottoman not contenting himselfe to accept it as a miracle, not with that most true and iustifiable consideration, as anon shall appeare, that money hath his value by position, and not by nature, by the helpe of that blessed Art of correcting old copies proceedeth to [d] amend the place, in stead of ἡμιασσαρίου, an halfe-assis, reading τρίτου ἡμισσαρίου, that is, two *Assis* and an halfe: and in stead of τέταρτον μέρος ὁλκῆς, the fourth part of an *Obolus*, τέταρτον μέρος δραχμῆς, the fourth part of a *Drachma*: the word τρίτου, as he ghesseth, being written not at large, but by note. ϙ. which the next copier not vnderstanding left out: and the note . ω. signifying a *Drachma*, easily slipping into <, which signifieth an *Obolus*. And to strengthen his correction he addeth further, that it is a thing neuer heard of, *vt drachma, siue denarius duodecim assibus æstimaretur*, (which must needs follow by Polybius words, as they are printed) *sed vel decem duntaxat, vel sedecim.* And so by the aid of that sacred art of Criticks we haue the price of a mans dinner to be a *Sestertius*, or the fourth part of a *Drachma*, in our money peny halfe-peny farthing kue: a correction both more miraculous and impossible than the text as it standeth. For Polybius himselfe the best witnesse of the vse of his age, in his sixth booke setteth downe the Roman footmans pay to the supporting of all charges to be two *Oboli* a day. So that the souldier in three daies toward his diet and all other charges, which, as it shall appeare, were many and great, shall haue but a *Drachma*; and if a quarter of a *Drachma* be the price of a meale in a most plentifull countrey, in a most plentifull countrey in two daies his three daies wages are spent in bare meat alone, which me thinkes is a miracle as great as the other, vnlesse souldiers keepe more fasting daies than others, who, as Xenophon saith somewhere, are men which cannot commonly liue of the least. And lest a man might suppose, that Hottoman would haue laied a heauy hand vpon this other place also, if it had happened into his fingers, when this correcting humour was predominant in him, we haue, by good fortune, his owne words to approoue the common reading of the printed copy heerein for good and autenticall. His words be these, p. 164. of his booke *De re nummaria: Modum stipendij Polybius lib. 6. scribit suo tempore, hoc est sub initium belli Punici tertij* (for so he wrote, or so he should haue written, not *secundi*) *fuisse in peditem dnorum obolorum.* And surely to him which considereth how many things the souldier had to furnish himselfe out of his wages of two *Oboli* or eight halfe-asses a day beside his diet, as armor, apparell, tents, and such like recorded by [e] Tacitus and others, it cannot seeme strange that in a most fruitfull and almost miraculously cheape countrey hee might haue one meale for the eighth part of his daies wages, which in other ordinarie places arose peraduenture to as much more, and euen there was not, as it appeareth by the very [f] words of that text, alwaies so little. Now that so great cheapnesse of victuall is neither impossible nor greatly miraculous, but onely to vs that iudge of that world by our owne, it had not beene hard to haue discerned by that which Polybius writeth not six lines before, where hee affirmeth that in the same countrey two *Medimni* of barley, that is, three of our bushels, were sold ordinarily for foure *Oboli*, that is, sixteene halfe-asses. And I thinke it no great inconuenience that sixteene persons might dine for the price of three bushels of barley, or surely much lesse, then that three persons could not dine vnder the price of three bushels of barley a pecke and a halfe-pecke, as it must follow by Hottomans account. *Athenæus* in the beginning

[a] *Denarius, quasi denaria*

[b] A kue I cal the eighth part of our peny; a cee, the sixteenth, a pricke the two and thirtieth.

[c] For if halfe an *Assis* be the quarter of an *obolus*, one *obolus* is equall to two *asses*, and consequently six *oboli*, that is, the *Drachma* or *Denarius* to twelue *asses*.

[d] *Mihi tamen*, saith Hottoman pag. 23. *tantum nummi gratiam cogitanti venit in mentem suspicari duodecimam in illo Polybij loco mendo subesse, &c.*

[e] 1. *Ann. Hinc* (talking of the souldiers ordinary pay) *vestem, arma, tentoria: hinc seuitiam centurionum & vacationes munerum redimi.*

[f] ὀβολοὶ δὲ τῶν ὑπηκόων.

ginning of the eighth booke produceth another testimonie out of Polybius in the foure and thirtieth of his storie, that in Portugall a good fat kidde was vsually sold for an *Obolus*, the price of foure mens dinners in Lombardie. And Hottoman himselfe g bringeth out of Gellius enough to haue withholden him from laying violent hands vpon a poore innocent place, that *lege Aternia* a sheepe was prized at ten *assis*: for I hold it no absurditie, that twentie persons might dine competently for the price of a sheepe. The money, I grant, is but little, farthing cee for a dinner; and so was two pence halfe-peny weight for a souldiers pay by the day, which weight in siluer now will not finde the least lackey in the campe his breakfast: and yet the Roman allowance in corne, a bushell of wheat by the moneth, will euen in our dares serue the tallest souldier that is. For money receiueth valuation and price by the position of the Prince and state, or mutuall conuention of men, things most alterable vpon euery occasion. and therefore the Grecians terme it νόμισμα, because it consisteth νόμῳ, not φύσει, as being nothing in deed and in nature, but wholly depending vpon the voluntarie institution of men: whereas the other being a position of nature, remaineth for euer the same. Now why a piece of siluer of the same weight and alloy should then go so farre, and now do so little, no cause, I suppose, more generall can be assigned, than the great store of that metall. For the excessiue abundance of τὰ νόμῳ μόνον ὄντα, things which consist onely vpon the institution of man, draweth necessarily τὰ φύσει ὄντα, those things which nature requireth, to a higher rate in the market. *Capta ab Augusto Alexandria*, saith Orosius, *Roma in tam immodicas opes creuit, vt diploma ejus quo annuas frumenti species populo daret, numisma vocaretur.* And heere in England that which was sold about an hundred yeeres agone for tenne groats, which then weighed an ounce, now since the discouerie of the Indies can hardly bee bought for ten shillings of our currant money, or two ounces of the same goodnesse and weight. And if it should happen hereafter the whole treasures of those countries to be transported into our Iland, the like plentie presupposed in the rest of the world adioining, these present prices, which to vs seeme so excessiue, to them which should liue in that age would doubtlesse seeme as miraculous as that of Polybius to vs. Polybius himselfe, as Strabo writeth in the fourth booke of his Geographie, reporteth that vpon the discouery of certaine gold mines in his time about Aquileia, the price of gold thorowout all Italie fell a third part: which in other termes is all one to say, the prices of all things bought with gold rose a third part. As for that which D. Hottoman maintaineth, that *Denarius* was neuer currant at twelue *Assis*, but either at ten, or sixteene, although it bee not much materiall to our purpose, yet surely his negatiue is not receiueable against this positiue place of Polybius inferring the contrary: then it is without all probabilitie, that it should goe at ten and sixteene, and neuer at any middle rate; beside that other learned men h maintaine directly the contrarie with greater reason as it seemes, and ground of good writers. So that D. Hottoman hath doubtlesse done great wrong euery way to this place of Polybius. And surely if men vpon priuate fancie doe presume thus to alter publike records, shortly wee shall haue iust cause to preferre Winkin de Worde and Badius Ascensius before the Prints of our time, and generally to esteeme those copies most correct, which haue least beene corrected.

g *de re numm.* *vid.*

h *Lipsius l. 2. Tacitum, & in his commentar. vpon Tacitus 1. Annal.*

Translations of the marginall Greeke.

In the margin of Tacitus.

Page 3. * ἀφανισθέντα, *destroied.* [a] *For vertue, wealth or nobilitie was with him a publick crime against all men.*

4. * Galba *lost opinion of orderly proceeding and popularitie, in putting to death certaine noblemen without forme of law, though peraduenture they had iustly deserued to die.*

7. δολοφονηθῆναι, *to be slaine by treason.*

8. [1] *He that is sent gouernour into Egypt sustaineth the person and place of the King.* * *In extortions and murders vpon cruelltie and auarice.*

16. [a] *He gaue to the Iudges of the* Ludi Olympici *a million of sesterces, which afterwards* Galba *demanded of them backe againe.* [b] Galba *sought out those who had bought or receiued in gift any thing of* Neroes *fauorites, and of them he exacted it.*

21. [1] *Intending to make sacrifice to Iupiter, and be seene of the citizens.* * *Hee kissed his fingers and cast towards euery one of them.*

22. *They rauened, robbed and spoiled all things they could lay their hands on.*

23. * *Getting vpon the porches and high places about the place of assembly, as it were to behold a play.*

24. [1] *With which the Centurions scourge them that deserue punishment.* [a] Otho *fearing to contradict them, answered that he would make the man away, but not so suddenly; for that he had matter of importance which hee must first learne out of him.*

25. Galbaes *body* Heluidius Priscus *took vp by* Othoes *permission, and* Argius *his freed man buried it by night.*

26. *This yeere* Sulpicius Galba *conquered the* Chatti.

31. παντηχεῖ, *vniuersally one and other.*

32. *Missing of their desire in* Virginius, *they sought to fulfill it in some other.*

41. Otho *dispatched towards* Tigellinus *lying at Sinuessa. for there he sojourned, hauing ships attending in the road, as though he would haue fled further. and first hee attempted to corrupt him who was sent, offering him store of gold to let him escape: then not obtaining his purpose, he gaue him notwithstanding the gold, praying him that hee would yet haue patience a little, till his beard might be shauen. and himselfe taking the razour cut his owne throat.*

47. [a] *Lest being in wine you fall to quarrelling amongst your selues, and wound one another, and so dishonour the banquet. for the sight of armes draweth men often to handling of them.* Telemachus excuse why hee remooued his fathers armour and weapons out of the place where the wooers vsed to eat. [b] *Two Centurions.* [d] *Eighty Senatours.* [e] *Sending them out by a backe gate.*

50. [a] *And the common people accounted the rising of Tiber as an euill signe.* [b] *The riuer did most harme in the corne-market, whereupon followed a great dearth for many daies.*

54. *To doe his reuerence to the Prince, and receiue commission from him concerning the affaires of Iewrie.*

55. [g] *Some say that the Iland was called* Cyprus, *of* Cyprus *the sonne of* Cinyrus. [1] *The said altar was placed in the open aire without any couert, as others also in* Homer *seeme to haue beene, on which those that trauelled by the way did offer.* [k] *It is reported and beleeued amongst the* Bargylietæ *that the image of* Diana *named* Kindyas, *though lying open to all weather, is yet neither touched with snow, nor raine at all.*

74. *Slaying all those of the vantgard.*

76. *One of the common souldiers stretching out his sword and crying, We are thus resolued for thee all ô* Cæsar, *slew himselfe.*

78. [f] *Supposing it madnesse to receiue the Empire at the conquered hands, hauing refused it before at the conquerours. and fearing to goe in Embassie to those of Germany whom he had forced to many things against their owne will.*

90. *Nothing amazed at the change determined to goe on his iourney to* Rome.

120. *Small vessels strait and light of some 25. men apeece; seldome and at the vttermost not aboue 30. the* Grecians *call them* Camaræ.

131. [f] *The temple of Iupiter, and Iune and Minerua.* [g] *At what time also the Capitol was burnt. which fonle act some imputed to* Carbo, *some to the Consuls; others said it was done by* Syllaes *comandement. The certainty was not known. neither can I coniecture the cause why it was done.* [1] Appian *for his felicity against his enemies his flatterers named him* The Happy: *which name proceeding first of flatterers, was afterward confirmed to him by common consent.* Plut. *Lastly vpon these accidents he commanded himselfe to be called* The Happy: *for so much doth the word* Felix *signifie.*

135. *And fighting in three seuerall places in the citie, they were all made an end of.*

139. *To haue twelue fasces alwaies and in euery place borne before him, and to sit betweene the present Consuls in a chaire of state.*

150. *An escape of memorie.*

160. [c] *Being brethren, and in a manner of the same yeeres, and neuer doing any thing the one without the other, but being alwaies vnited, and communicating as in blood, so in their counsels and wealth, they gouerned a great while the two* Germanies *together, afterward being sent for by* Nero *into* Greece *as though he had stood in need of their sufficiencies, they were according to the nature of those times accused. and both of them let themselues blood to death.*

164. ἱππο τοξόται, *archers on horsebacke.*

173. [a] *He hid himselfe in a caue vnder ground, and there lay secret the space of nine yeeres with his wife, on whom he begat two sonnes.* [a] *As it were by diuine prouidence.*

182. [d] Dionysius *in his periegesis speaking of* Alexandria, *Where is,* saith hee, *the temple of the great god* Iupiter Sinopita *beautified with much gold, than the which there is no one temple in the world more goodly and glorious.* [g] *For he brought not with him that name from* Sinope, *but after his comming to* Alexandria *the name of* Saraps *was giuen him, which in the* Egyptian *language signifieth* Pluto.

186. *In these times the noblemen of* Rome, *such as be desirous of good learning, in stead of trauelling to* Athens *goe to* Massilia, *and in another place he attributeth to them the commendation of warinesse in discourse, & modestie.*

188. Xiphil.

188. Xiphil. Agricola *the first* Roman *that we haue memory of discouered* Britanny *to be an Iland.* Dio. *In processe of time first vnder* Agricola *Propretor, & now vnder* Seuerus *the Emperor it was euidently known to be an Iland.*

192. *For as the prouerbe saith, Venture must be made in the* Carian (*that is the common mercenary souldier*) *not in the Generals person.*

199. *Making an expedition into* Germany, *he returned not hauing so much as once seene the enemie. now it is needlesse to report what great honours therefore were then bestowed vpon him, and alwaies after vpon other Emperors his matches, lest that suspecting by the smalnesse of their honours their actions to bee checked, they should vnready their anger vpon the Senatours.* ἀξιοθριάμβευτον, *worthy to be led in triumph, or triumphed ouer.*

In the margin of the Annotations.

Page 2. [a] Dio. *Wherefore it becommeth vs not to mourne for him, but to magnifie alwaies his spirit as a God.* [b] *Afterward the Centurions with torches put fire to the pile, which was soone consumed, and out of it an eagle let loose flew vp, as carrying forsooth his soule into heauen.*

29. Appian. *To be sacred and not to be touched himselfe, and whosoeuer else should flie vnto him.* Dio. *The priuiledges granted to the Tribunes were conferred vpon him, so that if any man should iniury him in word or deed, he was to be reputed a sacrilegious and detestable person.*

35. [a] Antony *allotted souldiers to death, not those who had stirred mutinies, forsaken their place in watch, or standing in battell, vpon which crimes onely the law of armes had laied so rigorous and terrible a punishment, but &c.* [b] *Called then* Lugudunum, *now* Lugdunum.

98. [a] *Northerly windes blowing yeerely after the summer* solstitium *some twenty daies, about the rising of the Dog-star.* [b] *Being mixed of the northerly and westerne windes.*

137. *One day after* Antonius *entred the city, being the third of the moneth* Apellæus.

142. [a] *Of the* Roman *warres he stared to triumph, as being ciuill, and neither much beseeming himselfe, and much misliked and abhorred of the people, yet did hee not withstanding cary in triumph all the accidents of those warres in diuers pictures, and the images of the captaines and principall men, sauing of* Pompey, *whom only he eschewed to shew, as being yet in all mens hearts greatly desired, and wished for.* [b] *The shew in his triumph of the citizens slaine in* Africke *did much grieue the people.*

205. Dionysius *gloried much more in his poemes, than in the happy successe of his wars, and amongst other poets that liued in the Tyrants court* Philoxenus *a maker of* Dithyrambi, *a man of great reputation and renowne in that kinde of poeme, the Tyrants verses being read in banquet which indeed were naught, was asked his opinion of them. Who speaking somewhat freely his mind, the Tyrant was offended with his answer: and crying out that vpon enuy he had spoken ill of his poemes, commanded those that attended, to cary him forthwith away into the quarry-pits.* [q] *This kind of knauery and enuious iugling and deceit, not by dispraising, but by commending to ruine your neighbors, was first and principally found out by such as remaine in Princes courts, vpon ielousie and ambition they haue, one to outgrow another.*

207. [s] *Euery one of the Legions is of* 4000. *a piece.* [t] *Ten Legions were enrolled of* 4000. *a piece.*

208. [s] *There followed him the horse belonging to the Legion. for euery Legion hath annexed to it an hundred and twentie horse.*

209. [a] *For diuiding themselues into paires. of the six moneths they keepe the field, each paire commandeth two moneths.* [q] *The law commandeth all the* 60. *centures to obey, and doe what is commanded by him.*

210. [a] *After that* Augustus *was setled in monarchy, hee quit the Italians of the paines of seruice, and vtterly disarmed them.* [a] *The gentlemen on horsebacke must of necessitie serue ten yeeres, the footmen* 16. *before they be* 46. *yeeres of age.* [t] *When they will take vp any souldiers, they call the tribes one by one, as the lot falleth.*

211. [t] *The same forme of gouernment the* Præfecti *also vse with the allies.*

212. [q] *The first day of the yeere they both sware themselues, and caused others to sweare, that they would accept for good all* Cæsars *acts. which thing is vsed euen at this day for the acts of the presens Emperours, and for those of all their predecessours whose memory is not disgraced.*

214. [c] *The whole figure of the castrametation is a square of equall sides.*

216. [r] *If the place chance to be vneuen, they make it plaine and euen.* [e] *When they are fast gathered together into the campe, and ready to enter the enemies countrey.*

217. [b] Romulus *diuided his people into Legions, and euery Legion consisted of* 3000. *persons.* [t] *He resolued to make warre against the* Sabins *arming all the* Roman *forces, which were double to that they were afore the taking of* Alba.

221. [a] *The Prouost of the city hauing but few souldiers vnder his gouernment.* [t] *Hauing neuer so much as imagined of sea seruice, then first they entred into conceit thereof.*

222. [m] *For being without sailes, and prepared only for the fight, they did not follow in chase those which fled.* [r] Liburni *a people of* Illyrium, *who with light and swift ships rowed about the* Mare Ionium, *and ilands there. Whereupon at this day the* Romans *call the lightest and swiftest of the* Biremes Liburnicæ. [a] Triacontoros *and* Tessaracontoros *and* Pentecontoros *haue their names of the number of their oares.* Moneres *and* Biremis *and so in consequence haue their names according to the number of rankes of oares one aboue another.* [c] *Vsing but few* Triremes, *but furnished with* Pentecontori, *and long ships.*

223. *Ships of seruice that were some fiue hundred, and of* Liburnicæ *an infinite number.* [r] *A man may well doubt what the reason should be why the Romans being now lords of all, and in a farre greater height than before, can neither man out so many ships, nor saile with so great nauies.*

The rest which are not heere translated, are but either some few words, or else Greeke of that, the substance whereof is in the text

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